

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD ART**

**Vol. V**

**ESKIMO CULTURES – GALLO-ROMAN ART**

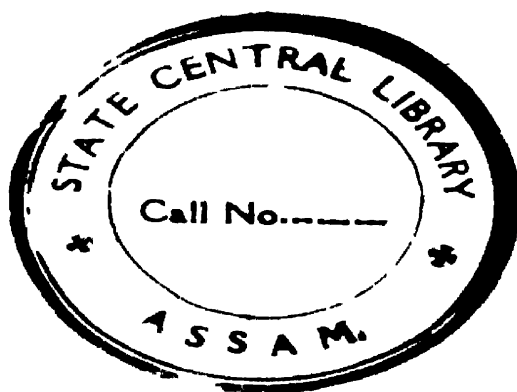


# ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSALE DELL'ARTE

*Sotto gli auspici della Fondazione Giorgio Cini*

ISTITUTO PER LA COLLABORAZIONE CULTURALE  
VENEZIA-ROMA

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD ART



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Florence



## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Museums, Galleries, Libraries, and Other Institutions*

Antikensamml.	— Antikensammlungen
Antiq.	— Antiquarium
Bib. Nat.	— Bibliothèque Nationale
Bib. Naz.	— Biblioteca Nazionale
Brera	— Pinacoteca di Brera
Br. Mus.	— British Museum
Cab. Méd.	— Cabinet des Médailles (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale)
Cleve. Mus.	— Cleveland Museum
Coll.	— Collection, Collezione, etc.
Conserv.	— Palazzo dei Conservatori
Gal.	— Galerie
Gall.	— Gallery, Galleria
Gall. Arte Mod.	— Galleria di Arte Moderna
IsMEO	— Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
Kunstgewerbemus.	— Kunstgewerbemuseum
Kunsthist. Mus.	— Kunsthistorisches Museum
Louvre	— Musée du Louvre
Medagl.	— Medagliere
Met. Mus.	— Metropolitan Museum
Mus.	— Museum, Museo, Muséc, Museen, etc.
Mus. Ant.	— Museo di Antichità
Mus. Arch.	— Museo Archeologico
Mus. B. A.	— Musée des Beaux-Arts
Mus. Cap.	— Musei Capitolini
Mus. Civ.	— Museo Civico
Mus. Com.	— Museo Comunale
Mus. Etn.	— Museo Etnologico
Mus. Naz.	— Museo Nazionale
Mus. Vat.	— Musei Vaticani
Nat. Gall.	— National Gallery
Öst. Gal.	— Österreichische Galerie
Pin.	— Pinacoteca
Pin. Naz.	— Pinacoteca Nazionale
Pin. Vat.	— Pinacoteca Vaticana
Prado	— Museo del Prado
Rijksmus.	— Rijksmuseum
Samml.	— Sammlung
Staat. Mus.	— Staatliche Museen
Staatsbib.	— Staatsbibliothek
Städt. Mus.	— Städtisches Museum
Tate Gall.	— Tate Gallery
Uffizi	— Uffizi Gallery
Vict. and Alb.	— Victoria and Albert Museum
Villa Giulia	— Museo di Villa Giulia

### *Reviews and Miscellanies*

AAE	— Archivio per la Antropologia e la Etnologia, Florence
AAnz	— Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AAa	— Artibus Asiae, Ascona, Italy
AB	— Art Bulletin, New York
AbhAkMünchen	— Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
AbhBerlAk	— Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
AbhPreussAk	— Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin

### ABIA

AC  
ActaA  
ActaO  
AD  
AEA  
AEArte  
AErt  
Afa  
AfO  
Afrlt  
AJA  
AM

AmA  
AmAnt  
AN  
AnnInst

AnnSAntEg

AntC  
AntJ  
AnzAlt

AnzÖAk

APAmM

AQ  
ArndtBr

ARSI

ArtiFig  
ASAtene

ASI  
ASWI

ArtiPontAcc

AZ  
BA  
BABach

BAC

BACBelg

BACr  
BAFr

BAmSOR

BArte

BByzI

- Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Leiden
- Archeologia Classica, Rome
- Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
- Acta Orientalia, Leiden, The Hague
- Antike Denkmäler, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, Leipzig
- Archivo Español de Arqueología, Madrid
- Archivo Español de Arte, Madrid
- Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
- Archiv für Anthropologie, Brunswick
- Archiv für Orientforschung, Berlin
- Africa Italiana, Bergamo
- American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore
- Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Athens, Stuttgart
- American Anthropologist, Menasha, Wis.
- American Antiquity, Menasha, Wis.
- Art News, New York
- Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome
- Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo
- L'Antiquité Classique, Louvain
- The Antiquaries Journal, London
- Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, Innsbruck, Vienna
- Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna
- Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York
- Art Quarterly, Detroit
- P. Arndt, F. Bruckmann, Griechische und römische Porträts, Munich, 1891 ff.
- Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C.
- Arti Figurative, Rome
- Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Bergamo
- Archivio Storico Italiano, Florence
- Archaeological Survey of Western India, Hyderabad
- Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome
- Archäologische Zeitung, Berlin
- Baeßler Archiv, Leipzig, Berlin
- Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot bevordering der kennis van de antieke Beschaving, The Hague
- Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section d'Archéologie, Paris
- Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres, Brussels
- Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome
- Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, Paris
- Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, South Hadley, Mass.
- Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Rome
- The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, Paris



- BCH — Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Paris  
 BCom — Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale, Rome  
 Beazley, ABV — J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure Vase-painters, Oxford, 1956  
 Beazley, ARV — J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-painters, Oxford, 1942  
 Beazley, EVP — J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-painting, Oxford, 1947  
 Beazley, VA — J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums, Cambridge, 1918  
 Beazley, VRS — J. D. Beazley, Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils, Tübingen, 1925  
 BEFEO — Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, Saigon, Paris  
 BerlNZ — Berliner Numismatische Zeitschrift, Berlin  
 Bernoulli, GI — J. J. Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie, Munich, 1901  
 Bernoulli, RI — J. J. Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie, I, Stuttgart, 1882; II, 1, Berlin, Stuttgart, 1886; II, 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1891; II, 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1894  
 BHAcRoum — Bulletin Historique, Académie Roumaine, Bucharest  
 BICR — Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome  
 BIE — Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Egypte, Cairo  
 BIFAN — Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar  
 BIFAO — Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo  
 BInst — Bollettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome  
 BJ — Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn, Darmstadt  
 BM — Burlington Magazine, London  
 BMBeyrouth — Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, Beirut  
 BMC — British Museum, Catalogue of Greek Coins, London  
 BMCEmp — H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, London  
 BMFA — Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, Boston  
 BMFEA — Museum of Far-Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin, Stockholm  
 BMImp — Bollettino del Museo dell'Impero, Rome  
 BMMA — Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
 BMQ — The British Museum Quarterly, London  
 BPI — Bollettino di Paleontologia Italiana, Rome  
 BrBr — H. Brunn, F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur, Munich  
 Brunn, GGK — H. Brunn, Geschichte der griechischen Künstler, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1889  
 Brunn, GK — H. Brunn, Griechische Kunstgeschichte, Munich, I, 1893; II, 1897  
 BSA — Annual of the British School at Athens, London  
 BSEI — Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Saigon  
 BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London  
 BSPF — Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, Paris  
 BSR — Papers of the British School at Rome, London  
 Cabrol-Leclercq — F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris, 1907  
 CAF — Congrès Archéologique de France, Paris, 1841-1935  
 CahA — Cahiers Archéologiques, Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen-Age, Paris  
 CahArt — Cahiers d'art, Paris  
 CAJ — Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden  
 CEFEO — Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris  
 CIE — Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Lipsiae  
 CIG — Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini  
 CIL — Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berolini  
 CIS — Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Parisiis  
 Coh — H. Cohen, Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain, Paris  
 Collignon, SG — M. Collignon, Histoire de la sculpture grecque, Paris, I, 1892; II, 1897  
 Comm — Commentari, Florence, Rome  
 Cr — La Critica, Bari  
 CRAI — Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris  
 CrArte — La Critica d'Arte, Florence  
 CVA — Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum  
 DA — N. Daremberg, N. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris, 1877-1912  
 Dehio, I-V — G. Dehio, Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Berlin, I, Mitteldeutschland, 1927; II, Nordostdeutschland, 1926; III, Süddeutschland, 1933; IV, Südwestdeutschland, 1933; V, Nordwestdeutschland, 1928  
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 Dehio-Von Bezold — G. Dehio, G. von Bezold, Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes, Stuttgart, 1892-1901  
 DiasPontAcc — Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome  
 EA — Photographische Einzelaufnahmen, Munich, 1893 ff.  
 EAA — Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Rome, I, 1958; II, 1959  
 EArt — Eastern Art, London  
 EB — Encyclopaedia Britannica  
 EI — Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1929 ff.  
 EphDR — Ephemeris Dacorumana, Rome  
 ESA — Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, Helsinki  
 Espér — E. Espérandieu, R. Lantier, Recueil général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine, Paris  
 FA — Fasti Archaeologici, Florence  
 FD — Fouilles de Delphes, Paris  
 Friedländer — Max Friedländer, Altniederländische Malerei, Berlin, 1924-37  
 Furtwängler, AG — A. Furtwängler, Antiken Gemmen, Leipzig, Berlin, 1900  
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 Furtwängler, KISchr — A. Furtwängler, Kleine Schriften, Munich, 1912  
 Furtwängler, MP — A. Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture, London, 1895  
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 Furtwängler-Reichhold — A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, Munich  
 GBA — Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris  
 GJ — The Geographical Journal, London  
 HA — Handbuch der Archäologie in Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft... herausgegeben von Walter Otto, Munich, 1939-53  
 HBr — P. Herrmann, F. Bruckmann, Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums, Munich, 1907  
 Helbig-Amelung — W. Helbig, W. Amelung, E. Reisch, F. Weege, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom, Leipzig, 1912-13  
 HJAS — Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Hoppin, Bf — J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases with a Chapter on the Red-figured Southern Italian Vases, Paris, 1924  
 Hoppin, Rf — J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C., Cambridge, 1919  
 HSAI — J. H. Steward, ed., Handbook of South American Indians, 6 vols., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 143, Washington, D.C., 1946-50  
 IAE — Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leiden  
 IBAI — Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare, Sofia  
 IG — Inscriptiones Graecae, Berolini  
 ILN — Illustrated London News, London  
 IPEK — Ipek, Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst, Berlin  
 JA — Journal Asiatique, Paris

- JAF — Journal of American Folklore, Lancaster, Pa.  
 JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore  
 JAS — Journal of the African Society, London  
 JBORS — Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, India  
 JdI — Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin  
 JEA — Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London  
 JhbKhSammlWien — Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, Vienna  
 JhbPreussKSammI — Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berlin  
 JHS — Journal of Hellenic Studies, London  
 JIAI — Journal of Indian Art and Industry, London  
 JIAN — Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique, Athens  
 JISOA — Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta  
 JNES — Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago  
 JPS — Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, New Zealand  
 JRAI — Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London  
 JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London  
 JRS — Journal of Roman Studies, London  
 JS — Journal des Savants, Paris  
 ISA — Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Paris  
 JSAH — Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Charlottesville, Va.  
 JSAm — Journal de la Société des Americanistes, Paris  
 JSO — Journal de la Société des Océanistes, Paris  
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 KS — Communications on the Reports and Field Research of the Institute of Material Culture, Moscow, Leningrad  
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 MAAccIt — Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia d'Italia, Milan  
 MAARome — Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Rome, New York  
 MAF — Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, Paris  
 MAGWien — Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vienna  
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 MdI — Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Munich  
 MdIK — Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, Wiesbaden  
 MéI — Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Ecole Française de Rome), Paris  
 MemLinc — Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome  
 MGH — Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin  
 MIA — Material and Research in Archaeology of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, Leningrad  
 Michel — A. Michel, Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours, Paris 1905-29  
 MInst — Monumenti dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Rome  
 Mjhb — Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, Munich  
 MLJ — Modern Language Journal, St. Louis, Mo.  
 MnbKw — Monatsberichte über Kunstwissenschaft  
 MPA — Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia, Rome  
 MPiot — Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires, Paris  
 MPontAcc — Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome  
 NBACr — Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome  
 NChr — Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, London  
 NIFAN — Notes de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar  
 NR — Numismatic Review, New York  
 NSc — Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, Rome  
 NZ — Numismatische Zeitschrift, Vienna  
 OAZ — Ostaasiatische Zeitschrift, Vienna  
 OJh — Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Vienna  
 ÖKT — Österreichische Kunstopographie, Vienna  
 OMLeiden — Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden  
 OpA — Opuscula Archaeologica, Lund  
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 ProcPrSoc — Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge  
 PSI — Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, Florence, 1912 ff.  
 QCr — Quaderni della Critica, Bari  
 RA — Revue Archéologique, Paris  
 RAA — Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Paris  
 RACr — Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome  
 RArte — Rivista d'Arte, Florence  
 RArts — Revue des arts, Paris  
 RBib — Revue Biblique, Paris  
 RDK — Reallexicon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1937 ff.  
 RE — A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1894 ff.  
 REA — Revue des Etudes Anciennes, Bordeaux  
 REByz — Revue des Etudes Byzantines, Paris  
 REG — Revue des Etudes Grecques, Paris  
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 REL — Revue des Etudes Latines, Paris  
 RendAccIt — Rendiconti della R. Accademia d'Italia, Rome  
 RendLinc — Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome  
 RendNapoli — Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli, Naples

RendPontAcc	— Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rome
RepfKw	— Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin, Stuttgart
REthn	— Revue d'Ethnographie, Paris
RhMus	— Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Frankfurt on the Main
RIASA	— Rivista dell'Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome
RIN	— Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, Rome
RIDKg	— Reallexicon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1937
RLV	— M. Ebert, Real-Lexicon der Vorgeschichte, Berlin, 1924-32
RM	— Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Berlin
RN	— Revue Numismatique, Paris
Robert, SR	— C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, Berlin, 1890 ff.
Roscher	— W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Leipzig, 1884-86; 1924-37
RQ	— Römische Quartalschrift, Freiburg
RSePr	— Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche, Florence
RSLig	— Rivista di Studi Liguri, Bordighera, Italy
RSO	— Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Rome
Rumpf, MZ	— A. Rumpf, Malerei und Zeichnung (W. Otto, Handbuch der Archäologie, IV, 1), Munich, 1953
SA	— Soviet Archaeology, Moscow, Leningrad
SbBerlin	— Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
SbHeidelberg	— Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Heidelberg, Heidelberg
SbMünchen	— Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Munich
SbWien	— Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna
Schlosser	— J. Schlosser, La letteratura artistica, Florence, 1956
SEtr	— Studi Etruschi, Florence
SNR	— Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum
SPA	— A Survey of Persian Art, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, Oxford, 1938
SymbOsl	— Symbolae Osloenses, Oslo
ThB	— U. Thieme, F. Becker, Künstler Lexikon, Leipzig, 1907-50
TitAM	— Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vindobonae, 1901-44
TNR	— Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar-es-Salaam
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TP	— T'oung Pao, Leiden
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VFPA	— Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York
Vollmer	— H. Vollmer, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1953
Warburg	— Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, London
Wpr	— Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin
WürzbJ	— Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg
ZaS	— Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin, Leipzig
ZfAssyr	— Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Strasbourg
ZfBk	— Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, Leipzig
ZfE	— Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin
ZfKg	— Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, Munich
ZfKw	— Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, Munich
ZfN	— Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin
ZfSAKg	— Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, Basel
ZMG	— Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig

# Languages and Ethnological Descriptions

Alb.	— Albanian
Am.	— American
Ang.	— Anglice, Anglicized
Ar.	— Arabic
Arm.	— Armenian
Bab.	— Babylonian
Br.	— British
Bulg.	— Bulgarian
Chin.	— Chinese
D.	— Dutch
Dan.	— Danish
Eg.	— Egyptian
Eng.	— English
Finn.	— Finnish
Fr.	— French
Ger.	— German
Gr.	— Greek
Heb.	— Hebrew
Hung.	— Hungarian
It.	— Italian
Jap.	— Japanese
Jav.	— Javanese
Lat.	— Latin
Mod. Gr.	— Modern Greek
Nor.	— Norwegian
Per.	— Persian
Pol.	— Polish
Port.	— Portuguese
Rum.	— Rumanian
Rus.	— Russian
Skr.	— Sanskrit
Sp.	— Spanish
Swed.	— Swedish
Yugo.	— Yugoslav

Other Abbreviations (Standard abbreviations in common usage are omitted.)	
Abh.	— Abhandlungen
Acad.	— Academy, Académie
Acc.	— Accademia
Adm.	— Administration
Ak.	— Akademie
Allg.	— Allgemein
Alm.	— Almanacco
Am.	— America, American, etc.
Amm.	— Amministrazione
Ann.	— Annals, Annali, Annuario, Annual, etc.
Ant.	— Antiquity, Antico, Antiquaire, etc.
Anthr.	— Anthropology, etc.
Antr.	— Antropologia, etc.
Anz.	— Anzeiger
Arch.	— Architecture, Architettura, Architetonico etc.; Archives
Archaeol.	— Archaeology, etc.
attrib.	— attributed
Aufl.	— Auflage
Aufn.	— Aufnahme
B.	— Bulletin, Bollettino, etc.
b.	— born
Belg.	— Belgian, Belga, etc.
Berl.	— Berlin, Berliner
Bern.	— Berner
Bib.	— Bible, Biblical, Bibliothèque, etc.
Bibliog.	— Bibliography, etc.
Br.	— British
Bur.	— Bureau
Byz.	— Byzantine
C.	— Corpus
ca.	— circa
Cah.	— Cahiers
Cal.	— Calendar
Cap.	— Capital, Capitolium
Cat.	— Catalogue, Catalogo, etc.
Chr.	— Chronicle, Chronik
Civ.	— Civiltà, Civilization, etc.
cod.	— codex
col., cols.	— column, columns
Coll.	— Collection, Collana, Collationes, Collectanea Collezione, etc.

Comm.	— Commentaries, Commentari, Communica- tions, etc.	Mon.	— Monuments, Monumento
Cong.	— Congress, Congresso, etc.	Münch.	— München, Münchner
Cr.	— Critica	Mus.	— Museum, Museo, etc.
Cron.	— Cronaca	N.	— New, Notizia, etc.
Cuad.	— Cuadernos	Nachr	— Nachrichten
Cult.	— Culture, Cultura, etc.	Nat.	— National, etc.
D.	— Deutsch	Naz.	— Nazionale
d.	— died	Notit. dign.	— Notitia Dignitatum
Diss.	— Dissertation, Dissertazione	N. S.	— new series
Doc.	— Documents, etc.	O.	— Oriental, Orient, etc.
E.	— Encyclopedia, etc.	Ö	— Österreichische
Eccl.	— Ecclesiastic, Ecclesia, etc.	obv.	— obverse
Eng.	— English, England	öffentl.	— öffentlich
Ep.	— Epigraphy	Op.	— Opuscolo
Esp.	— España, Español	Pap.	— Papers
Eat.	— Estudios	per.	— period
Et.	— Etudes	Per.	— Periodical, Periodico
Ethn.	— Ethnology, Ethnography Ethnographie, etc.	Pin.	— Pinacoteca
Etn.	— Etnico, Etnografía, etc.	Pr.	— Prehistory, Preistoria, Preystori, Préhistoire
Etnol.	— Etnologia	Proc.	— Proceedings
Eur.	— Europe, Europa, etc.	Pub	— Publication, Publicación
ext.	— extract	Pubbl.	— Pubblicazione
f.	— für	Q.	— Quarterly, Quaderno
fasc.	— fascicle	Quel.	— Quellen
Fil.	— Filologia	R.	— Rivista
Filos.	— Filosofia, Filosofico	r	— recto
fol.	— folio	Racc.	— Raccolta
Forsch.	— Forschung, Forachungen	Rass.	— Rassegna
Fr.	— French, Francia, Français, etc.	Rec.	— Recueil
Gal.	— Galerie	Recens.	— Recensione
Gall.	— Gallery, Galleria	Rech.	— Recherches
Geog.	— Geography, Geografia, Geographical, etc.	Rel.	— Relazione
Ger.	— German, Germania, etc.	Rend.	— Rendiconti
Giorn.	— Giornale	Rép.	— Répertoire
H.	— History, Historie, etc.	Rep.	— Report, Repertorio, Repertorium
hl.	— heilig, heilige	Rev.	— Review, Revue, etc.
Holl.	— Hollandisch, etc.	Rl.	— Reallexicon
Hum.	— Humanity, Humana, etc.	Rom.	— Roman, Romano, Romanico, etc.
I.	— Istituto	Rus.	— Russia, Russian, Russie, Russo, etc.
Ill.	— Illustration, Illustrato, Illustrazione, etc.	rv.	— reverse
Ind.	— Index, Indice, Indicatore, etc.	S.	— San, Santo, Santa (saint)
Inf.	— Information, Informazione, etc.	S.	— Studi, Studies, etc.
Inst.	— Institute, Institut, etc.	Samml.	— Sammlung, Sammlungen
Int.	— International, etc.	Sc.	— Science, Scienza, Scientific, etc.
Ist.	— Istituto	Schr.	— Schriften
It.	— Italian, Italy, etc.	Schw.	— Schweitzer
J.	— Journal	Script.	— Scriptorium
Jb.	— Jaarboek	Sitzb.	— Sitzungsberichte
Jhb.	— Jahrbuch	s.l.	— in its place
Jhrh.	— Jahreshefte	Soc.	— Social, Society, Società, Sociale, etc.
K.	— Kunst	Spec.	— Speculum
Kat.	— Katalog	SS.	— Saints, Sante, Santi, Santissima
Kchr.	— Kunstchronik	St.	— Saint
Kg.	— Kunstgeschichte	Sta	— Santa (holy)
Kunathist.	— Kunsthistorische	Ste	— Sainte
Kw.	— Kunstwissenschaft	Sto	— Santo (holy)
Lat.	— Latin	Sup.	— Supplement, Supplemento
Lett.	— Letteratura, Lettere	s.v.	— under the word
Lib.	— Library	Tech	— Technical, Technology, etc.
ling.	— linguistica, lingua, etc.	Tecn	— Tecnica, Tecnico
Lit.	— Literary, Literarische, Littéraire, etc.	Tr.	— Transactions
Mag.	— Magazine	trans	— translator, translated, etc.
Med.	— Medieval, Medievale, etc.	Trav.	— Travaux
Meded.	— Mededeelingen	u.	— und
Mél.	— Mélanges	Um.	— Umanesimo
Mém.	— Mémoire	Univ.	— University, Università, Université, etc.
Mem.	— Memorie, Memoirs	Urb.	— Urban, Urbanistica
Min.	— Minerva	v	— verso
Misc.	— Miscellanea, etc.	VAT	— Vorderasiatische Tafeln
Mit.	— Mitteilungen	Verh.	— Verhandlungen, Verhandelingen
Mnb.	— Monatsberichte	Verz.	— Verzeichnis
Mnbl.	— Monatsblaetter	Vf.	— Verfasser
Mnh.	— Monatshefte	Wien	— Wiener
Mod.	— Modern, Moderno, etc.	Yb.	— Yearbook
		Z.	— Zeitschrift, Zeitung, etc.

## NOTES ON THE ENGLISH EDITION

**Standards of Translation.** Contributors to the Encyclopedia, drawn from the outstanding authorities of over 35 different countries, have written in many languages — Italian, Spanish, French, German, Russian, etc. To ensure faithful translation of the author's thought, all articles have been translated into English from the original language, checked for the accuracy of technical terms and accepted English forms of nomenclature by English and American art historians, and correlated with the final editorial work of the Italian edition for uniformity and coherence of the over-all presentation. Naturally the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., assumes full responsibility for the accuracy and completeness of all translations. Those articles written in English appear in the words and style of the authors, within the bounds of editorial attention to consistency and stylistic and organizational unity of the work as a whole. Article titles are in most cases parallel to those in the Italian edition, though occasionally they have been simplified, as *Dravidian Art* for *Dravidiche Correnti e Tradizioni*.

**New Features.** Although generally the English-language edition corresponds to the Italian version, a small number of purely editorial changes have been made in the interest of clear English-language alphabetization and occasional deletions or amplifications solely in the interest of clarity. Three major differences between the two editions do exist, however:

A considerable number of cross-references have been added in many places where it was felt that relating the subject under consideration to other pertinent articles would be of value to the reader.

A more extensive article on the Art of the Americas was projected for Volume One of the English edition with an entirely new text and many new plates in black and white and color. This article was designed to give the completest possible coverage within the existing space of some 100,000 words to a subject which, because of its interest to the English-speaking public, was entrusted to a group of well-known American scholars, each expert in his respective area.

Some 300 separate short biographies have been added to the English edition to provide ready access to data on the lives, works, and critical acceptance of certain artists identified with schools, movements, and broad categories of historical development that are treated in the longer monographic articles. These articles are unillustrated, but works of the artists are represented in the plates accompanying the longer articles.

**Bibliographies.** The bibliographies of the original Italian edition have been amplified at times to include titles of special interest to the English-speaking world and English-language editions of works originally published in other languages.

In undertaking these adaptations of the Italian text and preparing original material for the English edition, the publisher has been aided by the generous advice and, in many cases, collaboration of the members of the Editorial Advisory Committee.

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 BERGAMO, Italy, Galleria dell'Accademia Carrara  
 BERLIN, B. Koehler Coll.  
 BERLIN, Museum für Völkerkunde  
 BERLIN, Staatliche Museen  
 BERLIN, Zeughaus  
 BERN, Switzerland, Historisches Museum  
 BEZANÇON, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts  
 BOLOGNA, Museo Civico  
 BONN, Rheinisches Landesmuseum  
 BOSKOVSTYN, Czechoslovakia, F. Vildomec Coll.  
 BRATISLAVA, Czechoslovakia, Slovakian Museum  
 BRESCIA, Italy, Coll. Cavellini  
 BRNO, Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences  
 BRNO, Czechoslovakia, Moravian Museum  
 BRUGES, Belgium, Groeninge-Museum  
 BRUNSWICK, Germany, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum  
 BRUSSELS, Coll. Giron  
 BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire  
 BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts  
 BUCHAREST, National Museum  
 BUDAPEST, Kunstgewerbemuseum  
 BUDAPEST, National Museum  
  
 CAIRO, Egyptian Museum  
 CAIRO, Museum of Islamic Art  
 CAMBRIDGE, England, University Museum of Archaeology and  
 Ethnology

CAPUA, Italy, Museo Provinciale Campano  
 CHANTILLY, France, Musée Condé  
 CHICAGO, Art Institute  
 CHIETI, Italy, Museo Nazionale  
 CHIUSI, Italy, Museo Civico  
 COLOGNE, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum  
 COPENHAGEN, Nationalmuseum  
 COPENHAGEN, Statens Museum for Kunst  
 CORTONA, Italy, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca  
 CREMONA, Italy, Museo Ala Ponzone  
  
 DERBYSHIRE, England, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement  
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 DILLINGEN, Germany, Heimatmuseum  
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 FLORENCE, Pitti  
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 THE HAGUE, Geementmuseum  
 THE HAGUE, Mauritshuis  
 HALLE ON THE SAALE, Germany, Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte  
 HAMBURG, Kunsthalle  
 HAMBURG, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe  
 HAMBURG, Museum für Völkerkunde  
 HANOVER, Germany, H. Kaldelbach Coll.  
 HELSINKI, Kansallismuseo  
 HONOLULU, Academy of Arts  
  
 INNSBRUCK, Austria, Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum



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KASSEL, Germany, Gemäldegalerie  
KOLIN, Czechoslovakia, Dvůřák Museum

LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire

LEIDEN, Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal"  
LENINGRAD, The Hermitage  
LONDON, British Museum  
LONDON, Courtauld Institute Gall.  
LONDON, National Gallery  
LONDON, Tate Gallery  
LONDON, Victoria and Albert Museum  
LONDON, Wallace Coll.

MADRID, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan  
MADRID, Museo Arqueológico Nacional  
MADRID, Prado  
MILAN, Brera  
MILAN, Coll. Frua De Angeli  
MILAN, Coll. Mattioli  
MILAN, Galleria Bergamini  
MUNICH, Alte Pinakothek  
MUNICH, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum  
MUNICH, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale  
NAPLES, Capodimonte  
NAPLES, Coll. Princess Sanfelice di Bagnoli  
NAPLES, Museo Nazionale  
NEW YORK, American Museum of Natural History  
NEW YORK, Frick Coll.  
NEW YORK, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum  
NEW YORK, Thekla Hess Coll.  
NEW YORK, R. Lehman Coll.  
NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
NEW YORK, Museum of Modern Art  
NEW YORK, New York State Historical Association  
NEW YORK, G. Seligman Coll.  
NEW YORK, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research  
NÜRNBERG, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

OOSTERBEEK, Netherlands, Coll. J. C. Heldring  
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OSLO, National Museum  
OSLO, Norske Folkemuseum  
OSLO, Universitetets Oldsaksamling  
OSLO, Viking Ship Museum  
OTTERLO, Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller  
OXFORD, Canada, Pitt Rivers Museum

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PALERMO, Museo Pitre  
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PARIS, Cabinet des Médailles  
PARIS, Coll. Gros  
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PARIS, Galerie Leiris  
PARIS, Louvre  
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PARIS, Musée du Jeu de Paume

PARIS, Musée du Petit-Palais  
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ROME, Museo Pigorini  
ROME, Museo di Villa Albani  
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ROME, Vatican Museums  
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SALEM, Mass., Peabody Museum  
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SOFIA, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum  
STOCKHOLM, Historiska Museet  
STUTTGART, Landesmuseum  
STUTTGART, Linden Museum  
STUTTGART, Staatsgalerie

TARQUINIA, Italy, Museo Nazionale  
TERVUEREN, Belgium, Musée Royal du Congo Belge  
TORONTO, Royal Ontario Museum  
TRIER, Germany, Bischöfliches Museum  
TRIESTE, Italy, Museo di Antichità  
TRIESTE, Italy, Museo Revoltella  
TRONDHEIM, Norway, Arkeologiska Museum  
TURIN, Museo Civico  
TURIN, Museo Egizio

UTRECHT, Netherlands, Centraal Museum  
UTTWILL, Switzerland, W. Kern Coll.

VENICE, Biblioteca Marciana  
VICH, Spain, Diocesan Museum  
VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum  
VIENNA, Museum für Völkerkunde  
VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek  
VIENNA, Naturhistorisches Museum  
VIENNA, Österreichische Galerie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts  
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**ESKIMO CULTURES.** The Eskimos occupy the entire northern fringe of the American continent. Beginning at Prince William Sound in south Alaska, their territory extends northward along the Bering Sea coast to Bering Strait and the opposite Siberian shore, eastward along the Arctic coast of Alaska, and through the Canadian Arctic to the east coasts of Labrador and Greenland (FIG. 3). In an area as extensive as this — from the Pacific to the Atlantic — it is natural that regional art styles and other cultural variations should occur. In prehistoric times there was even greater variability, both regional and from period to period, as one style of art gradually evolved from another.

**SUMMARY.** General characteristics (col. 1). Prehistoric art in northern Alaska (col. 2): *Old Bering Sea style 1 (Okvik)*; *Old Bering Sea style 2*; *Old Bering Sea style 3*; *Punuk culture*; *Ipiutak culture*. Prehistoric art of south and southwest Alaska (col. 19). Modern Alaskan Eskimo art (col. 20). Prehistoric art of Arctic Canada and Greenland (col. 24): *Dorset culture*. Modern Greenland Eskimo art (col. 26). Modern Canadian Eskimo art (col. 27).

**GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.** The most distinctive forms of art arose at the extreme ends of the Eskimo territory — southwest Alaska and Bering Strait in the west and Angmagssalik on the east coast of Greenland. In the intervening area, from northern Alaska across Canada to west Greenland, where art for the most part is poorly developed, there is a remarkable uniformity of language, and in the recent prehistoric past there was a similar uniformity of material culture. Archaeological excavations in Alaska and Canada have shown that this cultural homogeneity was not an original condition but rather the result of relatively recent population movements and contacts. Its basis appears to have been a migration about 1,000 years ago which carried the Thule culture from its place of origin in northern Alaska eastward through northern Canada to Greenland. The uniformity thus established was strengthened by a secondary movement in the opposite direction, which brought a late form of Thule culture from Canada to northern Alaska within the past few centuries. Two thousand years ago, in pre-Thule times, when the Old Bering Sea and Ipiutak cultures flourished in northern Alaska and the Dorset culture in Canada and Greenland, there was diversity rather than uniformity throughout the Eskimo area. This was particularly true of art. Although there are stylistic resemblances between Dorset and early Aleutian art, it is difficult to conceive of two art styles more different in total appearance than Dorset and fully developed Old Bering Sea.

In the central and eastern Arctic the old Dorset art completely disappeared, to be succeeded by the simple and stereotyped art of the Thule culture. In the west, however, there was continuous cultural growth and change over a period of more than 2,000 years, as excavations at old Eskimo village sites on St. Lawrence and Little Diomed Islands and on both sides of Bering Strait have revealed. It was in this area and at Point Hope on the Arctic coast of Alaska that Eskimo art achieved its finest expression.

The high development of culture around Bering Strait may be explained by the fact that this was one of the finest hunting territories of the world and that living conditions in general

were better there than in any other part of the Arctic. With an abundance of food animals, including walrus, seals, whales, birds, fish, and — on the mainland — caribou, and with an unlimited supply of driftwood, the Bering Strait Eskimos found life easier than did their kinmen in areas such as Arctic Canada, where food and other natural resources were far more limited. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bering Strait supported a sizable and stable Eskimo population for over 2,000 years and that art reached a higher stage of development there than elsewhere in the Arctic.

Perhaps the one factor most responsible for the relative population density and high cultural development at Bering Strait was the abundance of walrus. These huge animals alone provided most of the necessities of life: meat and blubber for food, oil for heating and cooking, tough durable skins for making house roofs, boat covers, and lines, and bone and ivory for toolmaking and carving. Ivory was preferred for making harpoon heads, foreshafts, and ice picks, knife handles, arrowheads, scrapers, needle cases, fishline sinkers, sled runners, and many other kinds of implements and ornaments. The smooth-surfaced ivory was especially suitable for carving in the round and for engraving and was used for most of their art objects (see **IVORY AND BONE CARVING**).

**PREHISTORIC ART IN NORTHERN ALASKA.** The discoveries that provided the first insight into prehistoric art development at Bering Strait were made in 1926 when D. Jenness, A. Hrdlička, and O. Geist, working independently, obtained from the St. Lawrence and Diomed Islands Eskimos a number of harpoon heads and other ivory artifacts that had been excavated at old village sites and were very different in form and ornamentation from those of the modern Eskimos. They were light creamy brown or dark chocolate in color, with surface ornamentation of flowing lines, concentric circles, and ellipses. They were described by Jenness as representative of an early but artistically highly developed Eskimo culture, now called the Old Bering Sea (OBS). Excavations beginning in 1928 on St. Lawrence Island and nearby Punuk Island suggested division of this culture into three stages: OBS 1 (Okvik), 2, and 3. The Punuk Island excavations showed that the graceful curvilinear art of the Old Bering Sea period had not suddenly disappeared to be succeeded immediately by that of the modern Eskimo. Instead, there had been a transitional period about 1,000 years ago called the Punuk (see below), which foreshadowed modern Alaskan Eskimo art.

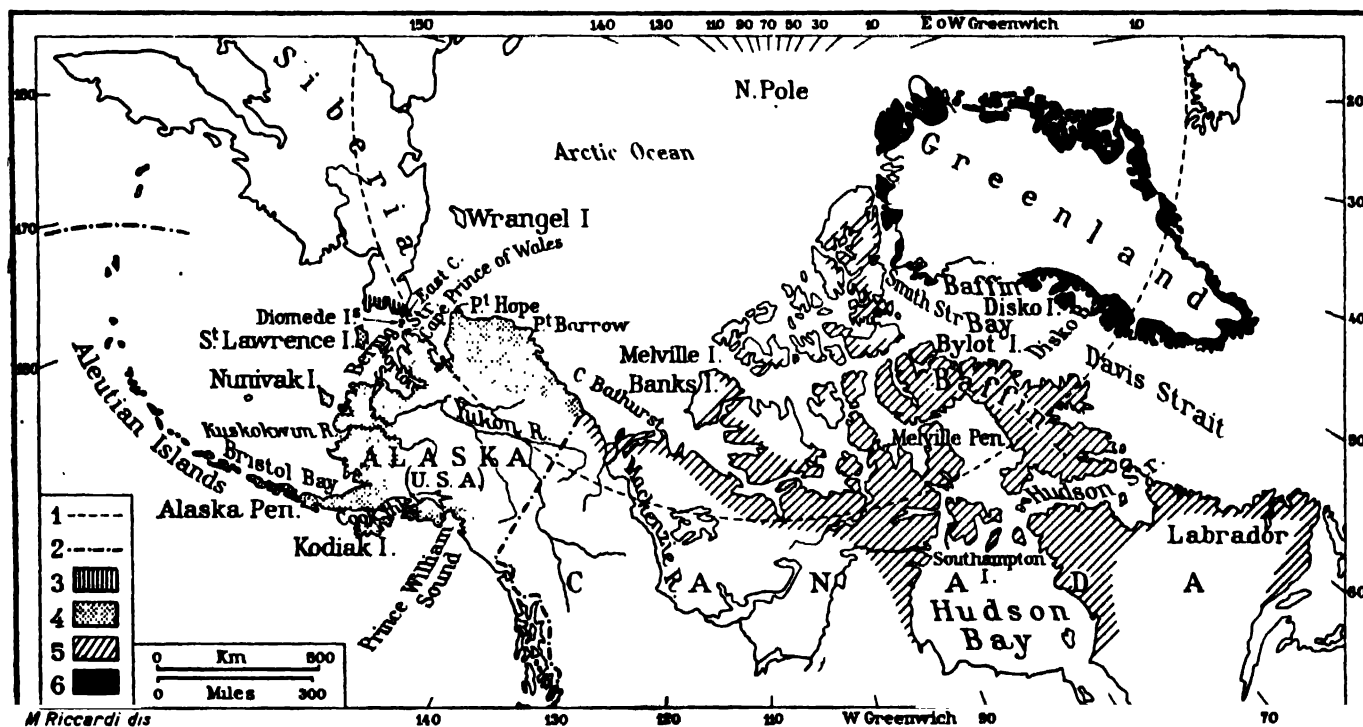
The St. Lawrence culture sequence is based on stratigraphy, that is, the relative position of the various types of implements and art styles in the middens, and by typology, that is, developmental changes in implements and art. In some cases the changes were gradual, in others more sudden and pronounced. Thus, at first glance there would seem to be little if any relationship between OBS styles 1 and 3 or between OBS 3 and Punuk. However, analysis reveals a continuity of design, with OBS 2 the transitional stage. Furthermore, there are numerous instances in which two of the art styles (either 1 and 2 or 2 and 3) are found on the same type of object. Similarly, though Old Bering Sea and Punuk may appear totally unlike, a transition from OBS style 3 to early Punuk can be traced through

the substitution of dots for elevated circles or "eyes." Also, harpoon heads and some other Punuk implements can be shown to have evolved directly from Old Bering Sea prototypes. Local culture growth, however, was not the whole explanation, for a number of Punuk implements and even art motifs appear quite suddenly on St. Lawrence Island, evidently as imports from Siberia. Hence we may recognize two factors, internal culture growth and accretions from outside, as being responsible for the development of Punuk culture on St. Lawrence.

St. Lawrence Island is geographically a part of Siberia rather than Alaska, and the modern St. Lawrence Eskimos are members of the Yuit or Siberian division of the Eskimo linguistic stock. Their cultural affiliations are also with Siberia,

end of St. Lawrence; on Little Diomed Island; at several places on the opposite Siberian shore, particularly Uelen near East Cape, and at Ipiutak culture sites at Point Hope, Kotzebue Sound, and Seward Peninsula in northern Alaska. There are strong indications, however, that the Okvik culture also extended down the Bering Sea coast and that its influence was felt even farther south. This is shown by the occurrence of Okvik art motifs at prehistoric sites on the Alaska Peninsula, the Aleutians, Kodiak Island, and Cook Inlet, and by the discovery of a very old artifact, brownish-black in color and decorated in Okvik style, at the Eskimo village of Chalitmiut near the mouth of the Kuskokwim River.

The Okvik Eskimos were a sedentary people who lived in



Geographical distribution of Eskimo cultures. Key: (1) Arctic Circle; (2) political boundaries; (3) Eskimo areas of Siberia; (4) Eskimo areas of Alaska; (5) Eskimo areas of Canada; (6) Eskimo areas of Greenland.

and archaeology shows that this was true in prehistoric times as well. The excavations of S. I. Rudenko and M. G. Levin at numerous localities on the Siberian mainland opposite Bering Strait show that the Old Bering Sea and Punuk remains are more abundant and more widespread there than in Alaska.

The other prehistoric Eskimo cultures of northern Alaska are the Ipiutak, first discovered at Point Hope, the Birnirk at Point Barrow, and the Thule. Typical Ipiutak culture is lacking at the Siberian sites and on St. Lawrence Island. The two remaining cultures — Birnirk and Thule — are represented there to some extent but seem to be intrusions from the north rather than separate and distinct culture phases. The Birnirk culture, apparently an outgrowth of Old Bering Sea, was restricted to the Arctic coasts of Alaska and Siberia, from Point Barrow westward to the mouth of the Kolyma River; and it was probably in this same area that the Thule culture developed, as an outgrowth of Birnirk, at the same time that Punuk culture made its appearance in the areas immediately to the south. The Birnirk culture was almost devoid of art. The geometric art of the Thule culture (see below) is indistinguishable from that of the modern north Alaskan Eskimos.

*Old Bering Sea style I (Okvik).* Objects decorated in the earliest style of Old Bering Sea art have been found at the Okvik site on Punuk Island off the east end of St. Lawrence Island; at the earliest of five old sites at Gambell on the west

permanent villages along the seashore. Their houses were semisubterranean, rectangular or round in shape, with stone floors and walls of horizontally laid driftwood timbers; they were entered through a sunken passageway. The main sustenance of this people was the walrus, the skin being used for clothing, boats, and other implements, and the ivory almost exclusively for arms, tools, cooking utensils, and ornaments.

A radiocarbon age of  $2,258 \pm 230$  years, obtained from wood from one of the houses at Gambell, is the oldest for Eskimos in this part of Alaska, and the evidence of stratigraphy and typology also shows Okvik to be the oldest form of Eskimo culture known north of the Aleutians. It was, however, not a simple culture. Harpoon heads, socket pieces, and other implement types, some of them unknown to later Eskimos, were complicated in form and of superior workmanship. Okvik has the appearance of a mature culture, one that had probably been in existence for centuries, possibly from about 1000 B.C.

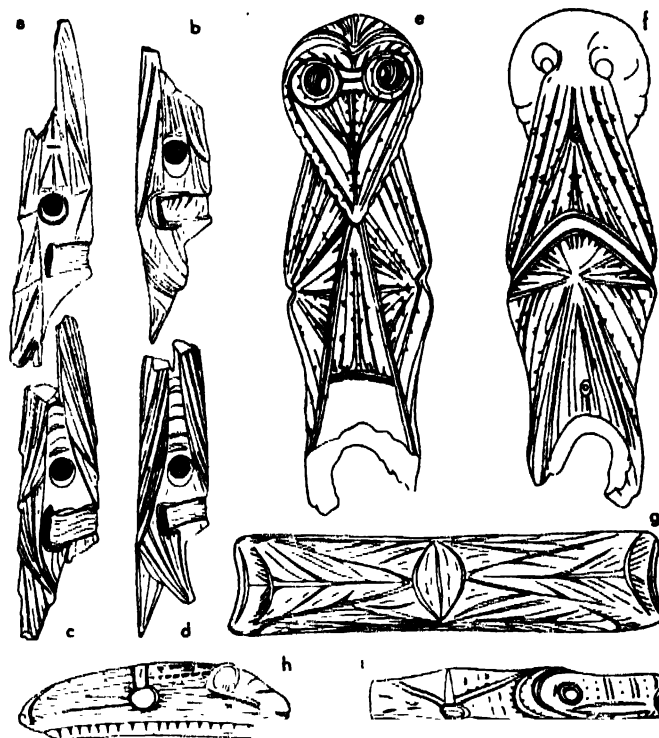
Okvik animal and human figures, carved from ivory, exhibit a degree of originality and skill achieved by only two other Eskimo groups — Ipiutak and Dorset. Okvik incised ornamentation is equally impressive, not so much for its quality, for the designs are less pleasing than those of later Old Bering Sea art, but because of the frequency with which it was applied to the ivory surfaces of hunting implements, tools, and utensils and occasionally even such utilitarian objects as sled runners, boat hooks, picks, and wedges.

Punuk Island, the type site of the Okvik culture, is a favorite hunting ground of the St. Lawrence Eskimos, not only for the living walrus but also for the dark brown "fossil" ivory tusks which every year are pushed up on the beach by the shore ice. These tusks lying in water just offshore and others found in beach sand beneath the Okvik midden show that walrus have frequented the island in great numbers probably for thousands of years. The Okvik site itself was also a veritable ivory mine, and many decorated artifacts, along with quantities of unworked tusks and fragments, have been dug up by the Eskimos since the site was discovered in 1931. Excavations were conducted in 1934 by O. Geist and I. Skarland, who concluded that the 6-ft. midden deposit along the shore was the remnant of a much larger village site, most of which had been washed away by the sea. Some artifacts were dark brown or almost black, as is typical of ivory that has lain in wet soil for a long period. Others, presumably from sections of the midden up from the beach, were a light creamy brown. The Okvik artifacts from the old site at Gambell, at the opposite or west end of St. Lawrence Island, all exhibit the dark brown patination, as do most of those that have been excavated on Little Diomedé Island and the Siberian coast. Some of the Diomedé and Siberian artifacts are gray, instead of brown, a color rarely seen on old ivory. The deep patina of the Okvik artifacts is another indication of considerable age.

Okvik incised art consists of spurred lines in a variety of forms, short detached lines (usually in pairs), broken or dotted lines, radiating or converging lines which form tentlike figures, and various kinds of circles and ellipses. These motifs and the designs into which they were incorporated are probably not all of the same age. It seems highly probable that future study will show that the Okvik sites on Punuk Island and at Gambell were not exactly contemporaneous and that the material from the Punuk Island site itself includes art styles of different ages. At present it is possible to recognize three more or less distinct substyles of incised ornamentation at the Okvik site on Punuk Island. One was characterized by lightly incised straight, rather short slanting lines, without spurs, and by longer lines, single or double, with tiny triangular spurs attached (FIG. 6a-d). This rather delicate ornamentation was applied mainly to two kinds of harpoon heads, unusually thin in cross section. Two other types of harpoon heads resembling these in structural features but much thicker, almost square in cross section, were consistently decorated in another style; the lines on these harpoon heads were thick, bold, and deeply cut, and attached to them were long slanting spurs. In the most elaborate of the Okvik substyles (FIG. 6e, f) there is a profusion of straight, lightly incised single or double lines, to which very small spurs are attached. The spurs are short, pointed incisions forming tiny triangles. They are carefully spaced, sometimes singly and sometimes in pairs, and may point outward or be enclosed in the space between the parallel lines. The form of the spurs, their ordered arrangement, and their association with long, lightly incised lines are characteristic of Okvik and quite different from later Eskimo versions. The lines themselves were usually arranged in converging fashion with a small nucleated circle enclosed at the apex. The design is an elaboration of the simpler one of two converging spurless lines and a single center line (FIG. 6a). It is one of the basic elements of western Eskimo design, one which in varying form permeated Eskimo art throughout the Old Bering Sea and Punuk periods.

Another example of continuity in prehistoric Alaskan Eskimo art are the curious ivory carvings referred to as winged objects. One of these (FIG. 7a), from the Okvik site on Punuk Island, is  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. long, and like all others of its class consists of a raised central body and lateral wings. The raised central portion is carved to represent a face, with large, flat eyes somewhat like an owl's. However, a human face may have been intended, to judge from the prominent eyebrows and nose; the nostrils are perforations which extend into a basal socket and were evidently for a lashing to hold a shaft in place. Converging lines, rising from curved bases and pointing outward, were engraved on the wings. The decoration on the flat opposite side is similar, but the converging line effect was produced

by a series of spurs or lines extending downward to right and left from small nucleated circles. An invariable feature of these objects is a deep socket cut into the base and opposite it, on the end, a shallow notch or pit. The basal socket was designed to receive a wooden shaft, and some have been found with part of the broken shaft in place. But the central pit on the upper end is the best clue to their function; it is just the kind of depression that would be needed to engage the bone or ivory spur at the end of a spear thrower, and most of the pits show signs of wear as if from such use. The most likely explanation of these winged artifacts is that they were attached to the butt



Ivory objects decorated in Okvik style: (a-d) Harpoon heads, from Punuk Island (from Rainey); (e, f) object of undetermined use (front and back), from Little Diomedé Island; (g) scraper, from St. Lawrence Island; (h) handle of a woman's knife (ulu), from St. Lawrence Island; (i) dart socket piece from Little Diomedé Island (from Collins).

end of a harpoon or dart used with the throwing board, the purpose being to provide a weight to counterbalance the heavy harpoon head and socket at the opposite end. They would thus have been comparable in function, though not in form, with the bone harpoon "wings" used in the same way by the Greenland Eskimos.

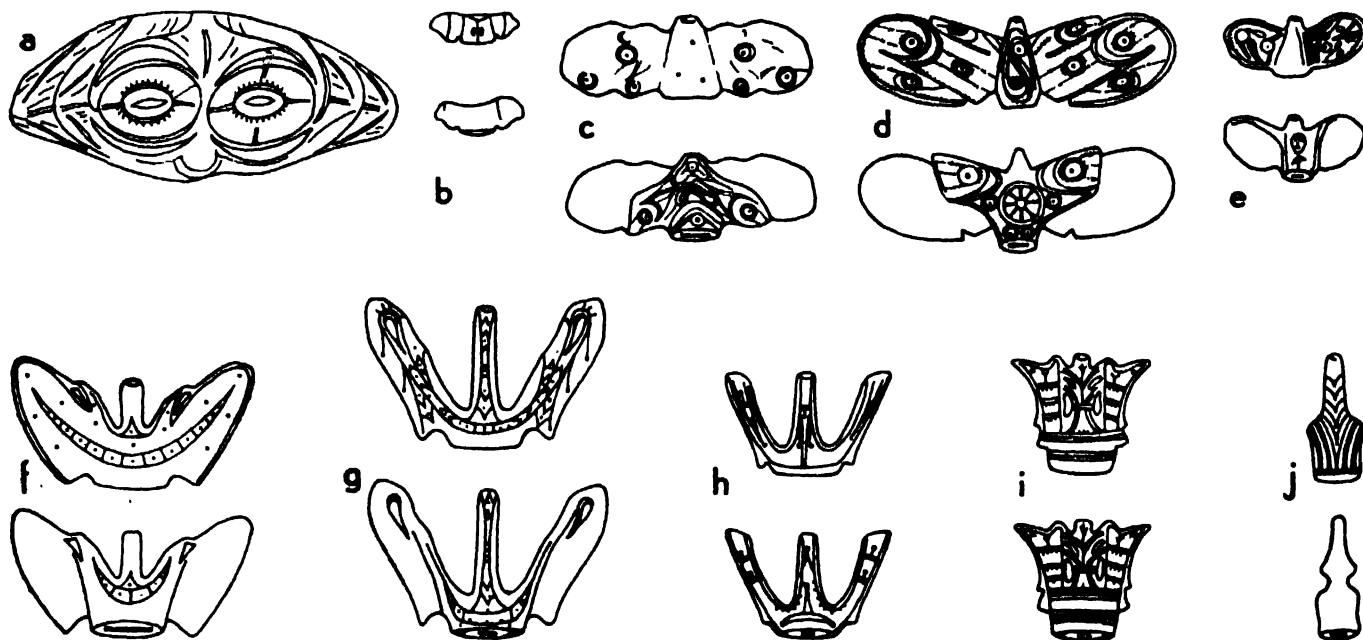
These winged objects underwent an interesting course of development during the time they were in use, which was from the earliest known stage of Old Bering Sea through the Punuk, a period of over 1,000 years. There were three principal forms, each a beautiful example of bilateral symmetry, both in shape and surface ornamentation. The Old Bering Sea examples were broad-winged and resembled rather closely some of the American Indian "banner stones" (see AMERICAN CULTURES and NORTH AMERICAN CULTURES), or such forms as a butterfly or the flukes of a whale. In the early Punuk period they assumed the form of a trident. Later in the Punuk the wings and body were joined, producing a form somewhat like a heraldic device. One form evolved gradually into the next, with changes in structure regularly accompanied by changes in incised design. Thus they constitute one of the best examples of cultural continuity to be found in the Arctic. The earliest and most aberrant (FIG. 7b) was found between the floor stones of one of the Okvik period houses at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island. This is only about 2 in. long; a few strands of baleen were



found in the perforations at the center, a remnant of the lashing that held the shaft in place. Other Okvik examples show more pronounced wings and central body, features which set the pattern for the forms to follow. None of the Okvik examples had a central projection at the upper end. This projection became more prominent in later Old Bering Sea times and still later developed into the long central element of the trident form characteristic of the Punuk stage. A synchronous development occurred in the wings. In the Old Bering Sea stage these became larger and more rounded, resulting in graceful symmetrical carvings which are among the finest ever produced by the Eskimos. Somewhat later the wings were inclined upward instead of outward and were greatly reduced in width, the end

long, upper spurs and the periphery of the circle are bordering lines with long, sharp spurs attached. Some of the latter continue outward as long, parallel lines to which spurlike pits or gouges were attached. This is a variant of the ordinary Okvik spurred line which occurs on some Okvik artifacts from Punuk Island.

The plain little animal head carved on the end of the knife handle has a static quality somewhat unusual in Okvik art. While the Okvik Eskimos were capable of realistic carving, they showed a strong preference for fanciful or fantastic forms, especially when animals were represented. Most of the human figures are stylized, with pointed heads and unusually long, narrow noses. Animal carving, however, was not in the least standardized, but highly variable. Each was a unique creation,



Ivory winged objects (a-e) decorated in Old Bering Sea style (a, front from Rainey; b, c, d, e front and back); (f-j) winged objects decorated in Punuk style (front and back) (from Collins).

result of this metamorphosis being the graceful Punuk trident (g). In the latest of the trident forms (h) the wings were an outgrowth of the lateral elements of the central body, rather than of the original outer wings, which now became mere rudiments. The final stages in the transition bear little outward resemblance to the preceding forms. However, the essential diagnostic features are present. In the "turreted" form (i), which appeared late in the Punuk period, the wings are connected with the upright central element, and the vestigial outer wings are represented by two pairs of small triangular projections above the base. In the latest form (j) the wings have completely disappeared, leaving only the thickened body with central projecting element.

A scraper and a knife handle decorated in OBS style 1 were found at Hillside, the oldest of five prehistoric sites at Gambell (FIG. 6g, h). The engraved ornamentation differs in some respects from that found at the Okvik site on Punuk Island but is close enough to be included in the same general style. The scraper is hollow, with the edges sharpened for removing fat from sea-mammal skins. Except for the oval figure at the center, the incised decoration is strictly linear, consisting of pairs of straight or slightly curving lines, rows of short, detached lines, long, sharp spurs formed of two lines, and at the ends long, single spurs attached fringelike to curving lines.

One end of the woman's knife handle, or "ulu," is carved in the form of an animal head; the sharp teeth suggest that the artist intended to represent a carnivore, possibly a polar bear. The incised decoration is the same on both sides. At the center is a large irregular circle with two long, deeply incised spurs above and two short ones below. Flanking the

the work of an artist of skill and imagination. The virtuosity and range of artistic expression exhibited by these early Eskimo carvings is in sharp contrast to the simple and stereotyped products of the modern Eskimos. However, while the Okvik artists gave full play to their originality and imagination in carving animal forms, they adhered strictly to tradition when it came to surface ornamentation. This was also true of prehistoric Dorset art in the eastern Arctic (see below).

A good example of this contrast is a dart socket piece from Little Diomed Island (FIG. 6i). The ears, carved in high relief and wholly realistic, are those of a land mammal, possibly a caribou, but the gills are just as clearly those of a fish, while the long, straight snout is unlike that of any animal known to the Eskimos. Yet the parts are so well proportioned and the surface contours so harmoniously arranged that the carving, though a blend of the fanciful and realistic attributes of several animals, appears almost naturalistic. The engraved decoration is typically Okvik, and though simple and restrained, it was carefully planned in relation to surface contours. The eyes are cylindrical plugs of baleen, around which freehand circles were inscribed. The rounded jaws, or gills, are carved in relief, and the gill effect is accentuated by a crescent-shaped figure consisting of double lines with outward pointing, rather prominent spurs. A similar figure, less curved, occupies the lower margin of the elongated snout, and just above it is a long, straight, deeply incised line intended apparently to represent the separation of the upper and lower jaws. Rising above the ears are three pairs of straight lines that radiate outward; this is a reversed arrangement of the common Okvik motif in which three lines or pairs of lines rise from a base and radiate inward, converging

at the top. To the rear of the line hole and ears is a double-lined figure with tiny spurs attached. The decoration is repeated almost exactly on the opposite side. The two pairs of short vertical lines and intervening rows of dots undoubtedly represent tattooing. Carved human figures from the Okvik site on Punuk Island have similar tattoo marks on the cheeks.

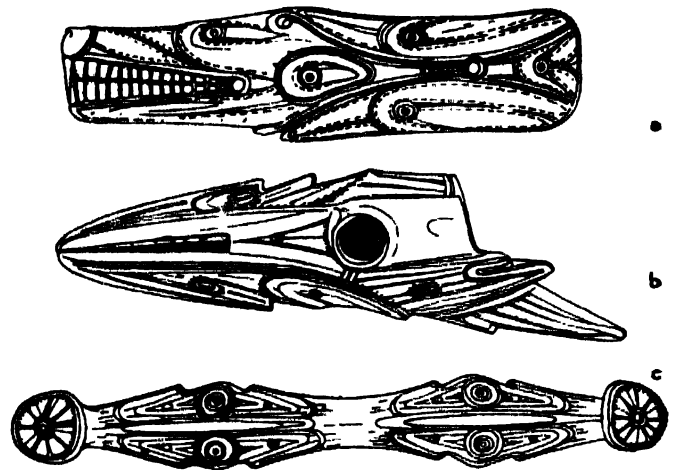
As the Diomed Island socket piece is not only a zoomorphic figure but also a hunting implement, its tattoo marks provide a clue to similar marks on Okvik harpoon heads. A recurrent design seen on many of the Okvik harpoon heads from St. Lawrence and Punuk Islands, Little Diomed Island, and East Cape, Siberia, consists of pairs of short, parallel transverse lines, usually placed above the line hole. They appear either as a single pair of short detached lines or as a vertical row of two, three, or four pairs of such lines. They are usually straight, but some from Punuk Island are curved; a variation of the design is observed on the two harpoon heads (FIG. 6c, d), which have three and four pairs of short, curved lines separated by single lines. The Okvik Eskimos attached special importance to this exceedingly simple design; on some of their harpoon heads it was the only decoration present. Moreover, the design occurs only on hunting implements — harpoon heads and the Diomed Island socket piece — which suggest that it was intended as a symbolic device, connected with hunting magic. Although the subject has not been thoroughly explored, there are strong indications that among Eskimos and other primitive peoples tattooing originally had a significance far beyond that of body adornment. For example, the modern St. Lawrence Island Eskimos tattoo a single dot on various joints of the body — wrists, elbows, shoulder joints, back of neck, middle of back, hips, knees, and ankles — in commemoration of some event such as killing a whale, a polar bear, or a bearded seal, or acting as a pallbearer at a funeral. Among the Chukchi and some other Eskimo tribes, tattoo marks were used to record homicides. Probably the early Okvik Eskimos also saw a connection between tattooing and hunting prowess. The fact that they were careful to inscribe marks on harpoon heads identical with those tattooed on their own faces suggests that they wished to endow these hunting implements with a certain magical quality that they believed to be inherent in the tattooing.

*Old Bering Sea style 2.* The second style of Old Bering Sea art was restricted to St. Lawrence and the Diomed Islands, the northeastern coast of Siberia, and the Arctic coast of Alaska. Some outstanding art objects excavated at the Ipiutak site at Point Hope were decorated in this style (PL. 1). Numerous other examples are known from Little Diomed Island, all found by Eskimos in unsupervised digging. Rudenko's excavations revealed the presence of OBS style 2 at several old sites on the Siberian shore of Bering Strait, as did the bottom levels of the large midden at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, excavated by Geist. Two old sites at Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, provided information on the stage of culture represented by OBS styles 2 and 3 and the types of implements associated therewith. These were the Hillside site, a buried village near the bottom of the mountain slope, and Miyowagh, a large midden on the gravel plain immediately below the slope. Three houses were excavated at the Hillside site. Two contained only Okvik material; at the third Okvik and OBS style 2 were found in association, the style 2 artifacts above the floor and the Okvik artifacts both above and below. Okvik art was not found at the Miyowagh midden, decorated objects there being either OBS styles 2 and 3, mainly from the lower levels, or Punuk, from the upper levels. The food economy, hunting practices, and general way of life of the later Old Bering Sea Eskimos were the same as in the Okvik period. Human burials found at Miyowagh and at Old Bering Sea sites in Siberia show that these early ancestors of the Bering Strait people were typically Eskimo in physique, with the extremely long, narrow, and high skull characteristic of the distinctive, northern Eskimo of today.

Both OBS 2 and Okvik employed the same design elements: spurred, double, and broken lines, concentric circles, and circles

set between converging lines. Moreover, a number of undecorated implement types are common to both stages, and there are several types of harpoon heads, elaborate and complicated in form, which have been found sometimes decorated in Okvik style and sometimes in style 2. Finally, in some cases the designs are so blended that it is difficult to say whether they are Okvik or style 2. The principal difference is that in style 2 the straight lines with small triangular spurs that had dominated Okvik art were almost completely discontinued and more emphasis was placed on curved lines and circles. There was also a strong tendency for the circular elements to be set in as panels, carefully placed in relation to carved surface contours, and for the decoration as a whole to display balanced symmetry.

This symmetry is well illustrated by an ivory pail handle from Little Diomed or St. Lawrence Island (FIG. 10c). Four



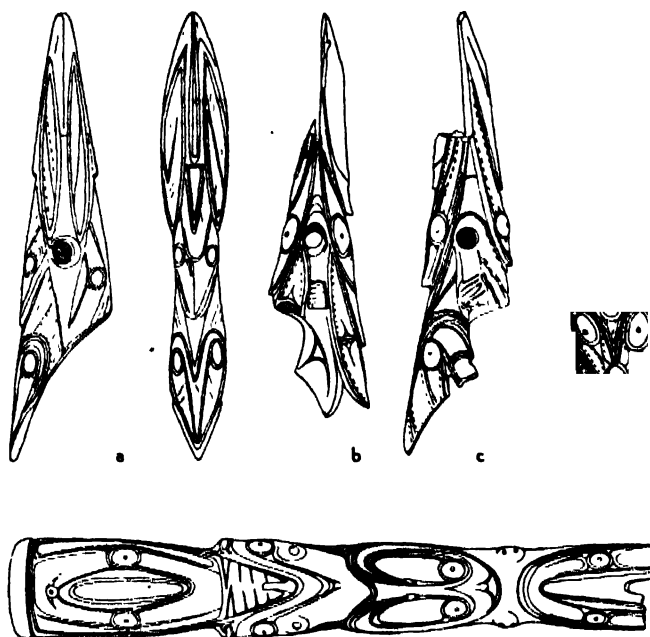
Ivory objects decorated in Old Bering Sea style 2: (a) ornamental plaque from St. Lawrence Island; (b) harpoon head, from Little Diomed Island; (c) pail handle, from Little Diomed or St. Lawrence (?) Island (from Collins).

independent and identical unit designs — ovoid panels containing nucleated concentric circles separated by longitudinal openings — occupy the areas to the right and left of the constricted center. A fringe of short spurs is attached to the periphery of each circle, in addition to pairs of double lines which radiate outward with a small nucleated circle enclosed at the apex. Tiny spurs occupy the narrow space between the double lines. At either end is a flat, circular protuberance, a medallion-like ornament composed of a large outer circle with inward-pointing spurs, a raised central boss enclosed in a smaller circle, and straight lines extending from center to periphery. The individual design elements are as characteristic of Okvik art as of style 2; but the composition of the design, particularly the symmetrical arrangement of its circular components, places this object in style 2.

Although the harpoon head from Little Diomed Island (FIG. 10b) is larger and heavier than the Okvik heads from St. Lawrence and Punuk Islands, its structural features are typically Okvik, including the curious inward slant of the upper part of the basal spur to the left of the line hole, and the serrations, appearing almost like small barbs, along the edges. The design elements are those of Okvik art, but the decorative treatment as a whole, with its emphasis on curved lines, circles and ovals, is that of OBS style 2. The effectiveness of the design is enhanced by the three panels, each decorated differently, to the left of the line hole; these accentuate the structural angles of the carving and at the same time create a unity of design. The uppermost panel has the appearance of an animal's head, with an elongated, downward-pointed snout and with small, nucleated circles one on either side, for eyes.

A more realistic animal representation is that on the ornamental plaque from Miyowagh on St. Lawrence Island (FIG. 10a).

The circular holes connect with slots on the underside, showing that it was intended to be attached as an ornament to some flat surface, possibly the visor of a wooden hunting helmet such as that used by the south Alaskan Eskimos and Aleuts. The animal head is probably that of polar bear. The eye is formed by a nucleated concentric circle enclosed by two pairs of lines that come together below a rounded elevated pit representing the ear. The surface decoration is largely contained in panels. The two largest, if viewed together, might represent a fish or mammal, with open mouth, enclosing or "swallowing" the smaller ovoid panel at the center. The same two panels, if viewed separately, have the appearance of bird's heads, one with beak pointed upward and one downward. The streaming



Ivory objects decorated in Old Bering Sea style 3, from St. Lawrence Island: (a-c) harpoon heads (a, front and profile); (d) pail handle; (e) harpoon socket piece (from Collins).

lines behind the eyes produce a distinctly avian impression. C. Schuster has another explanation for this carving: The figure as a whole is that of a highly conventionalized bear; the small "ladder" design at right of center is a misplaced rudimentary backbone, comparable to those shown more realistically on two other animal carvings, one a polar bear from the Hillside site at Gambell and the other a small walrus figure from Ipiutak. The eyes on the body of the figure he would interpret as misplaced joint marks, homologous to the circular pits used as joint marks on the Eskimo bear and walrus carvings and on many animal figures of Scytho-Siberian art. The identification of these eye designs as joint marks seems entirely reasonable in view of Schuster's demonstration that, in addition to the use of circular pits as joint marks by the prehistoric Eskimos, simple circles were used for the same purpose by the modern Eskimos, just as in Scytho-Siberian art.

A splendid example of abstract animal sculpture is an ulu (woman's knife handle; PL. 2), probably from St. Lawrence or Little Diomed Island. In the absence of incised decoration it cannot be identified as to period, though the rich chocolate-brown color of the ivory suggests OBS. The polar bear figure is little more than legs and neck. In exaggerating its two most pronounced characteristics and in minimizing its body, the artist through bold distortion created a form that is the very essence of a polar bear. A bold line curving above the shoulder emphasizes the importance of the forelegs and contributes to the general sense of motion. A slate blade that is rounded at the front and pointed at the rear, instead of crescent-shaped as usual, adds to the feeling of motion and unites blade and handle in an organic whole.

*Old Bering Sea style 3.* In this style the primary emphasis was on elevated circles and ellipses, usually arranged to suggest the eyes of an animal. Its principal elements are straight and curved lines, broken lines, circles, and ovals. Style 3 may be regarded as a simplification or adaptation of style 2; spurred lines, spurred circles and ovals, and small circles set between converging lines, all so prominent in styles 1 and 2, almost completely disappeared in style 3. The circles became larger and the curved lines bolder, resulting in a style of ornamentation that was smoother, more flowing, and on the whole more graceful than style 2.

Style 3 was applied more frequently to harpoon heads than to any other class of objects. In the closed-socket harpoon head probably from St. Lawrence Island (FIG. 11a), two "animal heads," one above the other, are depicted on the basal spur and at the center to the left of the line hole. The paired eyes are large concentric circles surmounting low, rounded elevations. They were incised freehand and have short spurs attached sparingly to the periphery of the outer circle. Absent is a pit to represent the pupil at the center of the eye. In the upper figure the "snout" standing out in low relief accentuates the appearance of an animal's head. To the right of the line hole, on either side, is another elevated circle, set between streaming lines; in this instance there was no attempt to suggest an animal head, the purpose of the circles being merely to balance the design. Decoration above the line hole was restricted to pairs of continuous lines and broken lines forming long, ovoid panels pointed at either end.

In the open-socket harpoon heads from Miyowagh (FIG. 11b, c) pairs of concentric circles are again the most important part of the decoration. In c they combine to form three "animal heads," two along the edges at the right and left of the line hole and one on the basal spur. In b only two "heads" are represented; here the eyes are distinctly oval rather than circular, and the snouts are longer. Three small independent design elements are used to fill out the basal portion.

The harpoon socket piece from St. Lawrence Island (FIG. 11e) is one of the few instances in which anatomical features were added to the conventional design to produce a clearly recognizable animal head. The eyes are elevated concentric circles, and the accompanying lines are those usually present in Old Bering Sea art. But in addition there are ears carved in low relief, a more prominent snout with nostrils, and long, sharp teeth. In combination these form two opposed animal heads — apparently polar bears — from the open jaws of which protrudes the upper part of the socket piece. The inner angle of the jaws is skillfully arranged to accommodate the opening for a thong to hold the foreshaft. Behind the animal heads is a graceful bilobed two-eyed figure suggestive of a flattened-out fish head, and opposing it is another figure of somewhat similar design. In the space between them, on the sides, are two small protuberances representing animal heads but featureless except for pairs of drilled holes for eyes. The forepart of the socket piece is decorated with two concentric nucleated circles separated by a series of concentric ovals with a small spurred circle at the front.

Of the many splendid products of Old Bering Sea art, none perhaps can match a beautiful winged object collected in 1880 by Capt. E. P. Herendeen (PL. 2). It is reported to have come from Point Hope on the Arctic coast of Alaska and is the largest and most elaborate example of the winged artifacts. In the base of the central section is a square pit or socket about  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. deep for receiving the harpoon shaft, and at the top is a triangular pit about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. deep to engage the spur at the end of the throwing board. The circles on the wings are raised and have a drilled pit at the center, but they are not arranged in pairs and there is no attempt to show them as eyes; the circle at the center is flat. The wings are divided into three sections by deeply incised straight lines, forming panels which stream away obliquely from the raised central body. Each panel contains a large circle which, with its attached streaming lines, is suggestive of a comet; the circles thus intensify the feeling of motion produced by the oblique alignment of the panels themselves. The three short, equidistant spurs on each circle contribute

to the same effect, for they are carefully placed on the outer arc of the circle, extending outward between the streaming lines. The outer margins of the wings are plain, except for five widely spaced circular pits. The margins are set off by broad, curving lines which enclose the decorative field; these outer curves, the curves inside, and the straight lines terminating in deep notches on the upper and lower margins of the wings were all carefully planned to utilize to best advantage the graceful curves and angles of the carving. The decoration on the two wings is as nearly identical as is possible in freehand engraving; the result is perfect bilateral symmetry of form and design.

In the winged object and other style 3 pieces described, a noteworthy feature is the careful balance and restraint with which the curvilinear motifs were applied. The designs owe much of their effectiveness to the manner in which they were placed in relation to open spaces. They stand out prominently, because adjacent surface areas were left plain and smooth. As a result, style 3 appears more spacious, more boldly symmetrical than style 2, in which open spaces are generally avoided and the designs contain a larger number of lightly incised lines, small circles, and spurs, a direct heritage from style 1.

The ivory pail handle from Miyowagh (FIG. 11d) is an exception to the general rule of OBS style 3, that is, an alternating arrangement of curvilinear motifs and open spaces. Instead there is a profusion of closely spaced, elevated concentric ellipses which, with accompanying linear elements and marginal indentations, produce a feeling of life and movement perhaps unsurpassed in Old Bering Sea art. Although the outer panels, with their pointed ends and large central "eyes," suggest a series of animal heads, the composition as a whole looks more like a tropical plant or feather design, a result surely unintended by the artist. From the point of view of artistic continuity in the Eskimo area, it is of interest to observe that the arrangement of the essential design elements on this typical Old Bering Sea piece is exactly the same as on an ivory object decorated in early Punuk style from Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island. In the simplified Punuk design the nucleated ovals became dots (drilled pits) and the bands of continuous and broken lines enclosing the ovals became single lines, with the dots and lines occupying precisely the same positions as the corresponding elements of the Old Bering Sea design.

**Punuk culture.** The Punuk culture was partly an outgrowth of OBS and partly the result of new influences received from Siberia. The type site of the culture was a large midden 16 ft. deep on Punuk Island. Although only  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the buried Okvik site already described, it had no connection with this much older culture, as typical Punuk culture material was found from top to bottom of the midden. The chronological position of the Punuk culture in relation to the preceding Old Bering Sea was revealed by excavations on St. Lawrence Island at three old sites at Gambell — Miyowagh, Ievoghiyoq, and Seklowaghyaget and at Kukulik. Punuk sites are also known at a number of other localities on St. Lawrence Island. These sites are considerably more numerous and much larger than those of the Old Bering Sea culture, indicating a marked increase in the Eskimo population on St. Lawrence in the Punuk period. Elsewhere in north Alaska and Siberia the distribution of Punuk culture coincides with that of Old Bering Sea, representative sites or material having been found on the Diomed Islands, the opposite coast of Siberia, Cape Prince of Wales at Bering Strait, and the Arctic coast of Alaska. Although the Punuk culture as such has not been found south of St. Lawrence Island, there are close resemblances between Punuk art and that of the modern Eskimos of southwest Alaska, from Norton Sound south to Bristol Bay.

Radiocarbon analysis of wooden artifacts from Ievoghiyoq, the pure Punuk site, and from the Thule-Punuk site at Cape Prince of Wales gives dates for the Punuk culture ranging from  $607 \pm 360$  to  $1047 \pm 145$ . These compare with  $307 \text{ B.C.} \pm 230$  for Okvik and A.D.  $257 \pm 150$  for later Old Bering Sea.

The houses of the Punuk people were constructed in the same manner as those of the preceding period but were larger. Many of the Old Bering Sea implement types, mainly the simple

utilitarian forms, continued unchanged into the Punuk period. However, developmental changes occurred in harpoon heads and parts, bird darts, arrows, fishline sinkers, ice creepers, knives, adzes, sled runners, needle cases, and the winged objects. In addition, certain implements appeared quite suddenly in the Punuk period, evidently as importations from Siberia; for instance, several kinds of harpoon heads, bird bolas, wrist guards, bow braces and sinew twisters for the sinew-backed bow, plate armor, bone and ivory daggers, heavy ivory net sinkers and fishhooks, ivory pendants and link ornaments, and iron-pointed engraving tools. Implements of chipped stone, which had been abundant in the Old Bering Sea stage, were almost completely replaced by those of rubbed slate. Although the Punuk Eskimos were in all practical respects a Stone Age people, they had some knowledge of metal. This is shown not only by the deeply and evenly incised lines and compass-made circles of Punuk art but also by the presence of several of the iron-tipped engraving tools with which they were made, as well as by composite knife handles with very small sockets, evidently designed for metal blades. When iron was first introduced in small quantities, it was apparently so treasured that it was used only for the most delicate work, such as engraving. This was also true of Ipiutak, another Stone Age Eskimo culture considerably older than Punuk. The ultimate source of this early Eskimo iron was probably central Asia. That iron had reached the primitive tribes along the north Pacific coast of Asia by the 3d century is indicated by a reference in Chinese literature to iron armor that the Chinese court received in A.D. 262 as tribute from the Su-shen, a barbarian tribe living somewhere to the north of Korea. If the Su-shen, essentially a Stone Age people, possessed iron in this quantity, tribes farther to the north in Siberia, neighbors of the Eskimos, would probably also have had some knowledge of the metal. There would thus have been ample opportunity for iron in small quantities to reach St. Lawrence Island in the Punuk period.

It cannot be proved that iron was not also used by the Old Bering Sea Eskimos. But if the engraved designs of Old Bering Sea art were the product of iron tools, it is difficult to understand why they were so different in technique from those of the Punuk. The Old Bering Sea lines and circles, always somewhat uneven, could have been made with stone tools, while those of the Punuk stage could only have been made with metal. If iron was first introduced on St. Lawrence Island in the Punuk period, as seems likely, it had an immediate and unfortunate effect on art. Perhaps because of the ease with which the lines could be engraved, the designs became simpler and more rigid; thus began the process of simplification, or degeneration, in art on St. Lawrence Island, ending about 200 years ago with its disappearance.

In Punuk art stylistic changes occurred which, correlated with changes in implement types, are useful in tracing the pattern of cultural development on St. Lawrence Island during the later stages. Information on the chronological relationship of the several phases of Punuk art comes mainly from the three Gambell sites. The earliest examples of Punuk engraving, mostly harpoon heads, came from Miyowagh, where it was found in association with Old Bering Sea, though generally at higher levels in the midden. The decoration consisted of nothing more than lines, rather lightly incised, which followed the same paths as the lines which on OBS harpoon heads had served to divide the surface into decorative fields. Structurally also these early Punuk open-socket harpoon heads represented the first stage in the transition from Old Bering Sea. They retained the graceful outlines of the OBS heads, with irregular basal spurs and small curving ornamental barbs along the edges; they also had small rounded elevations at the right and left of the line hole, clearly survivals of the OBS "eyes."

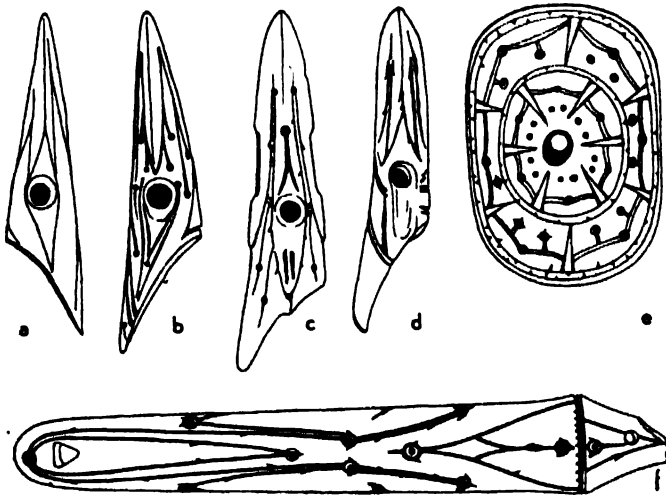
A somewhat later stage is represented by the closed-socket harpoon head from Miyowagh (FIG. 14a). The structural features are those of an OBS head even to the rounded eminences beside the line hole corresponding to the earlier "eyes."

Another harpoon head (FIG. 14b) from Ievoghiyoq (St. Lawrence) represents a more developed stage of Punuk ornamentation; the lines, terminating in drilled pits, are much more deeply

incised. An open-socket harpoon head of antler (FIG. 14c) from Cape Kialegak at the east end of St. Lawrence Island, has a decoration consisting of cleanly cut lines, spurs, and dots. Deep sockets for side blades were cut in the edges. The lines of the decoration follow the same general pattern of those on OBS heads, including the inverted Y figure above the line hole, which is a simplified variant of the earlier triangular design made up of a series of converging lines in the same position.

Still another phase of Punuk art is illustrated by the closed-socket harpoon head from Ievoghiyoq (FIG. 14d). Here the distinguishing characteristic is the form of the spurs, which are deep gouges attached obliquely to the lines.

Nucleated circles form an important part of Punuk ornamentation. The circles, however, are very different from those



Ivory and antler objects decorated in Punuk style: (a-d) harpoon heads, from St. Lawrence Island; (e) spindle buzz from St. Lawrence Island; (f) knife handle, from Punuk Island (from Collins).

made by the Old Bering Sea Eskimos. The earlier circles, inscribed freehand, are always somewhat irregular in outline; they are usually concentric and often have a number of short spurs attached to the periphery; they also vary considerably in size. The Punuk circles are uniform in shape and usually about  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in diameter. They are single, never concentric, from which it may be assumed that they were made with bits with two fixed points rather than compasses with movable points. A few prominent spurs were usually attached to the circles, possibly a survival of the longer streaming lines of OBS circles. The circles on the knife handle from Punuk Island (FIG. 14f) are spurred in this manner, with motion and direction implied by the arrangement of the lines to which they are joined. A more static arrangement of small nucleated spurred circles and bands of straight and curving lines is shown on the ivory spindle buzz from Seklowaghyaget (St. Lawrence; FIG. 14e).

A few realistic whale and seal figures, sleds and kayaks, and simple, stylized human figures have been found at Punuk sites, but none of them can be compared with the carvings of the Old Bering Sea Eskimos. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that one of the masterpieces of Eskimo ivory sculpture should come from the Punuk culture midden on Punuk Island (PL. 3). The figure is that of a pregnant woman, with long torso and prominent abdomen, long pendant breasts, and very short legs and forearms. The head and feet are broken off. The soft curves and the careful modeling make this perhaps the finest representation of the human form known in Eskimo art. The arms, and particularly the forearms, with hands like rounded stubs, lack the grace and realism of other parts of the body. Careful attention to anatomical detail is shown in the modeling of the straight, flat back and the full, rounded abdomen, small buttocks, and short, thick thighs; the small rolls of fat at the hips are a further touch of realism. The hips

themselves are very narrow, and the buttocks may seem small to the point of distortion. However, Eskimo women do have narrow hips and small buttocks. It is these features, together with the pendant breasts and remarkably short thighs, that make the carving so peculiarly Eskimo. A series of transverse incisions on the upper arms and shoulders and remnants of three such incisions across one breast may be interpreted as tattoo marks. Eskimo women on St. Lawrence Island were sometimes tattooed in similar fashion on the arms and breasts. The marks on the ivory figurine are also closely comparable to the tattooing on Eskimo women from Angmagssalik, East Greenland, which consisted of rows of dots covering the upper arms from shoulder to elbow, with three or four rows of similar dots on the right breast.

An incision was made through the upper part of the left breast, which suggests that the figure was suspended inside the house. It may have been an "idol," similar in purpose to the human figures, crudely carved in wood, which the modern St. Lawrence Eskimos use in whaling ceremonies and then burn or throw away. The head and feet of the Punuk figurine were probably broken off intentionally, to "destroy" it after it had served its purpose.

*Ipiutak culture.* One of the most important and certainly the most puzzling of all prehistoric Eskimo cultures is the Ipiutak, discovered in 1939 by F. Rainey, H. Larsen, and L. Giddings at Point Hope on the Arctic coast of Alaska. It falls outside the culture continuum thus far described, though its art was closely related to that of Old Bering Sea. Ipiutak was a village of more than 600 houses, the largest Eskimo site known in the Arctic. The houses were made entirely of driftwood and were rounded-square in shape, with a side entrance. The floor was slightly below ground level, and each house had a central fireplace, four upright roof supports, and low sleeping platforms along three sides. Despite its tremendous size, there are no indications that the site had been occupied for any long period of time or that one house was appreciably older than another. The houses were arranged in long rows, none of them overlapping or superimposed, and the refuse deposit on the floors was so thin as to suggest a very short occupancy, possibly no more than a single season. Moreover, it was impossible to detect any cultural differences in the houses, as the material from all parts of the site was quite uniform. Animal bones in the houses were mostly those of walrus and seal, which suggests that the Ipiutak site may have been the spring and summer settlement of a migratory people who spent the winter hunting caribou in the interior.

The Ipiutak were the only Eskimo people who did not use lamps, driftwood being their only fuel. They also lacked such typical Eskimo features as sleds, pottery, harpoon floats, bow drills, and rubbed slate blades. However, a closely related culture phase at the same site, called Near Ipiutak, possessed lamps, pottery, and rubbed slate implements, as well as whaling harpoon heads. In the Ipiutak culture, implements of chipped stone occurred in great numbers, some of them similar to those of other prehistoric Eskimo cultures, others resembling types from neolithic sites in Siberia.

Ipiutak implements in ivory, bone, and antler were more elaborate, both in form and ornamentation, than those of any other Eskimo culture. Most remarkable were the implements and ornaments found with burials; these included elaborate nonfunctional arrowheads of antler and curious openwork ivory carvings in a wide variety of forms, some resembling pretzels and others nonfunctional swivels (FIG. 17a, b). Some of the Ipiutak animal carvings and designs closely resemble those of Scytho-Siberian art, and a connection with the Siberian Iron Age is further indicated by resemblances in burial practices and ceremonial, as well as by the presence of a few fragments of iron which on analysis proved to be of Siberian origin.

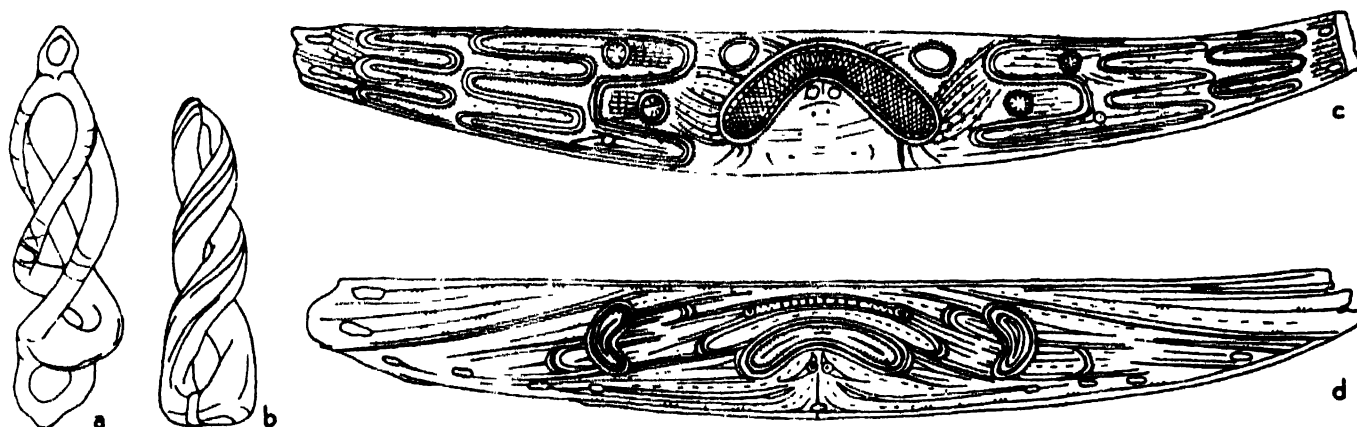
The Ipiutak culture proper is known thus far only from the type site at Point Hope, though related forms of culture have been found at Kotzebue Sound, Seward Peninsula, Norton Sound, and Kuakwim Bay. The presence of an Ipiutak-like culture in the area south of Bering Strait in prehistoric times,

together with additional ethnological parallels, suggests that the culture of the Bering Sea Eskimos in the region between Norton Sound and the Alaska Peninsula was established on an Ipiutak-like foundation. However, the closest resemblances to Ipiutak are to be found in the Old Bering Sea culture. Although Ipiutak art has some stylistic features of its own, it employed the same design elements as OBS, and many objects bear typical OBS ornamentation. In addition, many Ipiutak implements are identical or closely similar in form to OBS implements.

The archaeological evidence indicates that Ipiutak was somewhat later than Old Bering Sea. The many implement types which the two share and the presence of typical examples of OBS art at Ipiutak cannot be the result of mere contact between the two cultures, for they form an important and integral part of the Ipiutak. Moreover, if cultural contact were the explanation, Ipiutak would also have influenced Old Bering

to form a grotesque human face. The eyes, on the upper band, are circles surmounting low elevations with jet inlays at the center; the nose, with prominent nostrils, is a separate carving. The mouth is formed of two sections held together by worm-like cleats, and similar cleats were probably used to unite the side and upper sections of the frame. Two circular jet inlays below the mouth may be regarded as labrets. There is a small animal head with eyes and nostrils of jet inlay carved in low relief between the eyes, and similar heads are represented at the lower ends of the side pieces. Two-line tattoo marks are present on each of the animal heads. Other decorative features are drilled pits and nucleated spurred circles, pairs of curving lines, and two elevated concentric circles forming wheel-like figures. Here again we have a combination of Ipiutak and OBS design.

While Ipiutak engraving was closely related to OBS en-



Ivory objects decorated in Ipiutak style, from Point Hope, Alaska; (a, b) nonfunctional swivels; (c, d) decorative bands (from Larsen and Rainey).

Sea. But none of the features diagnostic of Ipiutak has been found at the numerous OBS sites in Siberia and Alaska, and two objects found at Ipiutak show that Old Bering Sea contributed to Ipiutak but not vice versa. The two are fragments of winged artifacts like those in FIG. 7c and d. One was decorated in OBS style 2, and the other, a worn fragment, seems to be OBS style 3. These winged objects, present at every known OBS site, represent a complete developmental sequence, a series of related forms, one following another, from the earliest stage of Old Bering Sea into the Punuk. At Ipiutak, however, they are conspicuously absent, except for the two fragments, which can only be explained as relics. The radiocarbon dates confirm the archaeological indications for the priority of Old Bering Sea: 307 B.C.  $\pm$  230 for OBS style 1 (Okvik), A.D. 257  $\pm$  150 and A.D. 327  $\pm$  230 for OBS styles 2 and 3, and A.D. 194  $\pm$  200 to A.D. 506  $\pm$  200 for Ipiutak.

The two ivory bands (FIG. 17c, d) found with an Ipiutak burial at Point Hope illustrate the relationship between Ipiutak and OBS engraving. In one of them the design, though rather crudely executed, would be described as Ipiutak, particularly the central part, apparently an animal head with a large, turned-down, whiskered mouth and prominent eyes, and below it a schematic face and detached design elements that probably represent tattooing. However, the short spurs attached to some of the lines, usually in groups of two, are specifically Okvik, while the concentric circles (the eyes) and the other circular elements are characteristic of Ipiutak, Okvik, and OBS style 2. In the second plaque the basic concept of the design is the same, but the decoration is more carefully organized and more skillfully executed. Here again we have elements of all three styles appearing on the same object.

One of the most elaborate examples of Ipiutak art is the set of masklike ivory carvings from a grave at Point Hope (PL. 1). It consists of seven sections, fitted together in the form of a hollow square, which had been fastened to a wooden background, possibly as a coffin ornament. The sections combine

graving, its sculptural art shows equally close affinities with the Scytho-Siberian animal style of northern Eurasia. Ipiutak motifs corresponding to those of the Bronze and Iron Age Eurasiatic animal style are the skeleton design showing ribs and backbone; pear-shaped bosses as joint marking; griffin heads; realistic and fantastic animal heads as terminal decorations on artifacts; inlays; circles and pits as joint marks on animal figures; detached animals' legs and hoofs; and finally, bear heads between outstretched paws. The last-mentioned design occurs on rakelike ivory objects of unknown use; in one from Point Hope the bear's head resting between its paws is strikingly similar to the design represented on bronze brooches of the Pianobor type from the Molotov (Perm) Region and Yamal Peninsula in east Russia and Siberia. Larsen found another, more elaborate example of this type of object at an Ipiutak culture site at Point Spencer, Seward Peninsula (PL. 4). It is 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. long, pointed at one end, and has as an attachment a hinged bar with four openings which fit over four toothlike projections on the undersurface below the head and feet of the bear. Above the bear's head are two smaller animal heads facing inward, and at either side are two others facing outward. The eyes of the animals and the centers of the smaller circles are all drilled pits designed to hold inlays of jet, baleen, or wood. Tattooing on the bear's face is indicated by pairs of short parallel lines on the cheeks and by a V-shaped figure with a circular pit between the eyes. On the top of its head are two nostrils and a mouth, which with the bear's eyes form another animal head facing in the opposite direction; it has single-dot tattoo marks on the cheeks. Surface ornamentation consists of an unusual combination of small spurred circles between converging lines, rows of connected nucleated circles, and a profusion of curving spurred lines, dotted lines, and rows of triangles. All are features of Ipiutak art, but this is the only instance in which they are found together on the same object. In some ways the decoration is more suggestive of modern Alaskan Eskimo art than of Ipiutak. The object was



found at the bottom of a fairly recent midden and is described as representing a new phase of Ipiutak culture characterized by the more frequent use of iron and by relatively little flint. It may, therefore, represent a late survival of Ipiutak design, a transition between classic Ipiutak and modern Eskimo art.

The virtuosity of the Ipiutak artists is nowhere better displayed than in the remarkable openwork ivory carvings that are so characteristic of the culture. Over 200 of these curious objects were found at the Point Hope site, four fragmentary examples from houses, the others from graves. Many of them are in one way or another related to swivels (FIG. 17*a, b*); some, though greatly elaborated in form, could actually have functioned as such, while others were completely nonfunctional, intended apparently as fantastic distortions, merely suggestive of swivels. Another class of openwork carvings consisted of ivory chains, often with one or more ornamental links. Others were in the form of animal heads, the one most frequently depicted being the loon. The origin and function of these openwork carvings are not known. The most likely explanation is that they formed part of the shamans' ceremonial regalia, imitations in ivory of iron objects which Siberian shamans wore as appendages to their clothing.

**PREHISTORIC ART OF SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST ALASKA.** The coastal regions of south and southwest Alaska — Bristol Bay, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound — were more densely populated than any other Eskimo area. The Aleutian Islands and adjacent mainland alone are estimated to have supported a population of some 20,000 at the time of the Russian discovery in 1741. To judge from the large number and size of the old village sites, particularly those on Kodiak Island and the Aleutian Islands, the population was equally great in prehistoric times. Radiocarbon dates of approximately 700 B.C. for the early period — Kachemak Bay I — in Cook Inlet, and 1000 B.C. for early Aleut culture on Umnak Island confirm archaeological indications that the southern Eskimos and Aleuts had settled in their present territory prior to the development of the OBS culture around Bering Strait.

The region of south and southwest Alaska was unusually rich in animal life, especially marine animals, which provided an abundance of food, furs, and skins for clothing and boat covers, and bones for tools, weapons, and other implements. Driftwood was available for house building and other purposes, and an ample and varied flora provided plants for food, as well as grasses for the basketry and fine weaving so characteristic of the area.

Despite the density of population and the generally high level of culture, there was nothing in this region comparable to the long succession of prehistoric art styles that archaeology has revealed in northern Alaska. In the south we find relatively little ivory carving, mainly because there were few walrus except around Bristol Bay. The southern Eskimos and Aleuts did exhibit considerable skill in bone carving, but their weapons and implements were either left plain or decorated with simple designs consisting usually of straight lines, spurs, circles, and dots. We assume that the artistic efforts of the prehistoric Aleuts and southern Eskimos, like those of their modern descendants, were directed mainly to wood carving, painting, and weaving. But such objects are perishable and have not been preserved; this is no doubt one reason why prehistoric art in this part of Alaska compares unfavorably with that of the more northern Eskimos.

The prehistoric art of the southernmost Alaskan Eskimos, the Chugach of Prince William Sound, was very simple. Stone lamps, oval to round in outline, resembled those of Cook Inlet and Kodiak Island but lacked ornamentation of any kind. Bone artifacts were occasionally decorated with spurred-line designs like those of the northern Eskimos, but the compass-made circle and dot apparently had not reached Prince William Sound. Pictographs made with red hematite were painted on cave walls, the figures being mainly stylized representations of human and animal forms and of men in boats. Also present at early Chugach sites are triangular stone plaques with notched

edges and beach pebbles incised with fine-line crosshatching and other geometric ornamentation.

The culture of the prehistoric Eskimos of Cook Inlet, immediately to the north, was similar in general configuration to that of Prince William Sound but considerably more advanced in art. Simple, straight-line ornamentation on bone artifacts is somewhat more frequent, and there are also a few human heads and figurines skillfully carved in ivory. There are numerous examples of rock paintings in caves. Stone lamps were carefully made, and sometimes human figures and whales were carved in high relief on the bowls.

The Eskimo inhabitants of Kodiak Island, the Kaniagmiut, are estimated to have numbered originally about 10,000. Information on their prehistory comes mainly from Hrdlička's excavation of a huge midden up to 19 ft. in height at Uyak Bay on the north coast of the island. Art products of the early Kodiak Eskimos consisted mainly of small bone and ivory carvings of mammals, fish, and human heads and figures. Harpoon heads and other artifacts were occasionally decorated with rather simple incised designs, and stylized human figures were engraved on slate pebbles. Petroglyphs carved on granite cliffs and boulders along the shore include numerous examples of stylized human faces, as well as geometric designs and somewhat naturalistic representations of human figures and whales. Stone lamps, which were found in large numbers at the Uyak site, were ovoid to circular in shape. A number of them bore incised ornamentation on the sides, the base, or inside the bowl, the designs representing whale flukes, animal heads, or simple, geometric line arrangements.

The Aleuts, inhabitants of the long chain of islands extending more than 1,000 miles westward from the Alaskan mainland, are the most divergent members of the Eskimo family. Although their language is recognized as basically Eskimo, 3,000 years of isolation have so modified it that it is about as far removed from mainland Eskimo as English is from German. In physical type and culture their closest affinities are with the Kodiak Eskimos. As in the case of the latter, the archaeological record reveals but a fraction of their highly developed material culture. Fragments of baskets, finely woven matting, and wooden boxes and bowls preserved in dry burial caves show that the earlier Aleuts, like those of later times, were highly skilled in the arts of weaving and woodworking and in the manufacture of hunting implements, which were usually made of bone, less frequently of ivory. Stone-tipped lance or dart heads were elaborate in form, with a row of small barbs along each side and a surface decoration of lines, spurs, or nucleated circles. In the earliest period the decoration consisted mainly of short transverse X, V, and zigzag lines, which in combination resemble Dorset geometric designs from the eastern Arctic, as well as those of Upper Paleolithic art. Another Dorset parallel was the Aleut practice of carving a small human head near the base of the dart.

**MODERN ALASKAN ESKIMO ART.** In prehistoric times the center of western Eskimo art was the region around Bering Strait. In the historic period the Eskimos of south and southwest Alaska, with their elaborate wooden masks and utensils, and wide variety of ivory carving, are the most advanced in art. On St. Lawrence Island the decline in ivory carving and engraving, which began in the Punuk stage, reached its culmination in the protohistoric period about 200 years ago. Since that time the St. Lawrence Island Eskimos have produced hardly anything that could be described as art, and their tools, weapons, and utensils are more crudely made than those of any other Alaskan Eskimos. The same is true of their kinsmen in Siberia, the Yuit, with the notable exception that the latter in very recent years have become highly proficient in a new art: realistic representations of animals, people, hunting scenes, and other activities, delicately engraved on walrus tusks. The workmanship of the modern Diomed Islands Eskimos is relatively good, and some of their box handles and other small ivory carvings display considerable skill; they and the Eskimos of King Island and Cape Prince of Wales produce the best ivory carvings for the tourist trade.

In considering modern Alaskan Eskimo art, one must first know to what extent it is based on the prehistoric art styles. The decorative art of the Alaskan Eskimos north of Bering Strait is very simple, mainly incised surface ornamentation with spurred lines, the Y figure, and occasionally the compass-made circle and dot. These motifs had their origin in prehistoric Eskimo art. The nucleated circle was derived from the Punuk culture and the Y figure from the Thule-Punuk stage as represented at Bering Strait. The spurred-line motif probably originated in OBS style 1. In the older art the design was extremely variable, whereas in modern Eskimo art it is stiffly conventional, appearing usually as a double line with inward-pointing alternating spurs, a design which has become fixed and stereotyped through centuries of use.

The decorative art of the Eskimos of southwest Alaska, from Norton Sound to Bristol Bay, is very different. There is a much more elaborate form of ornamentation that seems to represent a blend of two quite dissimilar art styles, Ipiutak and Punuk. The Punuk elements include nucleated circles, often concentric and spurred on the outer periphery, straight, deeply incised lines, either single or in bands; and detached dots. They differ from prehistoric Punuk mainly in the organization of the design; they are usually single, detached elements or, if connected, they are repetitive, whereas in the older Punuk art they formed part of a continuous, unified design. In southwest Alaska the Punuk motifs occur most frequently on such objects as ivory earrings, belt fasteners, thimble guards and needle cases, bodkins, snuff tubes, and ornaments for hunting helmets. The southwest Alaskan motifs most closely resembling Ipiutak are human and animal eyes, which have a somewhat realistic appearance because of triangular appendages at the sides. Other parallels appear in zoomorphic carvings.

In addition to the skill displayed in the manufacture of numerous small ivory carvings, the modern southwest Alaskan Eskimos also excel in woodworking, painting, and weaving. The women make finely woven grass bags and mats, as well as skin workbags with embroidered decoration. With driftwood the men produce a wide variety of utensils. Tool boxes and snuff boxes, provided with tightly fitting covers, are often carved in the form of a seal or other animal or embellished with human faces and decorative ivory inlays. On most of the wooden utensils part of the surface is painted red and many of them are decorated with figures of seals, caribou, or mythological or fantastic animals painted in black. Skin boats, both umiaks and kayaks, often have full-sized figures of the mythological water monster, *palraiuyuk*, painted on the sides, and paddles are decorated with bold designs in black and red.

In the elaborate wooden dance masks of the Yukon-Kuskokwim region modern Eskimo art may be said to have reached its peak. No other Eskimo art products or handicrafts reveal so clearly the inner characteristics and the artistry of these gifted people. Here in a remarkable combination of abstract representation and grotesque fantasy we have evidence of the Eskimo sense of humor, both robust and subtle, of their sprightly imagination, and their technical virtuosity. Also, since the primary purpose of the dance festivals in which the masks were worn was to propitiate the spirits controlling the universe and bring success in hunting, the masks provide insight into Eskimo religion and cosmology.

The masks were made for use in special ceremonials, the most important being the great mask festival, *Agaiyunuk*, of the Eskimos south of the Yukon, and the "Inviting-in" feast, *Ithukaguk*, celebrated from Norton Sound southward. At the conclusion of the festivals the masks were burned. Some masks represent totemic animals or the *inua* (souls) of game animals and other creatures; others are the grotesque faces of supernatural beings the shamans are believed to have seen in their visions. These may be the *yua*, the spirits of the elements, of places, or of inanimate objects; or the *tunghat*, wandering spirits of evil character whom the shamans are able to control. Some of the masks are comic, designed to move the spectators to laughter; others are serious and are worn in honor of the animal whose *inua* is to be appeased.

The masks are extremely complicated in form, with representations of human arms and legs, parts of animals, or entire animals attached to the central body or face (PL. 6). Some of the appendages are mobile, so as to vibrate with the movements of the dancer. Various parts of the masks are painted white, red, black, green, or grayish-blue, and many of them are decorated with feathers or a halolike fringe of caribou hair. Most of the masks are made to appear as grotesque and fantastic as possible, mainly through bold distortion and exaggeration of the facial features. The eyes are usually of different size and shape while the nose and mouth are misplaced or otherwise exaggerated. Sometimes, as in a mask from Norton Sound (PL. 7), one of the eyes is replaced by a small human face. The eye-face occupies more than half of the entire right side and bisects the nose, which is of normal size and shape. The left eye, though bulging and sharply oblique, is also somewhat realistic in appearance. The mouth projects strongly forward and has widely spaced pegs for teeth. Two wooden hoops, split for the attachment of feathers or other decorative appendages, surround the mask. In carving this mask, the artist was able to achieve a fine balance and harmony between naturalism and fantasy.

Little is known of the dance masks of the Aleuts, as their use was prohibited by the early Russian missionaries. From burial caves, however, Pintar and Dall recovered a number of large, heavy mortuary masks entirely different from those of the Eskimos. They were straight across the top, with rather small round or oval eyes, heavy eyebrows, an enormous nose, and a wide mouth with inserted pegs for teeth. They were ornamented with incised and painted spirals and other simple geometric designs in black, green, and red.

The Prince William Sound Eskimos made two kinds of masks, both relatively simple and standardized in appearance, in contrast to those of the Bering Sea Eskimos, which were highly complex and variable. The first type of mask was square in outline and flat, with a long, straight slit for a mouth, round eyes, and a wedge-shaped nose carved in low relief. The second type ranged from oval to a narrow triangular form with rounded base and long, pointed top. In these masks the carving was abstract, with the facial features rigid, angular, and stylized. The eyebrows, slanting downward, were given special emphasis; in some cases they descended in a bold sweep to the level of the nostrils. The nose itself was long and more or less rectangular, and the mouth was usually a small, round opening. Kodiak Island masks resembled these in some respects but were brightly painted and had elaborate feather attachments like those of the Bering Sea Eskimos.

In keeping with their fondness for personal adornment — facial painting and tattooing and elaborate labrets and nose and ear ornaments — the Aleuts and south Alaskan Eskimos also took great pains to decorate their clothing. The long outer garment, or parka, was made from the skins of birds and mammals embellished with embroidered leather bands and tassels, as well as strips of ermine and sea otter skin, caribou hair, eagle down, and colored worsted attached at the seams. Waterproof garments, *kamleika*, were made from translucent ribbonlike strips of seal, sea lion, and bear intestines and were decorated with narrow strips of skin and fringes of hair, fur, and cloth sewn in at the seams. Gut-skin pouches and containers of various kinds were decorated in a similar manner.

The art of basketmaking was far more highly developed in south Alaska than in areas to the north. The Prince William Sound and Kodiak Island Eskimos made handsomely decorated, waterproof baskets of spruce roots similar to those of the Northwest Coast Indians. The men wore conical basketry hats, decorated with painted designs, white and colored beads, dentalium shells, and sea-lion whiskers on which beads were strung. The most beautiful baskets were those of the Aleutian Islanders. Made by the twining technique and employing strands of the beach grass *Elymus mollis*, the smooth, silky-textured baskets of the Aleuts are recognized as probably the finest ever made by a primitive people. Also noteworthy were the wooden hunting helmets and eyeshades worn by the Aleutian and Kodiak men. These were made from a single driftwood board,



scraped very thin and bent into shape, with a long, projecting visor in front and the ends sewed together at the back. The outer surface was richly ornamented with painted designs in white, red, black, green, blue, and yellow, as well as with ivory carvings of various kinds, sea-lion whiskers, feathers, and glass or amber beads. At Prince William Sound wooden bowls and other utensils were carved in animal form and decorated with dentalium and bead inlays. The Kodiak and Prince William Sound Eskimos decorated their wooden spear throwers with relief carvings of animal and other figures; on Kodiak Island wooden quivers were painted red, overlaid with neat geometric designs in black.

The modern Alaskan Eskimos north of Norton Sound, who were not otherwise noted for artistic ability, produced one of the best-known forms of Eskimo art: small silhouette engravings on ivory and bone. It is essentially a modern form of art, one that came into vogue in the decades immediately following the arrival of American whaling ships in the middle of the 19th century. However, a few simple examples have been found at a prehistoric Thule-Punuk site at Cape Prince of Wales, Bering Strait, and at Thule culture sites in the Canadian Arctic. Arrow straighteners, bucket handles, net shuttles, and powder horns were occasionally decorated with pictographic designs, but the objects most frequently selected for the purpose were ivory bow-drill handles, workbag handles, and pipes. The best examples of pictographic art are those from Norton Sound; the style of engraving on the Arctic Ocean coast from Kotzebue Sound to Point Barrow appears heavy and crude in comparison.

The designs consist of small hachured figures, into which charred grease from the seal-oil lamp was rubbed to produce blackened silhouettes on the white ivory. The figures almost invariably rest on a baseline representing the ground or the surface of the sea. The pictographic designs are remarkable for their sprightly action and the accuracy with which they depict every aspect of Eskimo life. Typical examples are shown on bow-drill handles from Point Spencer, Seward Peninsula, and Golovin Bay, Norton Sound (PL. 8). At the extreme left of one is shown an elevated storage platform, then four caribou or reindeer being pursued by two dogs and three men. Behind them are two heavily loaded dog sleds, two men with arms on hips, a man spearing a polar bear, another carrying a staff, a man walking with a staff and dragging a dead seal, and six others walking with packs on their backs. The engraving on the opposite side is a vivid pictorial record of an important change that occurred in Alaskan Eskimo culture about the end of the 19th century: the introduction of domesticated reindeer. The Alaskan Eskimos did not domesticate the native caribou and had no reindeer until 1892, when the government began to import these animals from Siberia, along with some Norwegian Lapps to train the Eskimos in reindeer management. The first figure at the left is that of a sled drawn by two reindeer, something new to the Eskimos, who previously used only dogs as draft animals. Next are seen two men standing beside a dome-shaped tent. The man on the right is clearly recognizable as a Lapp because of his characteristic short coat with flaring bottom and tricorne-shaped headgear. The Eskimos were intrigued by this strange costume and always showed it when depicting a Lapp. Their own clothing, however, they took for granted; in the drawings which represent the Eskimos themselves there is no attempt to show clothing, the figures always appearing as if naked. To the right of the Lapp herders are two tethered reindeer and a dog guarding them. Next are five reindeer being attacked by a dog team while the driver pulls back on the sled, trying to restrain them. This little scene illustrates one of the problems of reindeer domestication in Alaska — the Eskimo dogs were constantly harassing the deer. Behind the sled are four Eskimos in animated pose, an Eskimo dwelling, and meat or skins hanging out to dry.

The second bow drill, from Golovin Bay, Norton Sound, shows an American sailing vessel, another favorite subject of Eskimo pictographic art. To the right of the ship is an Eskimo kayak, white men (always identified by their broad-brimmed hats) in two boats coming ashore, and six others standing beside two of their canvas tents. The figures at the left represent an

Eskimo summer camp scene: a fish net stretched out to dry, fish drying on a rack, four conical skin tents, an Eskimo cooking over an outdoor fire from which the smoke is rising, and an umiak turned on its side, supported by its paddles.

Another surface of the bow drill shows, at left: a man with a sled, two men cutting up a walrus, a man with outstretched arms, and three others with harpoons in hand running toward a fourth man, who is spearing a seal through its breathing hole in the ice, while a smaller, crouching figure approaches from the right. At the center five men are shown pulling an umiak over the ice on a small hand sled. To the right, a whale is being harpooned by a man in an umiak as another throws overboard the inflated sealskin float attached to the harpoon line, and a second umiak with five men approaches the hunting scene. Next is a small figure of uncertain meaning, and at the extreme right, an underground house with a man standing at the entrance with upstretched arms. The third side shows three Eskimo winter houses and an elevated storehouse, a tent with several people inside, and outside, an umiak being launched, two men wrestling, two men dancing, two others drumming inside the kashim, or dance house, and a man standing outside; above are two unidentified figures. At the right is a hunting tally, 13 whale flukes presumably representing whales killed by the owner.

Although pictographic engraving is perhaps the best-known form of Eskimo art, it was actually limited to a relatively small area in northwestern Alaska and was produced on a large scale for only a brief period, the latter half of the 19th century. About the turn of the century a new style of pictorial art appeared in the same area, stimulated in large part by white teachers in the Eskimo schools. This consisted of skillfully drawn and completely realistic human and animal figures, hunting scenes, etc., lightly incised on ivory tusks and showing perspective. These engravings, like the equally fine small ivory carvings made in more recent years for the tourist trade, are authentically Eskimo in style, though made primarily for commercial purposes.

**PREHISTORIC ART OF ARCTIC CANADA AND GREENLAND.** There were two prehistoric art styles in the central and eastern Arctic, the Thule and the Dorset. Thule art is simple and meager, consisting of an occasional decoration of straight lines, spurred lines, and Y figures incised on harpoon heads and other artifacts. As it differs in no way from modern north Alaskan Eskimo art, it requires no further description. The particular significance of the Thule culture was that it spread eastward to Canada and Greenland and formed the principal basis for modern Eskimo culture in those regions.

**Dorset culture** The Dorset Eskimos were gifted artists who developed a remarkable style of ivory carving, unlike that of any other part of the Arctic. The Dorset culture was first discovered, or recognized, by D. Jenness in 1925, on the basis of material in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, that had been excavated by Eskimos at Cape Dorset on Hudson Strait and Coats Island in Hudson Bay. Since then a considerable number of Dorset sites have been discovered, from Newfoundland in the south, north through Baffin Island and the Hudson Bay region to the islands of the Arctic Archipelago, and in all parts of Greenland. Some of the Dorset sites had been reoccupied by the later Thule Eskimos.

Radiocarbon dating and archaeological evidence indicate a long time span for the Dorset culture. A radiocarbon date of 675 B.C. has been obtained for an early Dorset site on Southampton Island, but the culture was still in existence in modified form in the central Arctic when the Thule-culture Eskimos arrived from Alaska about the 12th century. Although Dorset and Thule occupied the same territory, the two cultures differed in many ways. Dorset harpoon heads, knife handles, and other implements are small and delicate, and most of them are deeply patinated. Implements of chipped stone, most of which would be described as microlithic, greatly outnumber those of rubbed slate. The Dorset Eskimos had no knowledge of the bow drill or of the bow and arrow, and, having no dogs, they had no dog sleds for winter transportation; they used small hand-drawn

sleds. Their weapons, tools, and other implements were distinctive in appearance and entirely different from those of the Thule Eskimos. The Dorset people hunted seals, walrus, polar bears, caribou, foxes, hares, birds, and fish, but not whales. They lived in semisubterranean stone houses and probably also in skin tents. Stone implements, particularly those from the earliest Dorset sites, are closely similar to those of recently discovered pre-Eskimo cultures in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. These earlier cultures, like the Dorset, are microlithic and have definite affinities with mesolithic cultures of Eurasia. While the basic roots of the Dorset culture may be traced to this early period, its most distinctive features, including its unique sculptural art, are no doubt of local origin.

One of the principal problems of Eskimo archaeology is the extent to which Dorset may have influenced later Eskimo culture in the central and eastern Arctic. The dominant form of harpoon head in the central area, and also a form of side-bladed lance, can be shown to have been derived from Dorset prototypes, and the same may have been true of the stone house. Also, as will be shown later, it seems likely that some features of modern Angmagssalik art originated in the Dorset culture.

The first point to be noted is the striking contrast between Dorset incised geometric design and carving in the round, the former being simple and uniform, the latter complex and variable. Incised ornamentation consisted mainly of a simple arrangement of straight and oblique lines, X's, and chevrons. A favorite design was a stylized rendering of the skeleton, with an X for the head, transverse lines for vertebrae and scapulae, slanting lines for ribs, and longitudinal lines for the leg bones. A somewhat similar design is found in Ipiutak art. With the Dorset artists this simple motif became something like an *idée fixe*; it occurs repeatedly, not only on human and animal figures but on other objects, particularly small ivory spatulas, at widely separated Dorset sites in Canada and Greenland.

Dorset sculptural art included both animal and human forms. The animal carvings, of ivory or bone, were always small and usually quite lifelike. Some, however, were stylized, while others embodied something of the grotesque; frequently the inside of the animal would be more or less hollowed out by means of slots cut through from side to side and from all directions, so that the animal figure appeared as an open framework. Some of the small carvings are grotesque in the extreme, others are more realistic but have an air of caricature, while all are highly original. An excellent example of Dorset sculpture is the ivory figurine collected on Southampton Island by the late Capt. H. Toke Munn (PL. 9). The broad, round face, wide, flat nose, and large mouth are typical of Dorset art. The body, disproportionately small and slender and with incurved arms and legs, is more abstract, and there is no clear indication of its sex. The incisions on the arms probably represent tattooing; the vertical lines on the thighs and the short transverse lines at the knees are, no doubt, part of the familiar skeleton motif, and the same is probably true of the lines on the torso.

Perhaps the most original and ingenious of all Dorset works of art are the curious antler and wooden carvings with multiple human heads and faces. Five of these carvings have been found, three in Canada and two in Greenland. On one of the wooden specimens from the Umanak district of Greenland (PL. 10) are carved more than twenty long, narrow faces and heads that are much more European in appearance than Eskimo. The other Greenland example, also of wood, is from Disko Bay and contains seven grotesque human heads and faces, two of which represent death heads. Of the Canadian examples, two are from the Igloodik area, Melville Peninsula. Both are of antler, one with seven and one with twenty-eight faces, most of which are short, broad, and typically Eskimo in appearance; some, however, are longer and narrower and are more suggestive of the Indian or European countenance than the Eskimo. The third Canadian specimen, in some ways the finest of the group, was collected by L. A. Learmonth on Prince of Wales Island and is now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (PL. 9). It is of antler and contains one head and six faces carved in relief; at the top is a typically Dorset schematic face of triangular

outline. The four faces in the center are short, broad, and Eskimo in every respect; they might even be described as caricatures of Eskimo physiognomy. The face at the upper left is longer, but the features are still Eskimo. Of greatest interest, however, are the two faces at the bottom and the upper right, which have not the slightest resemblance to the Eskimo. The artist seems to have attempted, with success, to portray the features of two contrasting racial types. The remarkably handsome face, or head, at the bottom — perhaps the finest example of realism in prehistoric Eskimo art — is clearly neither Eskimo nor Indian, but European. The face, the dominant element of the whole composition, is that of a young man with strong features but pleasant and smiling. The face at the upper right is that of an older man, also with unmistakable European features. The only Europeans the prehistoric Dorset Eskimos could have seen were the Norsemen, who settled in southwest Greenland about the end of the 10th century and remained there for some 500 years. It is quite likely that the Norsemen, the most venturesome seafarers of their time, extended their explorations across Davis Strait to Arctic Canada; but, except for this carving, there is no evidence that they did. If the two faces on the carving are indeed Norse, as seems highly probable, it means that the Dorset Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic were in direct contact with the Norsemen. This carving, then, may be a document of some historical importance, a unique record that owes its existence to the talent of a Dorset Eskimo artist.

On a masklike carving, about 1½ in. long, from Alarnerk, Melville Peninsula, collected by J. Meldgaard, eyes, nostrils and mouth are indicated by gouged holes, and the entire face is covered with horizontal lines representing tattooing. It belongs to a late period of Dorset culture and is of particular interest because of its probable relationship to modern Angmagssalik carvings from Greenland, described below.

**MODERN GREENLAND ESKIMO ART.** West Greenland Eskimo art, as compared with Alaskan, is simple and of limited scope. Wooden utensils, hunting implements, and eyeshades are decorated with bone inlays. Needle cases and other bone and ivory objects are ornamented with simple engraved designs consisting of spurred lines, concentric circles, and Y figures. The most common decoration is produced by drilling, with the small round holes arranged in rows or covering the entire surface of the object. Small ivory human and animal figures and buckles and buttons in animal form are the work of the men, while the women excel in skin embroidery and headwork (IV, PL. 8).

Isolated on the east coast of Greenland, the Angmagssalik Eskimos have produced a series of highly individual art forms which in range and technical proficiency rival those of the Bering Sea Eskimos. Like the west Greenlanders, the Angmagssalik Eskimos have made a variety of small ivory carvings decorated with rows of drilled pits and other surface designs. Most noted, however, is their wood carving, ivory-relief ornamentation, and skin embroidery. Wooden ladles, buckets, tubs, and dishes are decorated with bone and ivory inlays along the rims and with numbers of small ivory carvings of seals, whales, and human figures attached to the sides. Especially notable are the wooden eyeshades, many of them completely covered with small ivory carvings and ornamental strips and bands of ivory. Skin bags and pouches have been made in a wide variety of forms, richly ornamented with skin embroidery, and skin clothing is decorated in similar fashion.

Wooden dolls for the most part are carved abstractly, without arms. Other wooden carvings are grotesque representations of mythological animals and monsters. These usually have deeply incised lines on the face representing tattooing and similar lines on the body representing the ribs and other bones of the skeleton. Wooden masks and other carvings also have deeply incised tattoo marks across the face much like those on Dorset carving. Equally reminiscent of Dorset is the grotesque nature of the wooden carvings of mythological creatures and the tattoo marks and skeleton design associated with them (PL. 11). A Dorset origin may be supposed for these aspects of Angmagssalik art, especially since prehistoric Dorset cultures sites have been found in the Angmagssalik area.

**MODERN CANADIAN ESKIMO ART.** Since the disappearance of the Dorset culture in the central Arctic about the 12th or 13th century, the Canadian Eskimos have produced nothing noteworthy in art until quite recently. In keeping with the relative simplicity of their material culture as a whole, their art products were limited to a few decorated objects and to some rather simple, small ivory carvings of human and animal forms (see CANADA). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that we should witness a renaissance of Eskimo art in this particular region. In 1949 a young Canadian, J. A. Houston, under the auspices of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, began to encourage the Eskimos to make soapstone and ivory carvings as part of a government-sponsored program to develop Eskimo handicrafts for sale in Canada. The experiment proved successful beyond all expectation. Eskimo hunters who previously had been little concerned with art began to produce stone sculptures which found immediate acceptance with art connoisseurs and the buying public. From Cape Dorset and Pangnirtung on Baffin Island, Port Harrison and Povungnituk in Ungava, and other remote Eskimo villages of the eastern Canadian Arctic, the Eskimo carvings flowed into the headquarters of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in Montreal. Aware of the pitfalls inherent in such a venture, Houston took precautions to avoid artificiality and cheapening of the product; the Eskimos were urged to record in stone and ivory, in their own way, only those subjects with which they were intimately familiar. Consequently the carvings, varying in style from near realism to almost complete abstraction, reflect faithfully the world in which the primitive Eskimos live and the activities that are part of their everyday life.

Three carvings (PL. 12) show how the Canadian Eskimos, with no training in sculpture, have been able to extract life and meaning from the inert stone: at the upper left an Eskimo hunter hauls in a seal he has harpooned; at the right a man pulls a heavy sled across the ice. This figure reflects the Eskimos' remarkable faculty for expressing dynamic action in abstract form. Below, five men, burdened with heavy packs, march along at slow pace in single file.

Houston began his work among the Eskimos at Cape Dorset, the type locality of the prehistoric Dorset culture, and the Eskimos of that settlement have consistently produced some of the finest of the stone and ivory carvings. It seems peculiarly appropriate that the Eskimos of this locality, formerly the center of one of the most vigorous and original art styles ever known in the Arctic, should take the lead in creating a new form of Eskimo art, one that is in its own way as vital and authentically Eskimo as any before.

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Illustrations: PLS. 1-12, 7 figs. in text.

**ESTHETICS.** The term "esthetics" has had a variety of meanings that must be borne in mind if the complexity of the subject is to be understood properly and appreciated. Originally, esthetics meant "the theory of sentient knowledge," a meaning that also accorded with the etymology of the word. The most widely accepted meaning today, "the theory of the beautiful and of art," originated with Alexander Baumgarten. In his *Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad poema perti-*

*mentibus*, published in 1735, he was the first modern thinker to treat esthetics as a special area of study. The term was later to become the title of his large work *Aesthetica*, two volumes of which were published in 1750 and 1758; this study, as projected, was never completed. Baumgarten so designated the theory of artistic beauty because he conceived of art as sentient knowledge in a very precise sense. Thus the two common meanings of the term could be fused in a single definition. For Kant, however, such a fusion was impossible. In his interpretation of esthetics Kant explicitly recognized only the theory of sentient knowledge and, more specifically, only within the context of a priori intuitions of space and time, which he discussed in the first part of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Kant was later to discuss theories of the beautiful and of art primarily in the *Critique of Judgment*, where he did not resort to the term "esthetics."

The difficulty involved in a conception of esthetics as both a theory of sentient knowledge and a theory of art is revealed in the writings of Baumgarten himself. The distinction made in his work between sensible facts (*τὰ αἰσθητά*) and intellectual facts (*τὰ νοητά*) led him to consider esthetics as an "inferior epistemology," even though it deals with the "perfectio cognitionis sensitivae, qua talis" that is beauty (*pulchritudo*). On the other hand, in order to fit the requirements of a theory of art, the concepts of sensation and of sentient fact must be interpreted in a broader sense and must be integrated with the concepts of fantasy and visionary imagination. This extension leads in turn to a large problem that differs from the purely epistemological one.

Prior to Baumgarten's use of the term "aesthetica," theories of artistic beauty had been given other names. Aristotle spoke of "poetics" (see PHILOSOPHIES OF ART) and "rhetoric," which for Baumgarten became two specialized disciplines deriving from esthetics. Greater precision of language was impossible because of the ambiguity of the concept of art (see ART), which at various times had encompassed the fine arts, technique, and even liberal arts (*theoria liberalium artium*). An even more difficult problem concerning the character of esthetics arose in the history of thought when increasing emphasis was placed on the distinction between science and philosophy. Previously esthetics had been considered a typical philosophical discipline — so much so that it became essentially a synonym for the "philosophy of art." Since the late 19th century, however, and particularly in recent years, there has been a tendency to stress the empirical character of this discipline and thereby to characterize it as a "science of art."

It is this variety of meanings associated with the term which must be remembered whenever the history of esthetics is reviewed and its fundamental problems are examined. It is a history in which the very mutability of the concept makes it extremely difficult to perceive an unequivocal direction and logical evolution; therefore systematic treatment of the topic is practically impossible. The various strains are revealed in their wide heterogeneity and are so intermingled that their reduction to a single unifying theme is obviously impracticable. In a large measure this maze explains the rarity of works on the history of esthetics from which one might acquire sound orientation in the subject. The complexity of the problem increases when one turns from Western to Oriental esthetics, which may be divided into three broad areas: Islamic, Indian, and Chinese. It should be understood that in these Oriental contexts the term "esthetics" refers to a subject whose scope differs greatly from that of our Western tradition.

SUMMARY. Esthetics in the Western world (col. 29): *Esthetics in antiquity*; *Modern esthetics*; *Contemporary esthetics*. Oriental esthetics (col. 59): *Islamic esthetics*; *Indian esthetics*; *Chinese esthetics*.

ESTHETICS IN THE WESTERN WORLD. *Esthetics in antiquity*. Greek esthetics originated in Greek philosophy itself, that is, with the pre-Socratics, beginning with Thales. At first, however, it amounted only to random references or incidental theories that did not succeed in gaining autonomy or in establishing a tradition. Subsequently, the rise of the Pythagorean

school led to a more complex and systematic view of the subject, in which the principle of harmony was hypostatized and posited as the foundation of a metaphysical conception that was also an esthetic conception of reality. It was primarily in the theory of musical harmony that the motif of catharsis first appeared, a theme which was to become fundamental — albeit in a different sense — in Aristotelian poetics. The problems of esthetics, however, became subject to explicit and systematic examination only with the Sophists, Socrates, and Plato. It is in Plato that the true origins of esthetics must be sought, as well as the initial awareness of the many and diverse aspects of the subject. All the fundamental themes recurring throughout the history of esthetics were very likely elaborated or at least anticipated by Plato, including those which were in conflict with his own philosophical system and which for that reason have generally been overlooked by historians. Nor should such interest and comprehension occasion surprise when one recalls the enormous importance that beauty and art acquired in the Greek conception of life. At no other time in the history of civilization have esthetic concerns attained such prominence and influence, directly or indirectly conditioning all aspects of the intellectual and spiritual life of a society. The work of Plato represents the highest expression of this spiritual quest. In his writings philosophy becomes art, with profound intuitions and perceptions that suggest the processes of artistic creation rather than empirical investigation. Both the existent notions of esthetics and most of those which were to follow were included in Plato's work. As a result, his writings assumed a central position in the development of esthetic theories and continued to provide valuable insights in the subsequent course of esthetic philosophy.

The esthetics of Plato may be interpreted in the light of that philosophy which conceives of the world as a reality presupposing human activity — a reality to which man must submit and adapt himself. The emphasis is placed entirely on the object rather than on the subject. Translated into the language of art, this principle meant that the artist does not create but limits himself to imitating. "Mimesis," or imitation, became the essential principle not only of Plato's esthetics but also of that of the entire ancient world, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. It is "reality" that conditions the artist, who contemplates and then reproduces it. First he approximates the earthly reality and afterward represents the more genuine and constant heavenly reality, of which the terrestrial version is but a pallid reflection. This was the source of the famous doctrine of art as imitation of an imitation and of the equally famous condemnation of art by Plato, particularly in Book X of his *Republic*. In order to clarify his idea of the imitator, Plato cites the example of the three types of beds: "... one existing in the nature of things, which is made by God, as I think that we may say — for no one else can be the maker?" 'No.' 'There is another which is the work of the carpenter?' 'Yes.' 'And the work of the painter is a third?' 'Yes.' 'Beds, then are of three kinds, and there are three artists who superintend them: God, the maker of the bed, and the painter?' (*Republic*, 597b). The artist, therefore, is "third in the descent from nature." He cannot but be "a long way off the truth," and he and his fellows can only be "the companions and friends and associates of a principle within us" that does not accord with reason. Hence the artist, and in particular the poet, is destined to produce only harm and "therefore we shall be right in refusing to admit him into a well-ordered State, because he awakens and nourishes and strengthens the feelings and impairs the reason. As in a city when the evil are permitted to have authority and the good are put out of the way..." (*Ibid.*, 605b.)

Since the task of the artist is mimesis, or imitation, it is plainly unproductive and harmful. It might be added that such a conception necessarily leads to a fundamental dualism between the beautiful and art, inasmuch as true beauty is to be apprehended only in the world of Ideas and is therefore pursued vainly by the artist, constrained within the inescapable limits of his earthly experience. Art can only attest the need, the aspirations, and the futile endeavor to reach the level

of actual reality and unalterable value. Such a dualism between the beautiful and art in Plato foreshadows the esthetics of the mystics, although his works do not evidence peculiar awareness of the consequences of this dichotomy.

Nevertheless, the theory of art expounded in his *Republic* and in other dialogues characterizing the concept of mimesis hardly exhausts Platonic esthetics; rather, the mimetic theme was destined to remain marginal in the light of the more comprehensive conception of art that emerged from later dialogues, the *Ion* through the *Laws*. Moreover, even in the *Republic*, which contains the most peremptory condemnation of art, Plato is careful to caution that only imitative poetry should be banished summarily from the ideal state (*ibid.*, 595a). Obviously, this was tantamount to saying that there could be a nonimitative art and that such art was not to be excluded and condemned. If certain standards were imposed, even Homer might be censured; but his work would be no less charming and enchanting because of such criticism. One must be on guard and yet remain accessible to an exceptional lofty experience. Plato himself discusses the nature of this uncommon experience near the end of the *Ion*, where the argument revolves directly around Homer and his interpreter. The artist — and here Plato is referring to poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, and dancers — is transported to an extrarational, indeed a superrational, world and toward realms of divine harmony and rhythms. Here the poets "bring songs from honeyed fountains, culling them from the gardens and dells of the Muses; they, like the bees, winging their way from flower to flower. And this is true. For the poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him: when he has not attained to this state he is powerless and he is unable to utter his oracles. . . . [Therefore] God takes away the minds of poets, and uses them as his ministers, as he also uses diviners and holy prophets, in order that we who hear them may know them to be speaking not of themselves who utter these priceless words in a state of unconsciousness, but that God himself is the speaker, and that through them he is conversing with us. . . . These beautiful poems are not human, or the work of man, but divine and the work of God; and that the poets are only the interpreters of the gods by whom they are severally possessed. Was not this the lesson which God intended to teach when by the mouth of the meanest of poets he sang the best of songs?" (*Ion*, 534.)

The poet has a "mysterious power," for in his reflection gives way to a divine impulse that causes man to transcend mortality. When the artist is under its sway, reason is of no use and must remain silent. The artist is no longer imitating; on the contrary, he is "inspired" and is therefore partaking of the divine. The concept of participation in or identification with the divine replaces the goal of mimesis, and art unites the poet, the interpreter, and the audience in a transcendent experience. Art and the criticism of art emanate from the same divine impulse, without which poetry can be neither created nor enjoyed. The most extensive and finished formulation of this conception is found in the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, where art is given third place among the four kinds of divine madness and is linked to the fourth and final madness, which is love. The wise man cannot write poetry, for it is necessary first of all for him to court insanity. Still, this does not mean that the divine madness of art is an evil, for it is also "a divine gift, and the source of the chiefest blessings granted to man" (*Phaedrus*, 244b). At one point, Socrates himself is seized by this madness and exclaims: "'And now, dear Phaedrus, I shall pause for an instant to ask whether you do not think me, as I appear to myself, inspired?' 'Yes, Socrates, you seem to have a very unusual flow of words.'" Then Socrates adds: "' . . . for surely the place is holy; so that you must not wonder if, as I proceed, I appear to be in a divine fury, for already I am getting into dithyrambs'" (*ibid.*, 238c,d).

Through his concept of madness "dispensed as a divine gift," Plato enters the realm of shared experience, opening the way to mystic themes of grace and ecstasy. Even slight reference to these problems indicates how much Plato has in-

fluenced the history of esthetic thought, both ancient and modern. The concept of participation, like that of imitation, permitted Plato to retain an objectivist view of reality and yet remove the object from its temporal context to an ideal, even spiritual, plane. The poet expresses a reality that is not a subjective creation but an abstraction based upon rational perceptions. With this definition Plato seems to sustain his efforts to set philosophy above art as a mental discipline. In its effects, however, his extrarationalism possesses divine attributes and therefore cannot help but be essentially superrational. Paradoxically, in order to maintain the primacy of philosophy, Plato finds it necessary to unite it with the divine madness of love. Truth was no longer merely a question of the sensory revelation of the idea but was also to be linked with a kind of revelation that would permit Plato to perceive the intrinsic unity of the good, the true, and the beautiful.

A subjective tenor, a polemical attitude that was also to affect the unity of his idealization of reality, was injected into Plato's esthetics by his disputes with the Sophists. In fact, the earliest form of humanism originated with the Sophists, deriving from affirmation of the human subject that imparts something of itself to objective reality and thereby alters its milieu in accordance with its own ends. It was evident then that art could not remain identified merely with the concept of mimesis; besides straightforward imitation, there was another human purpose to be served by manipulating reality. The techniques of rhetoric, sophistry, and oratorical eloquence assumed new importance. For the first time the dualism between reality and the semblance of reality also became apparent, that is, between objective reality and reality in the subjective aspect which is ordinarily presented.

In the dialogue *Menexenus* Plato presents Aspasia as a model teacher of rhetoric. He confronted the problem more explicitly in the *Georgias*, where he sought to devise a peremptory definition of rhetoric. "Rhetoric," he says, "is the artificer of a persuasion which creates belief about the just and unjust, but gives no instruction about them" (*Georgias*, 455a). Hence rhetoric is capable of departing from truth and persuading on the basis of appearance only. It is a "verbal art" which is realized in discourse and which gives rise to opinions that have no basis in objective reality; therefore it is an art of flattery whose purpose is to induce approbation and consent. Being a utilitarian art, rhetoric is principally of service to the politician, who would persuade others to pursue his own ends. The criticism to which Plato subjects rhetoric is entirely negative and arbitrary. When Polus asks Socrates whether rhetoric treats of noble or ignoble matters, Socrates without hesitation replies: "Ignoble, I should say . . . for I call what is bad ignoble" (*ibid.*, 463d).

Beyond the condemnation of rhetoric itself, there arose a question that has agitated the history of esthetics ever since. This problem involved the relationship between "content" and "form." Form is distinct from content and can make the latter appear different from what it really is. By means of form the rhetorician "creates" a subjective work or effect that does not correspond to actuality. It is true that he deals with words, which are merely the extrinsic aspect of content (consider here the concept of ornamentation); nevertheless, these words can persuade others to believe in the illusory and to act accordingly. On the other hand, flattering words do provide pleasure and give the rhetorician an undeniable power of attraction, even though such a use of words might be condemned. Plato resolves the question by affirming that pleasure must be subordinated to the good and concludes that "rhetoric and any other art should be used . . . and all actions should be done always, with a view to justice" (*ibid.*, 527c). But to acknowledge the value of rhetoric, even if only instrumentally for an admirable purpose, signified a basic acceptance of the problem as it had been formulated by the Sophists. Such a concession also permitted the intrusion of the concept of form into the theory of art — an autonomous concept from which philosophy has not been able to free itself even in our times. Thenceforth sophistry and rhetoric were never to relinquish their claims on esthetics.



"Always use rhetoric with justness" is an injunction that ultimately permits Plato himself to endow art with another reason for existence, that is, its didactic possibilities. The problems of the relation between art and education had been raised in the *Republic*, but when it was taken up again in the *Laws*, there was no longer any suggestion of condemnation. On the contrary, here Plato explicitly affirmed the indispensability of this relationship. Music, the dance, and the chorus are highly praised for their educational value, and without further ado art now becomes the great teacher of life. This rather sharp turnabout must be attributed primarily to acceptance of the conception of the harmonious relationship of art and life, according to the Pythagorean tradition as envisioned by Plato. As a result, he opened the door to recognition of the educational capacity of rhetoric and to the synthesis of instruction and pleasure, which was later to characterize the pedagogical theory of art. The pedagogical consequences of the conception of art as a unity of the good, the true, and the beautiful are manifest. This type of pedagogy persists in the history of esthetics whenever special efforts are not made to sustain the autonomy of art. On the other hand, the pedagogical value of art in the Platonic conception is corroborated by the fact that the true and the good in artistic expression elicit feelings similar to those which accompany the rational process but which go beyond reason itself, constituting the *πάθος* ("pathos," in its specialized usage in esthetics: the quality of emotions or experiences that are personal, therefore transient and subjective) of more profound and intense experience.

After Plato the esthetics of the ancient world found its most influential exponent in Aristotle, who gave systematic structure to the theories of the beautiful and of art and also extracted them from the general philosophical system. Even though it had been enriched by new themes, however, Aristotle's view of the problem remained substantially linked to the Platonic conception, whose fundamental principles it simply elaborated upon. Aristotle retained in particular the objectivist premise of classical metaphysics and its necessary esthetic corollary of imitation or mimesis: that is, art can only imitate. Indeed, for Aristotle imitation became the first principle in the *Poetics*, which dogmatically opens with the peremptory assertion of the identity of art and imitation. He fixed the primal cause for the origin of poetry in the human desire to imitate reality. "Imitation," he says, "is natural to man from childhood, one of his advantages over the lower animals being this, that he is the most imitative creature of the world and learns at first by imitation. And it is also natural for all to delight in works of imitation." (*Poetics*, 1448b.) Imitation therefore is an "instinct" of the artist; in fact, it is common to all men, who cannot create but merely take note of reality and know it only by imitating. "The truth of this second point," Aristotle adds, "is shown by experience: though the objects themselves may be painful to see, we delight to view the most realistic representations of them in art, for example, the forms of the lowest animals and of dead bodies. The explanation is to be found in a further fact: to be learning something is the greatest of pleasures not only to the philosopher but also to the rest of mankind, however small their capacity for it; the reason of the delight in seeing the picture is that one is at the same time learning — gathering the meaning of things, e.g., that the man there is so-and-so." (*Ibid.*)

In this passage from Aristotle we find an adumbration of contemporary neorealism — note the emphasis on realistic representation; it is a theme which has become part of the heritage of common sense and which remains valid in current esthetic judgments. This emphasis furnishes fresh proof (if it were necessary to adduce any more) of the possibility of tracing the common-sense analysis of experience back to Aristotle. The explanation for Aristotle's theory probably lies in the fact that in the writings of Plato art had already been placed in the classification of *τέχνη* ("practical skills"), so that painting and music might be put on the same plane as medicine or agriculture. It is no longer possible to view the relationship between art and technique in such a way, primarily because newer techniques have succeeded in resolving the prob-

lem of realistic representation in a wholly adequate but different way. The development of techniques such as photography, the cinema, and television should serve to obviate once and for all the Aristotelian problem of art as imitation. Although in Aristotle this objectivist conception of art is intensified to the point where he projects a photographic ideal for both the beautiful and the ugly, the principle of imitation is radically transformed by the completely different purpose ascribed to the artist. For Aristotle, imitation is no longer a description of "things that have happened" but only of "things that are possible." The description of past occurrences is the task of the historian; the task of the poet, on the contrary, is to describe things that may happen, particularly what is possible "according to the laws of probability or necessity." What Aristotle meant by probability and necessity is immediately explained by the affirmation that "hence poetry is something more philosophical and of graver import than history, since its statements are in the nature of universals, whereas those of history express the particular" (*ibid.*, 1451a,b).

In other words, things that might happen, as described by the artist, must have an inner logic or necessity that makes them probable. They are endowed with universality by the coherence and credibility of the description and by the ineluctable logic of the fact rather than by its actual occurrence. Therefore it follows that the value of art and its ability to enlighten and purge reside precisely in the fact that its aims have been raised to a universal plane. The indispensability of such aspiration is confirmed by Aristotle's definition of tragedy, which summarizes the substance of his esthetics. "Tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear effecting its catharsis of such emotion" (*ibid.*, 1449b).

It is clear that the Aristotelian conception differs fundamentally from the Platonic in that it brought art much nearer to the realm of philosophy. Rather than abandon the rational world or succumb to madness, the artist must concern himself with matters of probability, necessity, coherence, and completeness. In short, the artist must make use of intellectual gifts peculiar to the philosopher, gifts that are capable of illuminating the world of the passions and of effecting "catharsis." Art is no longer divine madness but a rigidly canalized activity that permits of no deviations or digressions. Tragedy must describe "a series of episodes that evolve in consequence of each other according to the laws of probability and necessity" (*ibid.*, 1451a). This means that the episodes must be held together with a logical thread running through every work of art, thereby removing it from the level of possibility to that of necessity. Nor is this chain of consequence to be based upon approximate or generic logic, for it must accord with a very complex casuistry that Aristotle establishes to guide the artist. Besides the possible, under certain conditions the artist may introduce the impossible and even the irrational; indeed, plausible impossibility is to be preferred to implausible possibility. Aristotle points out exactly when and why the artist may introduce the impossible and the irrational or the absurd, so that the rational dosage of the irrational intensifies the intellectual nature that his esthetics ultimately assumes. When the requirement of a "language with pleasurable accessories" is added to the list, it should be apparent why the art of rhetoric came to occupy so eminent a place in Aristotelian esthetics. "As for the thought," explains Aristotle, "we may assume what is said of it in the *Rhetoric*, as it belongs more properly to that department of inquiry. The thought of the personages is shown in everything to be affected by their language — in every effort to prove or refute, to arouse emotion (pity, fear, anger, and the like), or to suggest importance or its opposite. It is clear that their speech must be a reflection of their actions likewise, whenever the object is to excite pity or fear, or to suggest importance or probability." (*Ibid.*, 1456a,b.)

Aristotle himself interprets the function of rhetoric in the preamble to Book II of his *Rhetoric*, wherein he links the concept of the possible with that of the universal. Art attains

universality through rhetoric, which has now become necessary for poetic expression and hence loses the extrinsic and negative character it had for Plato. Rhetoric assumes the character of a discipline inescapably bound to poetics, and the artist cannot disregard it in the realization of his work. This explains how poetics and rhetoric are finally resolved into a series of precepts and rules that the artist is required to know and follow in order to achieve the quality of universality essential to true mimesis. The objectivity which guarantees the value of mimesis and which can be apprehended only through intellectual activity is characteristic of this universality. The artist approaches the philosopher and joins him in the awareness of rules to be respected. Sudden inspiration is superseded by laws or canons arrived at through the processes of logic. From the canon of Polykleitos to the academicism of every subsequent age, principles of rhetoric have affected — and frequently hindered — the free and spontaneous activity of the artist.

When the form and content of Aristotle's rules of poetics and rhetoric are examined, it is clear that he was obliged to deduce them both from his philosophical ideal and from his own artistic experience. Moreover, the result was not so much a system of esthetics as a theory of poetics in the present-day sense of the word: a poetics destined to characterize not art in general but only a certain type of art. Consequently, his poetics was to remain completely alien to many other types of expression in the history of art and literature. For example, merely to recall the "poetics" of a Kafka emphasizes the abyss separating him from the Aristotelian ideal. From the time of Aristotle, this confusion between esthetics and the more exactly defined poetics has characterized all attempts to devise a philosophy of art in terms of a system of laws and categories.

The poetics and rhetoric of Aristotle completed the cycle of esthetic thought in the ancient world, which was destined to prevail until the Renaissance. Plato and Aristotle would continue to represent poles between which successive thinkers would move, and even in modern times these two names were invoked in order to characterize two fundamental attitudes concerning art viewed as a striving toward the absolute. If beyond every philosophical definition of art there is always a need to recognize in artistic experience — for that matter, in any experience that involves strong personal commitment — the ideal of an absolute that is indispensable to life on earth (the Platonic "Idea"), since the time of the Greeks there have consistently been two approaches recommended as the best possible way of achieving this ideal. With the first way, marked out by Plato, the goal is always too remote to be reached and knowledge is accompanied by constant awareness of its inadequacy and limitations. Only then is the sense of the divine, which cannot be expressed by reason alone, sought for in art; and human perspective is widened until it loses itself in exalted aspiration toward the infinite.

The second way, which found its most telling expression in Aristotle, is characterized by a conviction that one is securely in possession of the universal and therefore of the ability to translate it into a system that has the perfection and organic efficiency of a rational construction. As a consequence of this conception, however, art ceased to have a unique and truly essential function; it was destined to remain subordinate to philosophy, without the self-sufficiency of the latter and with a necessarily limited role. Platonism and Aristotelianism constitute two strains of spiritual and intellectual life that have persisted throughout the history of thought and in all conceptions of art. Although they have been embodied in the most diverse forms, they have maintained their basic and original themes. These themes were then to be expressed in corresponding forms of catharsis: in the Platonic catharsis, viewed as the essential requirement of an art that aspires to identify with philosophy; in the Aristotelian catharsis, limited to the world of passion and overcome by the genuine catharsis provided by apprehension of the truth thought to inhere in the system itself.

After Plato and Aristotle, no major original questions of esthetics were raised by the philosophers of the ancient world;

in fact, the speculative level already achieved was not maintained. Attention was directed to problems of a more specialized nature, which nevertheless would later prove to be of great importance in the history of esthetics. Typical of these questions was the inquiry concerning the ultimate purpose of art in the life of man; but examination of this question was generally limited to empirical inquiries involving comparison between the hedonistic and pedagogic values of art. The Epicureans stressed the motive of pleasure and gratification, whereas the Stoics emphasized the didactic value of art and even reverted to the principle of allegory. In the Roman world, as in the Humanist world, Epicureanism and Stoicism exerted reciprocal effects; hence, in *Ad Pisones* Horace was able to assert that "omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci" ("each brings a contribution that combines the useful with the agreeable"). In his didactic conception of art Plutarch relied upon the same premises. Understandably, this dualistic purpose led to renewed emphasis upon the problems of rhetoric, as well as to concentration on the relationship of form and content. Cicero's *De oratore* was countered with the *Ars poetica* of Horace, and special importance was attached to oratorical eloquence (as in the works of Quintilian and Tacitus) and to the relation between oratory and poetry.

The fundamental problem of the beautiful and of art was taken up again by Plotinus (205?–70) in the waning period of classical civilization, and in a form that in some ways paralleled the requirements of Christianity. The metaphysical inclination of Plato reappeared, but without the sweeping restrictions of the Platonic condemnation of art. In Plotinus, on the other hand, the Platonic duality of the real and ideal worlds was to a large extent eliminated; furthermore, the immanentist conception proceeding from the requirements of monism permitted Plotinus to reconcile and fuse the conception of beauty and art to a much greater degree than Plato had done. The progression from the general to the specific (idea to application), and vice versa, is evidence of a single principle that characterizes the ideal, nature, and man. The beauty beheld in nature and the beauty expressed in art are manifestations of one and the same reality and belong to a single order, for the beauty of the body and that of the soul are identical. Only unformed matter is ugly. The form "inherent in a being composed of various parts combines and orders these parts, guiding them toward a single end and endowing them with a harmonious unity. For since form is one, the unformed must needs be one also, at least in so far as it can, since it too is the resultant of many parts. Beauty, therefore, dwells in such an unformed being in so far as this being is led back to unity; and this beauty is imparted at one and the same time to the parts and the whole. When, on the other hand, this beauty arises in a being possessing unity and homogeneity, form imparts the selfsame beauty to the whole: it is as if some natural power, proceeding here like art itself, should endow a house and all its parts with beauty, or impart it only to a single one of its stones. Thus does the body derive its beauty from the participation in it of an idea come from God." (*Enneads*, I, 6,2.)

The greatest of the Christian philosophers, St. Augustine (354–430), also reflects this immanentist view of the beautiful and of art, thereby continuing the Neoplatonic tradition that stretched from Philo to Plotinus. In Augustine's view God was not outside nature and man but was manifest in all creation. The doctrine of immanency supplanted that of transcendency. "Est Deus in nobis" ("God is within all of us"); hence our expression is in some way truly the expression of God. Like Plato, some of the Church Fathers had condemned art, which they deemed a hedonistic activity and therefore a temptation and a danger to the soul. In this respect Tertullian, who viewed art as the work of the devil, comes first to mind. But for Augustine beauty is "unity," and the world, inasmuch as it is one and harmonious, cannot be other than essentially beautiful. To live with beauty and art, therefore, means to live in accordance with the divine harmony in an esthetic experience that is also mystical. Platonism was subsequently adapted into Neoplatonism and reconciled with Christianity, and in esthetics the Christian God eventually replaced the

Platonic Idea and the Neoplatonic One. The same reasoning and the same consciousness of the divine were sustained in the works of Dionysius the Areopagite and Johannes Scotus Erigena and until the time of Bonaventura. Only with the rise of the Scholastics, and with St. Thomas Aquinas in particular, did Aristotelian themes regain their former prominence, along with the entire problem of imitation. The perfection of the imitation was again considered a standard of beauty, so much so that even the imitation of coarse and disgusting subjects came to be regarded as legitimate. Above all, there was with Aquinas a return to the Aristotelian distinction between the beautiful and the good, and consequently to the theme of the autonomy of art within the life of the spirit.

The moralistic and pedagogical conception of art persisted during the Middle Ages, with continued emphasis on the importance of allegory and the recondite meanings of poetry. Although Dante referred to art as a "fictio rhetorica," he acknowledged that beneath its exterior beauty one may find profound truths. Rhetoric might be an end in itself, but it could also be instrumental in attaining a worthy universal goal.

With the Humanists, rhetoric and oratorical eloquence were again of prime importance and subjectivity once more outweighed metaphysical objectivity. Classical tradition, along with classical esthetics, reasserted itself with increasing force, especially in its Epicurean and Stoic variants and in the oratorical manner of Cicero. Before a new metaphysic evolved, however, Humanist and Renaissance esthetics recapitulated most of the themes originally formulated in the esthetics of Plato and Aristotle. Thus, the mystical tradition was reaffirmed in the works of Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Leon Battista Alberti (q.v.), Pietro Bembo, and Mario Equicola; and there was also a return to the motif of divine "madness" that characterized the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*. "Frenzy" and "love" become dominant themes in the literature of the 16th century, from Leone Ebreo's (Judah A. Abravanel) *Dialogues on Love* to Giordano Bruno's dialogues on the same subject. Plato's concept of the beautiful and certain Aristotelian principles recur in the writings of Tommaso Campanella. The orientation of many Renaissance artists was Platonic, and they also revived the canons of Polykleitos. In reaction to these widespread tendencies, at the end of the 16th century Giordano Bruno rejected all such preconceived strictures.

The most characteristic aspect of poetics during the Renaissance was the didactic conception of art, which had gained importance in classical Roman esthetics and continued to exert an influence in the Middle Ages. It became difficult to espouse pleasure as the sole aim of art, and the theme of *docere delectando* became almost axiomatic among philosophers and artists until the time of Campanella and Tasso. Not even the most orthodox representatives of the Aristotelian tradition dissociated themselves from this conception; on the contrary, attempts were made to attribute the defense of this position to Aristotle himself. For Campanella poetry was "rhetorica . . . quasi magica . . . ad suadendum bonum," and in justification Julius Caesar Scaliger attributed virtually the same opinion to Aristotle.

For many exponents of Aristotelian esthetics during the Renaissance (Fracastoro, Robertelli, Castelvetro, Scaliger, Piccolomini, and others), the fundamental problem was still that of imitation and its proper definition. Polemical discussions concerning the concepts of the possible, the probable, the necessary, and the universal flared up again, and with them came a greater emphasis on the rational, intellectualist conception of artistic activity. The precepts of Aristotle were frequently invoked; and there were widespread efforts to illustrate the old laws, to supplement them with new ones, and to make them even more doctrinaire and pedantic. The precepts advanced by these writers were not limited to artistic creation, for — as with Aristotle himself — their recommendations could be extended to the criticism of art as well, which in terms of control and judgment had the task of assuring that these requirements were fully met. This triumph of rhetoric ultimately stifled the inspiration of many Renaissance artists, for despite their awareness of the revolutionary forces abroad in the world

and the resultant atmosphere of greater freedom they too often suffered from the restrictions imposed by traditional precepts. Consequently, their work sometimes degenerated into perfunctory academicism. A new world burgeoned about them and asserted itself in manifold ways; nonetheless, esthetics continued to be identified largely with the principles of Plato and Aristotle that had passed down to Humanism and the Renaissance from the Middle Ages.

*Modern esthetics.* The foregoing references to the esthetics of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance should suffice to justify a general characterization of both periods as continuations of the esthetic philosophies of the ancient world. The Christian revolution did not engender similarly drastic changes in esthetic theory; enough substance had been found in ancient thought — first in Plato and Plotinus, then in Aristotle — to satisfy the needs of this new metaphysics with respect to artistic experience. This esthetic continuum might appear strange to anyone who ponders the extraordinary innovations of the Christian messages, but it appears less strange upon examination of the process of intellectualization that Christianity underwent in assimilating the tradition of classical metaphysics. Fundamentally, and before their writings became the most important determinant of esthetic thought in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the works of Plotinus and Aristotle had proved invaluable in the reconciliation of Christian doctrine with classical philosophy. This transformation was accomplished in a sequence of thought that began with a mystical phase and then gradually veered toward rationalism, until it evolved into Scholasticism and later into the new Scholasticism of the Counter Reformation. It should not occasion surprise, then, that this adherence to the classical tradition, which ultimately asserted itself even in the province of Christian metaphysics and religion, persisted markedly in esthetic philosophy — really a secondary concern in comparison with the more spiritual pursuits. Moreover, in classical esthetics — as in classical metaphysics — the idealistic presuppositions regarding the nature of reality permitted ready accommodation to the later transcendental conception of reality, even though the image of the Christian God had proceeded from a more profoundly immanentist ideal. For Christianity, the truly beautiful was still embodied in divine reality, and as such it could only be contemplated and imitated. The principle of participation in a transcendent reality, therefore, could be shifted from the Idea of Plato to the God of Christianity, without any radical transformations or compromises either of the objective character of the supreme value involved or of its implicit inclusion in human activity. On the other hand, the Platonic unity of the good, the true, and the beautiful, which permitted a consideration of art that went beyond mere hedonism, was of great value in overcoming the diffidence of those Church Fathers who feared encouragement of excessive indulgence. The pedagogic conception of art was also able to adapt readily to the exigencies of religion and in this way facilitated an adjustment between classical esthetics and the requirements of Christianity.

The need for a new esthetic canon, however, began to make itself felt at a time when the objective conception of reality was beginning to yield to subjectivity, thereby shifting the emphasis from God to the self. Without conscious plan or clear awareness, this change was concurrent with the first wave of Humanism, and it was to achieve increasing definition until the period that witnessed the earliest formulations of the new questions and modes of modern philosophy. In order to comprehend the significance of modern esthetics and to fix its origins precisely, it is necessary to focus once more on Humanism and the Renaissance. It was in this period that the seeds were sown for fresh theories that would take hold later among the firmly entrenched esthetic tenets of the ancient world. These were genuinely original theories in that they aimed at replacing the principle of the object with that of the subject; hence they also aimed to supplant art viewed as mimesis with art understood as creation. The divine world became more human and immediate; and the beautiful, though it still preserved its former transcendental nature, acquired an es-



essentially different character by means of which the beautiful and art could eventually be equated without residual qualifications of any kind.

After 1400 the most noteworthy record of this shift in emphasis from divinely inspired to human creative activity with respect to the beautiful is provided by Leonardo da Vinci. His threefold gifts as artist, philosopher, and scientist enabled him to invest the concept of creation with both divine and human significance, thereby promoting the unity of thought and action. In Leonardo's view, the artist created rather than imitated. Of necessity, the concept of creation could not yet be that which would subsequently go so far as to assert the absolute immanence of God and, therefore, the existence of a dialectical relation between God and man. For Leonardo, and for centuries afterward, the belief in the immanence of God was not so absolute as to abolish completely the ontological distinction between God and man. He continued to believe that God transcended human limitations and that this transcendence was incontrovertible. Nevertheless, Leonardo believed that man also exercises creative powers of his own, and his conception of creativity was so similar to the formative powers ascribed to God that in extolling the painter and his creative consciousness he once proclaimed him "almost God." The qualification "almost" is very important, for the artist is not an exact counterpart of the divine Creator. As depictions of the natural world his productions are not creations, but only artistic re-creations; yet on canvas and with his brush the painter can indeed create a world that does not really exist, a personal fantasy peopled by beings that have no equivalents in reality — angelic figures and diabolic monsters. Form and content were gradually reconciled in a theory of creativity that assigned special values to each.

The subjectivism that evolved at this time was not that of classical rhetoric, because the dualism of the latter was lacking and it was no longer presupposed that the world had to be imitated or transformed. It was with Leonardo, therefore, that the antirhetorical phase of the art that can most properly be called "modern" began — an art, in other words, based on acceptance of the obligation to react against the idealized humanistic tendencies rooted in classical tradition and to strive for an art of innovation and invention that corresponded to the new science. Despite a contemporary opinion of him as a "man without letters," Leonardo truly represents the beginning of the modern world through his advocacy of the principles of the evolving civilization, along with the concrete realization of his cause in his multifarious creations. It was a temper that — sometimes consciously, but more often unconsciously — permeated the entire Renaissance world, when man began to venture upon new paths and to view himself as the mold of his own life. In fact, all life came to be perceived as a work of art: politics and customs, art and science, education and business. A typical representative of this subjective conception of mankind was the 16th-century nobleman portrayed by Machiavelli, with his political aim of building a new order and with his court pervaded by artistic beauty. Metaphysical and esthetic ideals were equated, and every problem was resolved in terms of art.

The transition from an esthetics of imitation to one of imaginative creation could not be accomplished abruptly, nor could the transitional phase be expected to produce another set of esthetic principles and forge them into a valid system. The theme of the creative power of the artist might be frankly espoused, but it was difficult to treat it on an appropriately speculative level or to examine its consequences in esthetics. One searches vainly in Leonardo and throughout the Renaissance for a metaphysic capable of positing a conception of the subject fully in accord with both intuition and the requirements of creativity. The Renaissance was marked by continual oscillation between immanency and transcendence, and a rigorous attitude toward the dilemma was never formulated. Later, this problem was dealt with explicitly by the philosophy of empiricism and rationalism and ultimately reached maturity in romantic idealism, when subjective and objective reality became indistinguishable.

The first definite statements of subjectivist esthetics following the Renaissance were not sharply demarcated from the traditional subjectivism of rhetoric, which from the Sophists onward had always been interwoven with a converse strain of objectivism. Assuredly, there were widespread efforts in the 17th century to move the problems of esthetics into the realm of the subjective faculties; as before, however, expression was in terms of a subject which presupposed an objective reality beyond itself and which therefore continued to distinguish between form and content. While it was plain that form did in some degree affect content and could even modify it profoundly, the freedom of the artist was still judged in terms of form, and the opposing claims of realistic vision were not disregarded. Indeed, the standards of judgment sometimes dictated an excess of realism that inspired only vapid exercises.

The contemplative intellectual bent was then superseded by qualities peculiar to the artist, who approaches reality in order to transvalue it in terms of his private world. Talent, taste, wit, imagination, fantasy, perception, feeling, and, above all, genius became the pivotal terms in the esthetic theories of the 17th century. If the intellect had to accept and adjust to the object, the senses — according to the broadest definition of the term, in which perception borders on imagination and feeling — could provide access to the world of the subjective by a progressive extension, even on the philosophical plane of empiricism, of the so-called "secondary qualities." The goal of objective truth was replaced by that of verisimilitude; moreover, it was a verisimilitude no longer governed by demands of universality, for inventiveness had become the highest artistic value, along with its corollaries the fantastic and the marvelous. Nevertheless, although the baroque style abandoned the academicism of the Renaissance, the period also witnessed a resurgence of the rhetorical, in which form was once more distinguished from content or even conflicted with it. Nor was the new subjectivism wholly untouched by empiricism. Alongside the extravagances of unbridled imagination, therefore, arose a need for apprehension of the natural world that encompassed both realism and subjectivism and permitted their reconciliation. The most notable testimony to this resolution of the opposing claims of object and subject (that is, the sentient agent) is furnished by 17th-century painting, in which sensations were experienced as encounters between the two elements involved, as interpretive efforts foreshadowing the expression of comparable demands by the 19th-century impressionists. Esthetics and poetics had now propounded the general question of the subject-object relationship, though its many ramifications were only vaguely perceived because of the lack of sound and adequate metaphysical presuppositions.

The true philosophy of the subjective began only with the emergence of a new "system" that fell between the philosophical currents of rationalism and empiricism. The central role of the self was first affirmed in the famous "sum" of Descartes (1596-1650), whose works mark the beginning of modern thought. However, the "sum" proceeded from the "cogito," from the rational process of the sentient subject; hence reason was to be the overriding concern, and all other human activities were to be repudiated or consigned to the background. Initially, there was no legitimate place in the Cartesian conception for imagination or fantasy; hence, almost none for art itself. If art had to be considered, it was subordinated to reflection and made to conform to its discipline. In Nicolas Boileau's "*L'art poétique*" (1674), the most important treatise of Cartesian esthetics, the burden of the argument fell upon this rationalism, which diminished the imaginative component of art and therefore the creative freedom of the artist. In the writings of Descartes, and even more in those of his followers, the merits of this other, subjective world were not taken into account and the analogous conception of art was not explored. If imagination was rejected in favor of the classical character of art — that is to say, in the name of its rational and mathematical character — it was conceded nonetheless that it did serve a distinct purpose. In fact, Descartes himself entertained the myth of a golden age, a primeval historical epoch in which powerful sentiments were expressed with lofty eloquence. In

a letter of 1628 to his friend Balzac (J. L. Guez, 1597?-1654), in which Descartes wished to praise Seigneur de Balzac's style, he stated that the eloquence of the ancients was infused with a "divine quality" that had reemerged in his friend. In the first part of his *Discourse on Method* (1637), rhetorical eloquence and poetry are recognized as "gifts of the spirit rather than the fruits of study," and poetry is contraposed as "pleasurable invention" to "convincing ratiocination." For Descartes, the imagination represented the world of dreams, and in dreams he perceived something mysterious that was not categorically inferior to reason. They reflected another world, a world that was not to be deprecated or ignored. He concluded the same letter to Balzac by exalting the dream, "which leads my spirit into woodlands, gardens, enchanted castles where I experience all the pleasures that are imagined in fables." Similar, but even more intense, sentiments recur after Descartes, principally in Pascal, for whom the reasons of the mind were always qualified by reasons of the heart. Furthermore, the abstract intellectualism of the *esprit de géométrie* was surpassed by the intuitive perception of the *esprit de finesse*. The course of Cartesianism led increasingly toward recognition of the need to react against the worship of reason and to concede more importance to imagination, sense, and feeling — and therefore to art.

In the works of Gottfried von Leibnitz (1646-1716) in particular, the world of dreams acquired exceptional prominence. He also contributed the first formal philosophical discussion of the "subconscious," which proved of great importance in subsequent thought until the advent of psychoanalysis. The theory of *petites perceptions* — that is, unconscious or imaginative perception, as opposed to intellectual consciousness — enabled him to link the world of nature with that of the spirit. According to Leibnitz, while the unconscious represents a lesser mental state than the conscious, it is nevertheless one of the essential premises for a true comprehension of reality. It is these minute perceptions that "form that indefinable something, those tastes, those images of the sense qualities which are clear as a mass but obscure in parts, those impressions which surrounding bodies make on us and which embrace infinity, this relation which every single being has with the rest of the universe" (preface to *New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*). If Leibnitz, like Descartes, believed that mental images proceed from the confusion and obscurity of intuitive perception to the clarity and distinctness of ratiocination, moving to a superior intellectual plane in the process, he also intimated — again, like Descartes — that something for which reason could never compensate was lost along the way.

The work of Alexander Baumgarten (1714-62) does not evidence an awareness of the special insights to be gained from the imaginative zone that underlies consciousness, even though the problem of esthetics was one of such moment for him that he applied the name to a scientific approach to the subject. "*Aesthetices finis est perfectio cognitionis sensitivae, qualis. Haec autem est pulchritudo.*" ("The aim of esthetics is the perfection of sentient knowledge. This then is beauty." *Aesthetica*, I, 1.) Baumgarten did distinguish art from philosophy in contraposing sense to reason; however, "sense" merely denoted an "analogon rationis" that was without distinctive attributes and yet not identical with reason. He reaffirmed the theoretic scale of Descartes and Leibnitz, which progresses from obscurity to clarity to distinctness; but the confused and the clear are both designated "inferior" and are therefore removed from the superior order of rational knowledge. The "perfection" that the "cognitio sensitiva" can arrive at is merely relative, for it is necessarily "imperfect" in the presence of the perfection of a "superior epistemology." Thus the term "esthetics" was introduced at the time of one of its most radical devaluations; moreover, the name came into being in association with a conception so narrowly epistemological that it precluded acceptance of the more modern idea of art as creative pursuit.

While Cartesian rationalism ultimately lost sight of the basic requirements of the new esthetics, this neglect was not true of empiricism — from Bacon to Hume — which explains

why Vico subsequently was so Baconian and anti-Cartesian. Like Campanella, Francis Bacon (1561-1626) asserted that knowledge is derived from the senses and that it is only on the basis of sense data, or perceptions, that man can function at either the level of imagination or of reason. Thus for Bacon — even before Descartes and Vico — imagination and reason, although the former is inferior to the latter, correspond to two different historical epochs. The age of imagination was that ancient age of poets and fables which preceded the age of intellection and philosophy. In fantasy the human spirit sought to vent its infinite craving for freedom, constructing thereby a purely subjective nature that existed only as a poetic reality. With reason, on the other hand, man attains actual freedom, for when he comprehends the objective reality of nature, he obeys its laws and succeeds in dominating it. In Bacon's view, however, the poetic stage of mankind, characterized by imagination and arbitrary judgment, was not confined to an ancient historical period to be viewed as primitive. Indeed, these antique conceptions survived until his own day, and it was only with Bacon himself that mankind's truly philosophical phase began. The philosophical systems that had preceded his did not really merit the name, because they were still products of that fantasy which was to yield to the new scientific method only after the appearance of his *Novum organum*. In reality, the older philosophies were "idola theatri": intuitions, myths, poetry, works of art.

The subjective character of sense perceptions was stressed more and more in post-Baconian empiricism. With Locke the problem of the subjective nature — the secondary attributes of things led to the Berkeleyan assertion of the mental essence of all reality; that is, existence of material things resides in subjective perception of them. Finally, the superiority of sense over intellect postulated by Campanella was reaffirmed by David Hume (1711-76): "All ideas, especially abstract ones, are naturally faint and obscure. . . . On the contrary, all impressions, that is, all sensations, either outward or inward, are strong and vivid." (*Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, II, 17.) Thus for Hume, as well as for Campanella, man cannot exist without ideas; it is through them that he acquires valid philosophical knowledge enabling him to unravel the mystery of reality. However, the conduct of life is on a more immediate level, and here the most meaningful terms are "beauty," "art," "talent," "taste," and "sensitivity." The artistic life gained new vigor from the conclusions of skeptical and relativistic philosophy such as Hume's *Essay on Taste*.

The first genuinely philosophical conception of art as creation must be sought in the writings of Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), who dealt explicitly with the problem of man as "creator" confronting God and nature. Vico, too, was convinced of the prior existence of a poetic period (that is, an imaginative phase of consciousness) in the history of humanity. However, he did not view it as an inferior form of life that was superseded by science but rather as a creative existence that was later to become the object of scientific examination and comprehension. Philosophical truth is of no use in creating a world, but it is of inestimable value in reflecting upon it when the work of creation is done. The artist and his genius provide the real impetus for creation, and the true creative energy of man is expended in the immediacy of poetic consciousness. Vico conceived this consciousness as a spiritual condition; hence it was imbued with a metaphysic that was not "reasoned" and "abstract" but "felt" and "imagined." Man creates when he poetizes, and he causes to create when he becomes a philosopher: ". . . whence, from their likeness to God the Creator, poets and painters alike are called divine." They create history in their "robust ignorance" and by virtue of a "corporeal imagination . . . for which they were called 'poets,' which in Greek means 'makers.'" (*Scienza nuova*, II, 1, 1.) When ratiocination emerges, imagination decays, because "it is stronger in proportion as reason is weaker." Thus the superior ranking of science holds true in one sense only, and it is necessary to have recourse to the imagination every time that mankind sets out to perform the creative work of a new phase of history. Preoccupation with the esoteric is an indication of the end

of a historic cycle, and such tendencies must be repudiated and halted so that life may be renewed with another wave of creativity. The artist becomes the true protagonist of history; it is only in the twilight of a historical phase that philosophers appear, with keen intelligence but devoid of creative power. Their activity represents the amalgamation of theory and practice, but this fusion is realized only by relating — more probably, subordinating — practice ("doing") to knowledge. Truly creative accomplishment is within the capacity only of those men who "become aware with a perturbed and agitated soul," that is, those first humans who, "without the power of ratiocination, were all robust sense and vigorous imagination" (*ibid.*).

In this way the concept of art as creation became the basis of a new metaphysic with which modern subjectivist esthetics succeeded in identifying itself. But is creation, as envisaged by Vico, true creation? Although in his view poets can fashion history, they are not capable of creating nature, which has been entirely the work of God. What, therefore, was the relation of art to nature, and what then could be the meaning of beauty? The dualism of subject and object was not overcome, and the antinomies of the new esthetics were to remain the traditional ones. Now that the problem had been posed in real terms, it was necessary to redefine the role of nature, which had continued to subsist as a necessary presupposition for human creativity.

Several decades after the death of Vico, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) addressed all his speculative efforts to the concept of nature. The problem was to dispel the obscurity surrounding the concept and to resolve it in terms of human activity, progressing from sense to intellect and, finally, to reason. In the *Critique of Pure Reason* Kant laid down the premises that, after protracted reflection, had enabled him to confront the problem of art in a radical way. His "transcendental esthetic" was also a theory of creativity but was not yet concerned with art; rather, it dealt with the creativity of sentient activity in general. Nature was reduced to a phenomenon and therefore to a readily comprehensible human reality; and inasmuch as it was human, it became susceptible to laws imposed by man. Marked progress was made toward elimination of the dualism of subject and object, because at last there was a consciousness that the hitherto accepted "otherness" of nature could be disregarded, at least in relation to cognition. The substitution of the concept of creation for that of mimesis could begin to be viewed as fundamental and as essentially metaphysical in character. It was, nevertheless, only a beginning; despite the reduction of reality to phenomenon, there remained a noumenal objectivity that did not permit man to become a creator in the true sense of the word. Although, as a noumenon, it was a postulated rather than an apprehended object, its continued acceptance obstructed the path to other valid (that is, perceived rather than merely reasoned) knowledge and creative activity. It precluded that transcendence of reason which strove for immediate apprehension and true knowledge of God, and it inhibited human creativity by forcing compliance with a practical reason that diverged from theoretical reason.

In his third critique, the *Critique of Judgment*, Kant made his most decided attempt to overcome the dualism that continued to impede further progress; and this attempt resulted in a conception of art that represented the first great formulation of an idealistic esthetics. Kant came to recognize that, if there were a noumenal reality, phenomenality must partake of and be defined by the noumena; therefore the phenomenon must manifest a finality corresponding to that of the noumenon. This inherent unity can be asserted but cannot be developed conceptually, because it is impossible to apprehend the substance of the noumenon. Science and faith are destined to operate in two different spheres, and each is irreducible to the terms of the other unless a third type of experience can be realized which is different in kind and can effect a synthesis. Thus, outside the intellect and the will Kant placed feeling, which accounts for perceptions in the sensory world transcending reasoned knowledge and removes man to a super-sensory sphere of being. It is an interpretation of feeling which

attests the teleological character of nature and which is expressed in judgments that are essentially subjective and esthetic.

Accordingly, to recognize the beauty of nature means to perceive in it some indefinable quality that spiritualizes and elevates it to the divine plane; and it is the artist who discerns and conveys the absolute ends, which cannot be expressed in conceptual terms and which Kant calls "finalities without purpose." These are attained only by dissolving all differences between the phenomenon and the noumenon. Truth and goodness are alike transcended, and taste becomes "the faculty of judging an object or a representation of it by an entirely disinterested satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The object of such satisfaction is called beautiful." (*Critique of Judgment*, I, 1.) By "disinterested" Kant meant that the judgment would be unaffected by any definite preconception of the object or preoccupation with its real existence; therefore it would evade the limits that circumscribe the useful and the good, the intellect and reason. "There is no presupposition of any concept of purposiveness to which the manifold of the given object must correspond, and therefore of that which the object should represent: such would limit the freedom of the imagination, which in a certain manner enjoys free play in the contemplation of the figure" (*ibid.*). In this way, Kant contraposed the term "interest" with "play," which denoted the transcendence of all limitations and infinite freedom.

Kant, however, did not adhere permanently to this ideal of transcendence, and into his conception of the beautiful he introduced elements that were alien to the standard of "finality without purpose." In fact, he distinguished between two kinds of beauty: "free beauty (*pulchritudo vaga*) and merely dependent beauty (*pulchritudo adhaerens*). The first presupposes no concept of what the object ought to be; the second does presuppose such a concept and the perfection of the object accordingly. The first is called the (self-subsistent) beauty of this or that thing; the second, depending as it does upon a concept (conditioned beauty), is ascribed to objects which come under the concept of a particular purpose." (*Ibid.*) Kant then cites flowers as examples of natural beauties because "hardly anyone but a botanist knows what sort of thing a flower ought to be; and even he, though recognizing in the flower the reproductive organ of the plant, disregards this natural purpose when he passes a judgment of taste upon the flower" (*ibid.*). In addition to flowers, he cites birds (the parrot, the hummingbird, the bird of paradise) and sea shells. Then, proceeding from natural to artistic beauty, he lists delineations "à la grecque," foliate borders or wallpapers, and musical "fantasies" (that is, absolute music without program or text).

On the basis of his theory of free beauty, Kant might be regarded as the precursor of recent anticonceptual poetics, including present-day abstract movements. But from the examples adduced, it is also apparent that these efforts to bring about the coexistence of free beauty and conditioned beauty and to juxtapose two distinct forms of beauty and art were inevitably destined to lapse into barren equivocation. To free beauty Kant was obliged to contrapose dependent (or adherent) beauty, such as the beauty of a man, a horse, or a building — in other words, the beauty of all that which presupposes a concept of purposiveness with respect to which beauty becomes contingent. The consequence of this dualism is that in the judgment of pure beauty the judgment of taste is also pure, whereas "a judgment of taste in respect of an object with a definite internal purpose can only be pure if the person judging either has no concept of this purpose or else abstracts from it in his judgment" (*ibid.*). But does making this abstraction and arriving at a pure judgment of taste really signify that one has risen to a higher plane which corresponds to the transcendence of the true and the good? Kant's answer would appear to be affirmative and thus would have value in dealing with the antithesis of phenomena and noumena; but in effect he concluded merely by distinguishing a pure judgment of taste from a judgment of applied taste and by affirming that in the latter case taste, as a result of the union between esthetic and intellectual satisfaction, "gains by this union inasmuch as it becomes something fixed. And even though it does not assume a universal

character, it becomes possible to prescribe rules for it relative to certain purposively determined objects." These rules, however, Kant adds, "are not rules of taste but merely relevant to the union of taste and reason, that is, of the beautiful and the good by virtue of which the former becomes usable as an instrument of the will with respect to the latter. In this manner, that state of mind which is self-subsistent and of subjective universal validity is subordinated to that way of thinking which can be maintained only at the cost of hard deliberation but which has an objective universal validity. In truth, however, perfection acquires naught from beauty, nor does beauty gain anything from perfection. Nonetheless, when we compare the representation of a given object with the object itself with respect to what it ought to be by means of a concept, we cannot avoid also taking into consideration the sensation experienced by ourselves as the subject. It follows, then, that when both these states of mind are in harmony our whole faculty of representative power derives advantage." (*Ibid.*) From these remarks it becomes clear how, in the judgment of applied taste, the possibility of the existence of a superior plane beyond the true and the good may be logically denied. Kant speaks of a "harmony" between the two states of mind (the judgment of the good and of the beautiful) and of the advantages that supposedly arise therefrom. But how is harmony possible when the very basis of esthetic judgment has been eliminated by renunciation of the ideal of a finality that is without purpose?

The relation between natural beauty and artistic beauty is linked to this same contradiction. Kant viewed the artist in the same way as Vico — as a person endowed with an imagination that is also a faculty productive of knowledge, like talent or genius. According to Kant, genius is the "talent" (or natural gift) that prescribes the rules of art. "Since talent, as the innate productive faculty of the artist, belongs itself to nature, we may express the matter thus: Genius is the innate mental disposition (*ingenium*) through which nature gives the rule to art." (*Ibid.*) Whereas for Vico genius was independent of any conscious purposiveness, inasmuch as it was conceived as something higher than reason, for Kant the genius of the artist does not coincide with pure taste and thus "presupposes a definite concept of the product in so far as it is purposive."

The inspiration for and all the major themes of the esthetics of the romantic movement were drawn — directly or indirectly — from the esthetics of Kant. This tendency developed with the work of Johann von Schiller (1759–1805), who discovered in Kant and Johannes Herder the substance for the first important formulation of romantic esthetics. He conceived of art as the liberation of feeling and intellect in disinterested activity and, therefore, as something detached from objective reality. It was a freedom which was viewed as a triumph of form over content and which employed the concept of "play" (*Spiel*) to manifest the aspiration toward the infinite. Man is rightfully man only when he exhibits the capacity for such freedom. "In general, as soon as he begins to prefer form to matter and to risk reality for appearance — which, however, he must recognize as such — the animality that encircles man is shattered and he finds himself on a road that has no end" (*Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, XXVII).

That which properly characterizes romanticism is its commitment to the possibility of arriving at a radical new definition of creativity. This reappraisal was to be accomplished by going beyond the dualism of phenomenon and noumenon, yet at the same time continuing to operate amid the Kantian antinomies, even after the noumenon was believed to have been dispensed with. With Johann Fichte (1762–1814) the residual Kantian transcendence of the object was wholly repudiated, and the subject embodied reality itself. Nonetheless, the dualism of subject and object reasserted itself within the subject (precisely where the question had seemingly been resolved), for without contraposing the two terms both knowledge and self-knowledge would be impossible. Fichte was obliged to reconsider the two terms, which were again manifest to him in the act of cognition. Furthermore, he was forced to postulate a subject anterior to consciousness itself, which posited the duality of the self and the nonself: in other terms, the world

of consciousness must presuppose an "unconscious" subject. In fact, the unconscious, which presupposes nothing and posits everything, becomes the true basis of all reality, and thought is merely one of the determinants of reality. Once the problem was posed in these terms, it followed that thought was placed in antithesis to other terms — such as "feeling," "faith," "intuition," and "creative imagination" — in such a way that philosophy itself was possible only in so far as it was reconciled with these terms and thereby reunited with art. "The doctrine of science," Fichte observed, "is such that it simply cannot be communicated according to the letter alone, but only by the spirit, for the reason that in those who make it the object of study, its fundamental ideas must be produced by the creative imagination itself. Nor, for that matter, could it be otherwise with a science that reaches back as far as the ultimate principles of human knowledge, since every activity of the human spirit has its point of departure in the imagination. The imagination, however, cannot be understood otherwise save by the imagination. From this it clearly follows that the philosopher must needs have those obscure feelings for what is true — or in other words 'genius' — to no less degree, perhaps, than the poet or the artist. The latter must needs have a sense of 'beauty,' the former only the sense of 'truth,' and a sense of this kind certainly exists to be sure." (*Science of Knowledge*.)

Art and philosophy seem to be placed on the same plane by Fichte; in fact, the requisites that he ascribed to philosophy in order to render it nonillusory are the same requisites which characterize the world of art, namely creative imagination, sense, feeling, and genius. Therefore, it is readily understandable that Friedrich von Schelling (1775–1854), within the same context of idealism, proceeded to the ultimate consequences of this line of reasoning and reduced philosophy to a "handmaid" of art. For Schelling, both the objective world and the subjective world were the products of a single activity that operates "with consciousness" ("spirit") and "without consciousness" ("nature"). Accordingly, a productive activity that is at the same time conscious and unconscious can be only the "esthetic" activity, and every product of art can be understood only as a product of this activity; hence the ideal world of art and the real world of objects are results of a single activity. The unconscious combination of the one with the other (the conscious and the unconscious) produces the real world, while their conscious combination produces the esthetic world. The objective world is an expression of the primitive and still unconscious poetry of the spirit; the universal organ and keystone of all philosophy is the "philosophy of art" (*System of Transcendental Idealism*, Introduction). The esthetics of creative activity reached its culmination in this monistic conception of reality. "It is given only to art to appease our infinite striving and to dissolve the final and most extreme contradiction within ourselves" (*ibid.*, sec. VI). Art alone can disclose true reality to the philosopher but does not make a philosopher of the artist, for although the artist effects the supreme synthesis, he is unable to translate this synthesis into a conscious unity. The artist is not a philosopher for the very reason that he is a genius. This affirmation of his singular gifts was to become the dominant theme of romanticism until the appearance of Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772–1801) and Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853).

With this theory of genius, romanticism satisfied the requirements for identifying beauty with truth, and therefore art with philosophy. Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) could then assert: "... philosophy and poetry, these two loftiest of human activities, which even in Athens at the moment of their greatest flowering operated independently, now act upon each other in order to draw closer to one another by a constant interaction" (*Gespräch über die Poesie*). Nonetheless, this intermingling was not successfully translated into an actual unity because, even if art was superior to philosophy as a synthesis of the conscious and the unconscious, it was philosophy which ultimately judged art and by so doing placed itself beyond the authority of art. The antinomies remained unresolved, and the relationship between the two terms became blurred and

obscure. On the other hand, the aspect of a "revelation" of reality that had been assumed by art also diminished the distinction between art and religion. This was evident in Fichte and Schelling, and even more so in Friedrich Jacobi; but it was Friedrich Schleiermacher's (1768-1834) conception particularly that stated this confusion. In his view the unity of the self, nature, and God is truly realized by means of "feeling," which because of its immediacy carries man beyond scientific knowledge to a synthesis of the real and the unreal, the finite and the infinite. The ego, or self, coincides with God, but in the form of an individuation that is at once universal and particular. A person realizes himself in a mystic act, which also constitutes a work of art — in other words, a union of the sensory and the supersensory. Art becomes the language of religion because it is tantamount to expressing the infinite in the finite and to realizing "eternity and the immortal music of heavenly enjoyment in the intuitions of the spirit."

The difficulty that the philosophy of romanticism encountered with its conception of art as the acme of spiritual life arose from the fact that this superiority cannot be conferred upon art by its own authority but only by philosophy. This problem exists in Schelling as well as in Schleiermacher; nor did anyone else envisage how the difficulty could be overcome within the limits of the problems as they had been posed. Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831), the greatest representative of German idealism, was aware of this problem and the contradiction involved, for he himself had started out with an esthetic conception of the world based on the immediacy of intuition. His reaction found expression in reaffirmation of the "concept" as the authentic form of truth and in a protest against the pretensions "of our age" to feel or intuit the absolute without understanding it. "The beautiful, the holy, the eternal, religion, and love — these are the bait required to awaken the desire to bite; not the notion, but ecstasy, not the march of cold necessity in the subject matter, but ferment and enthusiasm — these are to be the ways by which the wealth of the concrete substance is to be stored and increasingly extended." Those who think this way, "by muffling the consciousness and renouncing intellect, fancy themselves elect spirits into whom God distills wisdom during their sleep; but that which they really conceive and give birth to is naught else but a dream" (*Phenomenology of the Mind*, Preface). Beyond the dream, for Hegel, was the active waking state, which he made the constitutive element of the new dialectic. Faith in reason then became absolute, and there was no further need to have recourse to experiences that transcended it. This new dependence upon logic did not prevent Hegel from endowing art with the attributes of romantic theory: "immediacy," "intuition," "idealization," "inspiration," and "genius." But these were no longer attributes of an activity held to be superior to philosophy; rather, to one that was inferior to it. Therefore these characteristics had to be superseded whenever full and genuine consciousness of reality was sought. The unity of nature and spirit was still fixed in immediacy in the person of the artist; hence the Absolute Spirit had not yet found its true form: "Activity impregnated with this immanent content — the 'inspiration' of the artist — is but a force that is alien to him; it is an 'unfree' pathos; 'production' takes the form of a 'natural' immediacy; it concerns the 'genius' as a subject particularly his" (*Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, III, 3). The true infinite, on the other hand, may be arrived at only in the full light of reason after every particularity is overcome and absolute self-knowledge is attained, as defined in the last words of the *Encyclopedia*: "The idea, eternal in and for itself, actuates and produces itself, and enjoys itself throughout eternity as Absolute Spirit." Thenceforth, the sensory revelation of the idea no longer appears adequate, and the world of art has consumed itself in the accomplishment of its task. Art dies in the presence of true philosophy.

As a reaction to Hegel's optimism and hauteur, the romantic attributes of art were revived, stronger than ever, by Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860). To Schopenhauer, the self-assured certainty that characterized the Hegelian dialectic seemed vacuous "charlatanism," and as a result the Kantian antinomies

of the phenomenon and the noumenon again assumed fundamental importance. Thus the esthetics of romanticism, which had begun with Kant, resorted to Kant again after a vain presumption that the abiding dualism had been overcome and that human creativity was an absolute. The reversion to this antinomy assumed the dramatic garb of Schopenhauer's pessimism. The cathartic function of art also reappeared when the dualism of subject and object was dispelled in "contemplation"; that is, the object was detached from the particularity of space, time, and causality relations to become pure idea. It was a process of liberation which was never absolute and which varied even within the more limited context of art; and the process was intensified as one ascended the artistic scale of abstraction toward that art superior to all the rest — namely, music — which transcended the idea itself and aspired to withdraw from the world of phenomena entirely. At this point, the shortcomings of reason were again emphasized, and essence ("the thing in itself") was to be revealed in visionary experience.

The reaction to romanticism and idealism began with the emergence of various strains of realism in the first half of the 19th century, particularly the "pluralistic realism" of Johan Herbart (1776-1841) and the positivism introduced by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). The drama of the transition was tempered by a candid return to the dogmatic recognition of an object presupposed by the subject, even if idealistic epistemology (albeit in its Kantian formulation) somehow continued to present problems. For Herbart, philosophy became an extrinsic systematization having a formal character, an "elaboration" of rigid and juxtaposed concepts that had to be divided, ordered, grouped, and classified. Among the various concepts, he distinguished one "class" that he put forth as the basis of his esthetics — namely, that class which interpolates "in our representation an added factor consisting of a judgment that indicates approbation or disapprobation." Defined thus, esthetics was plainly to involve ethics again and become the study of the good and the beautiful. Both exist in terms of their relations to other forms, or "reals." Thus "just as the ideal of virtue rests on the unity of the person, so does the representation of a work of art depend on the unity of efficacy to which all its parts must contribute" (*Introduction to Philosophy*, I, 2). This amounted to saying that the beautiful does not reside in matter but in the formal relation of colors, lines, tones, rhythms, feelings, and thoughts; the last-named component introduced the elements of will and morality as well. Nevertheless, at a certain point Herbart turned from this formal and classificatory system to the romantic themes of the period. This interest brought about a recrudescence in his thought of all the metaphysical problems against which the reaction had been directed. Nor were subsequent philosophers able to divorce themselves from romantic tendencies, even when inspired by similar reactionary demands. This was true of Comte, for example, who above all others would seem to have been diametrically opposed in temperament to the mentality and concerns that were peculiar to romanticism. For him, the "given" of Herbart was transformed into scientific "fact," and initially it appeared that science would eliminate all metaphysical claims.

The reduction of art to a fact was to lead some adherents of positivism to a progressive devaluation of esthetic activity, which for Herbert Spencer became mere "play," without the significance this term had for Schiller. With Comte, on the other hand, there was a return to all the important themes in the history of esthetics, and the compass of the subject broadened until it again included all the concerns that had been discarded. Comte's law of stages in the evolutionary process of mankind allowed him to accept Bacon's and Vico's belief in a historical period in which rational activity has yet to develop and is in his view replaced by a kind of poetic consciousness. Nor did Comte overlook the problem of the relationship between art and philosophy, which he resolved by acknowledging the Pascalian tradition and by distinguishing a spiritual activity capable of transcending pure reason. Comte, in fact, made a distinction between *esprit esthétique* and *esprit scientifique*, and in the wake of the Pascalian contraposition of *esprit de finesse* and *esprit géométrique* he observed that "the eminently



analytical and abstract genius of scientific observation, properly so-called, of the external world is radically different from the essentially synthetic and concrete genius of esthetic observation, which in all phenomena tends almost exclusively to seize only the human aspect thereof" (*Cours de philosophie positive*, 54).

But realism as contraposed to idealism (even though the realists did not relinquish entirely certain basic themes of romantic esthetics), demanded minimization of the principle of art as creative activity, or at least that it be transposed to a different plane. There was reversion from the principle of creation to that of mimesis, and the primary aim of the new art was to be imitation. This was to be an imitation of nature, of objective fact and reality, so that gradually the new terms "naturalism," "verism," and "realism" were introduced into the esthetics of positivism — terms that with varying meanings were to continue from positivism into present-day esthetics. In addition, this approach led to the recognition of art as an auxiliary and integrative function of science, that is, an educational function that united reason, sense, feeling, and imagination and thereby facilitated acquisition of knowledge. Already in Comte, and later in Taine, the arts were discussed as "destined especially for the masses." This emphasis subsequently became the fundamental theme of Marxist esthetics, which still maintains that its direction is realistic, as well as Aristotelian and antiromantic in derivation. Thus the reversion from the principle of creation to that of imitation could not be thoroughgoing and unqualified, given the subjective presuppositions of the whole of modern thought; the antiromantic aspect of this return was more polemical than actual, so that realism and romanticism could not be truly posited as opposites. The imperfection of this dichotomy is apparent upon consideration of the so-called "romantic realism" current in the Soviet Union.

*Contemporary esthetics.* After the foregoing historical outline of "modern" esthetics, it might seem unnecessary to devote further attention to "contemporary" esthetics. However, some distinction between the two is necessary because, although classical esthetics has more or less been conjoined to the Christian and Renaissance Humanist approaches, there has currently emerged from the systematic study of the evolution of the subject a different historical awareness that is more far-reaching than any difference in general principle, even one as substantial as that between mimesis and creativity. When Zimmermann treated the problem of the rise of the science of esthetics in his history of the subject (1858), he deemed it essential to begin with Baumgarten, who had first constructed an esthetic system as a "philosophical science." This affirmation of Baumgarten's importance generated a second proposition — now a widespread conviction — namely, that esthetics is a modern science and only anticipatory traces are to be found in the works of the ancient world, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and beyond. These assertions provoke, therefore, a consideration of what significance may be attached to the expressions "philosophical science" and "modern science" and what actual justification there is for distinguishing the esthetics that came after Baumgarten or Vico from the prior history of esthetics.

That Baumgarten was the first to conceive of esthetics as a philosophical science is a declaration that must have a special connotation; otherwise it would conflict with the manifest evidence of the systems of antiquity, beginning with those of Plato and Aristotle. From this point of view, is it implied that the *Poetics* of Aristotle, for example, does not really constitute philosophical science?

In order to be precise about Zimmermann's historiographical criteria, it is necessary to take into account the Herbartian derivation of his thought and the consequent classificatory aim of his philosophy. In his view, the term "esthetics," as used for the first time in its accepted modern sense by Baumgarten, had to appear as an actual "elaboration" and "classification" of the concept relative to it. The way was now cleared for the consolidation of historical judgment, as Zimmermann's work was the first great history of esthetics and marked the inception of the new historiography. But this judgment was amplified and deepened when, in the wake of Zimmermann and of Herbartism in general, Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) apparently

provided the classificatory phase with a quite different speculative base. For Croce esthetics is a philosophical science, as well as a modern science, not because it came into being with Baumgarten — for whom "the new name was devoid of a truly new content" — but because it originated with Vico. The study had established itself as a definite science with Vico, inasmuch as it was the author of the *Scienza nuova* who alone detected the "autonomous" character of art. "The real revolutionary who by putting aside the concept of probability and conceiving imagination in a novel manner actually discovered the true nature of poetry and art and, so to speak, invented the science of aesthetic was the Italian Giambattista Vico" (*Aesthetic*, II, 4). Croce modified this judgment somewhat in his *New Essays on Aesthetic*, when he became more and more convinced of the revolutionary character of his own esthetics, and eventually assumed the role of chief exponent of modern esthetics, that strain which introduced and elaborated a truly autonomous esthetic science. (Cf. his 1916 essay, "On the History of Aesthetic.")

But what does autonomy mean, and how is it possible to apply Vico's theory in this sense? Croce, who had patterned his attitude after Herbart and had approached esthetics without being able to make a distinction (according to his own explicit confession) between philosophical and classificatory logic, answered these questions by formulating empirically a theory of levels or categories and thereby erected a meaningful scaffold for his great treatise on esthetics as a science of expression and general linguistics (1901). It is a science developed around a definite concept, namely, expression, and it is also a philosophical science, inasmuch as it is ranked with the other philosophical sciences (logic, ethics, and economics) constituting the substance of his "philosophy of the spirit." The intuition set forth by Vico was systematized, and esthetics entered its contemporary phase as a science.

The essential presupposition for Croce's science of esthetics, as well as for a philosophical science, derives from his theory of levels and the consequent definition of art as intuition and expression. Naturally, within the bounds of classificatory logic, the distinction of intuition from the other activities of the spirit can be only descriptive. Spiritual life develops by degrees, moving from nature or from impressions (sensations, feelings, appetites) that arouse us from passivity to activity. The first level is the theoretic one of art, precisely defined as expression (contraposed to impression), intuition, representation, or language (whence the identification of esthetics with linguistics in general). Being theoretical, this phase is therefore cognitive, but cognitive of the individual (confused with the particular that lies beyond the distinction between real and unreal. The art phase is followed by the logical degree and knowledge of the universal and then by the two degrees of practical activity: the economic (an act of volition of the individual) and the ethical (an act of volition of the universal). The entire life of the spirit is encompassed by this scale.

In Croce, art begins as knowledge of the individual and is therefore — according to the thesis advanced in 1893 in his "La storia ridotta sotto il concetto generale dell'arte," and reiterated in the great *Aesthetic* — similar to that other knowledge of the individual which constitutes history. On the basis of this definition, the system of the new esthetic emerged and was articulated in a series of theories arising from the autonomous conception of art as "knowledge of the individual." The border between art and "nonart" was carefully delineated, along with the related concept of autonomy. "The impossibility of choice of content completes the theorem of the independence of art and is also the only legitimate meaning of the expression 'art for art's sake.' Art is independent both of science and of the useful and the moral." (*Aesthetic*, I, 6.) Art must be allogical, uneconomic, and amoral. With Croce the criticism of the discredited hedonism, utilitarianism, and didacticism assumed a peremptory character, and increasingly all his pronouncements on these tendencies enjoyed widespread influence, until they dominated the greater part of esthetics and art criticism during the first half of the century. After writing his great

treatise, however, Croce studied Hegel at the suggestion and under the guidance of Gentile. He thereby acquired a knowledge of the distinction between classificatory logic and philosophical logic, and as a result he subsequently ascribed the significance of dialectical logic to philosophical logic. It followed as a logical consequence that the classification of the levels, as this is traced in the *Aesthetic*, had to be replaced by a dialectical deduction, with all the attendant implications of such a substitution.

The revolution that took place in Croce's esthetics following his discovery of dialectical logic was of such proportions that it practically nullified the entire conception elaborated in the *Aesthetic*. This earlier conception remains deeply rooted in contemporary culture, and as yet there is little evidence of any fundamental change or reappraisal based on the transformation in Croce's attitude. The fundamental stimulus for the transformation arose naturally from the impossibility of remaining faithful to the conception of nature as a presupposition of spiritual activity. All reality becomes spirit, and there are no impressions (sensations, feelings, appetites) beyond expression that may be elevated to the spiritual plane. Expression then will enter into not only the primary level of thought but all degrees in the scale; in fact, it becomes meaningless to speak of an initial degree, since there is no longer a point of departure dictated by nature and by the resultant impression of it. In order to continue to adhere in some way to the theory of "degrees" or "modes" or "levels," Croce was obliged to introduce the new concept of the "circle," by means of which each degree is at the same time both the first and the last and always presupposes the others. Art, therefore, assumes the ethical degree as its proper content, which in turn resolves the economic and logical degrees into itself. The circle is closed by endowing art with the significance of total spirituality, a form of that content which encompasses all reality in its succession of degrees: "That which was form in a prior degree degenerates into matter, thereby receiving another form" (*La poesia*, I). The relation between form and content was the problem which Croce had inherited from De Sanctis and which he had resolved by accepting Gentile's point of view. After Croce's departure from the position he had formerly maintained in the *Aesthetic*, this relationship was also forced to undergo modification in terms of the new dialectic, and the old dualism was to some extent restored. On the other hand, each degree of the spirit, by resolving in itself the material of the other, "deteriorated" degrees, is materialized and reinforced by them and therefore enriched by all their attributes. Accordingly, it was natural that art — like logic — should become, rather than merely a knowledge of the individual, an all-embracing perception of the individual and the universal. It was no longer to be the transcendence or abstraction of feeling but would embody feeling itself. Nor would art be remote from and take precedence over the economic and ethical world, which would instead be presupposed as a fundamental condition. Art was no longer to be posited as "immediacy" of apprehension and therefore set above the distinction between the real and the unreal; still, it was to express the real through its own instrumentality.

Croce's theory of the circle was inevitably destined to deny the esthetic conception that had given rise to his usage of the term "degree." The substitution of the circle for the earlier scale, a scale anchored firmly in nature, could only lead to a very different complex of questions and finally to the pure and simple negation of the preceding formulation of the problem. Croce never explicitly confessed this reversal and perhaps never took it fully into account, but it is obvious that among the degrees of the circle such an empirical distinction could no longer be valid. Otherwise, why would there be any necessity for two degrees of knowledge if both represented similar knowledge of the spirit — that is, knowledge of the individual and the universal together? (Nor is it a question that one is a knowledge of matter and the other a knowledge of spirit.) If, then, artistic form, "by individualizing harmonizes individuality with universality and therefore universalizes in this very act," what need is there for another form of cognition? Evidently

the answer can no longer be forthcoming on a philosophical and dialectical plane. History, at first subsumed in the general concept of art, is now identified with philosophy, inasmuch as historical judgment cannot be other than individual and universal at the same time. But this line of reasoning provokes other questions: Why is the same argument not adduced for art, and why is there no recognition of the substantial identity of art and philosophy? One would search in vain in the subsequent development of Croce's thought for a dialectical justification of the permanent character of the degrees of the spirit. The disparities between them can only be removed to the plane of infinite empirical differences and therefore are merely to be noted and described. At their base lies no intrinsic necessity; and it makes even less sense to speak of a categorical autonomy of function, in terms of which esthetics is to be raised to a philosophical science by distinguishing it from the nonphilosophical sciences. There is no longer any reason to contend that esthetics is exclusively a contemporary science. In *Saggio sulla storia dell'estetica* Croce, after having referred to the characteristics of ancient esthetics, asserts peremptorily that "it is even more glaringly evident that, in the period that extends from the Greeks to the seventeenth century, there was no aesthetic in the proper sense of the word. The reason for this is that the concept of art, whose efficacy we have lauded, was . . . confused in its judgments or rambled on in aphorisms and maxims — 'loose and disconnected,' in the phrase of the Platonic Socrates; that is to say, it was not connected systematically with other philosophical concepts. The empirical science of art was truly empirical, for it did not really think about art but was content to divide it into parts and particles, to generalize from single cases, and to base over-all precepts on them. And the lamps of a philosophy of art and esthetics that were lit here and there by philosophers not only lacked a following but were quickly extinguished without affecting even their own authors." It is difficult to accept unquestioningly the apodictic character of such assertions, which are typical of so much of the present-day historiography of esthetics. Such acceptance would be particularly onerous after examining, even as cursorily as has been done here, the history of ancient and modern esthetics to establish the notable achievements of theorizing on art down through the centuries. The following question then arises: What are the claims of this new and overwhelmingly adopted science of esthetics that permit such radical contraposition of a relatively recent development with the riches of a tradition more than two thousand years old?

The philosopher Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) has posited a rigorously dialectical approach in opposition to the persistent empirical classifications of Croce's degrees of the spirit. The conviction that an esthetic, as a philosophical discipline, can be established only through the operations of a detailed system of philosophy induced Gentile to forego entirely any inquiry concerning the concept of art and to revert to direct consideration of the so-called "works of art." In this direction Gentile went even farther than the requirements foreseen by Croce. If everything may be viewed as spirit, one must have the courage to assert that everything is "philosophy" as well and that it is not possible to distinguish between works of art and works extraneous to the world of art. Consequently, if it is necessary to speak of distinctions in order to take proper account of the dialectic process of the spirit, empirical distinctions must be disregarded (even poetry, Croce himself says, can be prose, and prose can be poetry) and attention must be focused on the internal distinctions of the spiritual act itself. If esthetics is a philosophical science, it is so only in so far as it is based on the determination of the essential moments of the dialectic sequence. The spirit is act, and the act alone is concrete. But in order to understand the final significance of the act, it is necessary to analyze the constituent moments that it synthesizes. Accordingly, if the act — or rather the synthesis — is philosophy, how are its constituent abstract moments to be defined? Gentile makes a distinction between the moment of pure subjectivity and that of pure objectivity; the former he calls "feeling," or art. Since Gentile is here dealing with a single moment of the synthesis and not the synthesis itself, it follows that

feeling, or art, cannot manifest a concrete reality of its own but instead resides within concrete forms, within all concrete forms, as an inseparable moment of every reality. Hence art or feeling is an inexpressible property or sensibility; it is "an indefinable something, as a certain kind of feeling was once described; something that everybody feels but whose quality no one can express precisely. Anyone who has not experienced it can never understand it. . . . Meanwhile, it has been observed that a known [i.e., explainable] feeling is not a feeling but a cognition." (*Philosophy of Art*, I, 4.) This is tantamount to saying that art is not "the expression or the intuition of feeling, but feeling itself." On the contrary, the expression of feeling is thought (or philosophy), the concrete form in which the abstract is realized. This is the source of the deduction that "art in its immediate existence cannot be known, and it flees every attempt that thought makes to grasp it. Art, like a dream, does not lie within the thought that affirms it and that can affirm it, or in the deliberation that is exercised upon it, or in the criticism that would apprehend and understand it; nor is it in the history which strives to individualize it, or in the philosophy which defines it. Art is no longer within these and similar forms of thought, just as he who is relating his dream to you is no longer dreaming. And then? When it is in these, it is not art; and when it can be said, 'There, that is art,' it is no longer there." (*Ibid.*, I, 1.)

With this theory Gentile boldly discounted every empirical consideration of art and denied, indeed, the very possibility of any empirical definition of a work of art. Art, or rather feeling, is within everything, and it waits to be discovered in everything. "Art embraces the whole of the spirit under the aspect of art; and the history of art is the full history of the whole of the spirit considered under the aspect of art" (*ibid.*, I, 5). With the abolition of all empirical considerations it was natural that the entire issue of the concept of art as a "concrete degree of the spirit" related to other concrete degrees should also be expunged. This change affected particularly problems concerning the theoretical character of art and its relation to logic, economics, and morality, which in turn involved its hedonistic and didactic values. Moreover, it radically altered the character of criticism, which, no longer being required to distinguish between art and nonart, was no longer philosophy scrutinizing art but became philosophy confronting philosophy (that is, concrete thought dealing with concrete thought); art would henceforth recognize this principle in every expression of reality, every thought and opinion. As it had been for Bacon and Vico, art was still the primal manifestation of spirit; but it was no longer fixed empirically in some remote historical period — the infancy of mankind. Instead, it was identified with the subjective principle, the fountainhead of all spiritual life, which was to be developed and enriched through concrete expression.

The work of Gentile constitutes the greatest speculative effort undertaken in the cause of esthetics as a philosophical science, an endeavor to remove from esthetics all taint of empiricism and to invest it with the precision and order of dialectical deduction. It remains to be seen whether the results achieved can furnish the basis for a science of esthetics or whether in actuality, by fusing the problem of art with that of philosophy, his proposals lead inevitably to the elimination of the very discipline that he sought to establish. That is, in view of Gentile's conclusions, is it still valid to postulate an esthetic that is a philosophical science, somewhere between an esthetic identified with philosophy and the opposite empiricist definition?

Contemporary esthetics has reached a turning point, and the ramifications of the crisis that besets it now extend back through the entire history of the subject. What significance can esthetics have as a philosophical science? From Zimmerman to Croce to Gentile, all the related inquiries can be characterized as attempts to answer this question satisfactorily. After Gentile's speculations, however, the validity of the question itself is suspect, for even the concept of a philosophical science no longer appears self-evident. Thus the problem of indicating the requisites for an esthetics formulated as philosophical

science is transformed into a question of whether such an esthetics is possible at all — and ultimately, whether any philosophical science whatsoever can be realized. The inquiry has widened disproportionately, but evidently this more encompassing approach cannot be drastically curtailed if the true significance of the crisis is to be determined.

If examination of the problem is confined to the relation between philosophy and science, its import can be gauged precisely and unequivocally. Philosophy is an investigation of the totality of reality and therefore tends to deal in absolutes; science is an investigation conducted within the compass of only a segment of reality and hence is relative and empirical. Knowledge of the particular is contraposed to knowledge of the universal, and the distinguishing criteria of the two ways of knowing leave no cause for uncertainty. Still, in what sense is the combination term "philosophical science" to be understood in terms of its components "philosophy" and "science"? And in what sense has it actually been adopted? Before reference is made to contemporary esthetics, it is necessary to consider how esthetic inquiry was conceived from the beginning and in what sense it corresponded to the [philosophical and scientific aspects. In reality, the problem could not be posed with clarity in the esthetics of the ancient world, because the distinction between philosophy and science had not then been made. Nevertheless, it is certain that theories concerning art were all posed on a metaphysical plane by Plato and by the pre-Socratics and that these cannot be apprehended on any other level. Esthetics has always been identified with philosophy, because the problem of art has always been formulated as a "problem involving the relation between art and philosophy," that is, as the problem of philosophy itself. The examination of the empirical aspects of the world of art and the disciplines deriving from it, such as rhetoric and poetics — or precepts in general — acquired meaning and value from their metaphysical presuppositions, without which they would not have been able to come into being and develop. Down through the centuries, naturally, the relation between art and philosophy has been interpreted in a great variety of ways; therefore, the conception of the significant function of art has undergone continual changes in accordance with changes in the metaphysical principle defining reality. No matter how this relationship was understood at a particular time, it invariably affected the character of the concurrent esthetics.

If the various definitions of the relationship are grouped according to typical tendencies and varying attitudes over the course of time, it becomes apparent that art has been viewed in three basic ways: as something less than philosophy, as something identified with philosophy, or as something beyond philosophy. It remained pragmatically detached from philosophy when emphasis was placed upon human qualities and reason; it was associated with philosophy whenever agnosticism prevailed, a doctrine which disallowed any effective distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness and between vision or dream and wakefulness; and it set itself beyond philosophy when faith in intellect and reason lapsed and the quest for the absolute took the form of irrational or superrational experience. On the basis of the latter experiences superior merit was attributed to sense, imagination, and feeling. Nor has contemporary esthetics (Baumgarten et seq.) been able, even with different assumptions, to discard entirely these traditional alternatives. To substantiate this, one merely has to recall the esthetics that left the deepest imprint on culture toward the end of the 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th century, from Nietzsche to Bergson and from Croce to Gentile. The anti-intellectualism of the first was countered by the idealism of the others. Nevertheless, the central problem remained ever the same and tended to recur in an increasingly romantic sense: how could esthetics be truly distinguished from philosophy, and what meaning could such a distinction have?

The conviction that contemporary esthetics is markedly differentiated from the rest of the history of esthetics is sustained not by contraposing it to philosophy but through ordaining it a "philosophical science" — a philosophical science, not merely a philosophy. Justification for this is found in the



fact that the end which is pursued is the autonomy of art and its contingent study. Therefore it is no longer identified as philosophy, but as a "part" of philosophy: art is a particular aspect of reality, and esthetics is the particular related discipline. Some care must be exercised here; if esthetics is to remain a philosophical science and is not to be transmuted into an empirical science, art must at the same time be a part of philosophy and yet not a part. This enigmatic phrasing means that esthetics must be a part only for purposes of differentiating it from other spiritual activities; yet it is not a part but a whole in so far as it comprises a distinctly universal value, which is therefore not an appropriate study for an empirical science.

This dual nature of part and nonpart has generated the belief that it is possible to present esthetics as a philosophical science lying somewhere between philosophy and the empirical sciences. But how is it possible to conceive of a part which in not a part (that is, which does not maintain a constant reference to a specified whole) and hence to distinguish the part of philosophical science that is the province of esthetics from that which relates to chemistry? Why should philosophers rather than some sort of specialists — technicians of art — occupy themselves with esthetics, since, for example, specialists and technicians deal with chemical theories and phenomena? How may philosophical science be effectively distinguished from empirical science?

An exact answer to such questions, so critical in the entire history of contemporary esthetics, has been essayed only by Croce with his theory of so-called "pure concepts." The concepts with which the empirical sciences are concerned, Croce has declared, are merely pseudo concepts. On the other hand, the concepts with which philosophy and the philosophical sciences deal are true concepts and are therefore universal. How many are there? Four, answers Croce; but others might respond — and have responded — with other figures and still other concepts. These are simply the conventional "categories," which differ continually in number and name but persist throughout the history of thought; they are "ideas" hypostatized and extolled. It is true that the new esthetics aims to be philosophical in an antimetaphysical sense and thereby to differ from all previous esthetics. Still, it will not renounce the principle of categories and, as a result, has created a hybrid and equivocal concept of philosophical science.

Gentile responded peremptorily to Croce's assumptions. Modifying the Hegelian dialectic, he declared explicitly that the categories are infinite but are at the same time a unity; in other words, there is but one all-encompassing category, which is infinitely multiplied. Art then becomes pure concept, like a chemical phenomenon; and all studies become either philosophical or empirical, a distinction that can no longer be maintained. Its existence is due to the intellectualistic attitude of idealism that persisted even after the modification of the Hegelian dialectic. Metaphysics in the traditional sense should definitely have been superseded by the new idealism, so far as it comprehended that spiritual activity. In other words, the whole of reality may no longer be conceived as an object presupposed by definition and outlined in a "system," for what is defined and systematized cannot be genuine activity, the spirit, the creative subject. Explanation and codification merely apply to the thing, the created, the object — the part detached from the whole, which thereby becomes relative in nature. On the contrary, Croce continued to regard the spirit as a natural reality with unalterable structure and laws. He proceeded therefore to "make an inventory of the human spirit," as he expressed it — a spirit permanently transfixed at the end of a creative development that is by now definitely exhausted.

Gentile sought to break down the barriers with his attempt to conceive of the categories otherwise, namely, by confining them within the unity and the uniqueness of the spiritual act. Thus the several categories somehow reemerged as a number of dialectical "moments," and even Gentile, notwithstanding the profoundly revolutionary character of his professed requisites, ended by describing and systematizing the spirit into a fixed and objective structure. The underlying fallacy of the philosophical sciences could not be completely eliminated;

and from the precinct of philosophy there again arose an esthetics that was to be the exclusive competence of the philosopher.

Gentile, however, now posed the problem of categories in its most stringent form; and even if his solution was little more than an insistence upon venerable tradition, the way was opened for radical revision of the concept of the "science of esthetics." The potential significance of this revision is evidenced by some recent studies in esthetics, above all by certain trends in present-day philosophy, even though the new formulation of the problem has not yet been sufficiently clarified and the proffered solutions have not yet freed themselves of old and new fallacies. In general, the work of revision centers about an insistence upon the antimetaphysical attitude, so that esthetics can be returned to the camp of empiricism. Nevertheless, because there are various ways of achieving this result, an enervating fallacy has arisen from the way that is most commonly selected. Its proponents desire, in fact, that esthetics be divorced from metaphysics, not in order to become something other than metaphysics but simply because the worth of metaphysical investigation is categorically to be denied. Philosophy continues to subsist; but deprived of its vital substance — namely, the metaphysical question — it can no longer differentiate itself convincingly from science and remains suspended between an unconscious metaphysic and an empirical science. As a result no one has been willing to declare unhesitatingly that esthetics is a particular science, comparable to chemistry, botany, or mineralogy; hence it remains classified as a philosophy with a vague, ambiguous significance. No longer is there a need to see in art, as in every experience commanding dedication and commitment, a striving toward the absolute; accordingly, the prospects for sustaining a truly speculative consideration of art have become most unlikely. Nevertheless, the conviction of the categorical — and thus, not wholly empirical — nature of art persists, though currently it is barely perceptible. Its continuance is perhaps based on the fact that the peculiar qualities of art cannot be brought into exact correspondence with the substance of any of the sciences. Consequently, the examination of esthetic problems, rather than being referred to competent authorities (namely, those who work with art as a profession: artists, critics, art historians, or technicians of art), is still marked by a dogged insistence on creating a science of esthetics. Being neither genuine philosophy nor empirical science, this irresolute approach produces vacuous and commonplace pronouncements lacking the sense of intense commitment and the conviction essential for sound inquiry.

Typical of the indecision of this situation is the attempt to reduce esthetics to phenomenology. No longer philosophy nor even science, phenomenology was to accomplish the miracle of keeping faith with the dictates of empirical experience while at the same time encouraging capacities different from those of the artist, the critic, or the historian. The position of neopositivist esthetics is not greatly dissimilar; nor is that of a certain type of existentialist esthetics. When existentialism eschews the metaphysical and does not treat the problem of art on such a plane, it also succumbs to phenomenological criteria and manifests a hybrid esthetics that is psychological and literary in its orientation. The characteristic sterility of a method of inquiry and a system of categories arbitrarily abstracted from their original sphere of competence is particularly evident in neopositivist esthetics, in that variant more explicitly linked with the so-called "analytical philosophy."

The position taken with respect to the problematicist approach to esthetics is expressly a different one. After contending that metaphysical considerations cannot be disregarded in philosophical inquiry, the problematicist thinker necessarily beholds in art, as in every expression of reality, a manifestation of the unity of the whole. Hence it is inevitable that he proceed from this realization to a metaphysical examination of the whole, in accordance with a tradition that has been consecrated by the entire history of esthetics. In doing, so, however, he does not formulate a science of esthetics but continues to engender philosophy, as he does for any other experience of the

real. Also, as with any other definite experience, he leaves the detailed investigation of artistic phenomena to those who must "live by them" and who are thus more suited to recognize, understand, and evaluate them systematically. Theirs will be the work of developing the science of esthetics, which will no longer be concerned with presumed and mystical aspects, or categories of art but with empirical concepts — specific problems, typology, classifications, poetics, styles (and the rules deriving therefrom), general and particular histories, technique, criticism, and so forth. The philosopher will continue to reflect upon esthetics, but only in a negative sense — only for the purpose, that is, of clearing the field of all the prejudices accumulated as a result of the metaphysical faith in the categorization of art, which may be detected in most periods and in the most diverse activities of the human spirit. The philosopher's task will be to substantiate the avowed impossibility of defining art as theoretical or practical, as intuition or reflection, immediacy or mediation, imagination or reason, feeling or sensibility. Art cannot henceforth be defined philosophically, because philosophy can no longer be conceived of as a fixed system of reality. Any attempt to devise a categorical definition of art can only result in the fixing of arbitrary limits for the work of the artist and the art critic. The likelihood that the definition of art may sometime be obliged to defer to empirical science means only that such a definition — like the substance of any other particular science — must partake of a generic and flexible expression, open to continual revision and accommodation to purposes and viewpoints that may appear more urgent and estimable to the eye of the scientist. The latter will move about with greater ease and freedom in this definite sphere of competency no longer inhibited by fears of pseudo competency and the oppressive arrogance of the philosopher. The artists and critics of art will experience a corresponding sense of relief, fully conscious of their liberation from the "rules" that had long ago incited justifiable protest in the revolutionary mind of Giordano Bruno.

After fostering the certainty since the 18th century that the true science of esthetics had been established as philosophical science, estheticians have now reached the foregoing conclusions. Their future direction is clear, but its course is strewn with obstacles formed of widespread erroneous convictions that are deeply entrenched. The worst of the situation is that such metaphysical prejudices are still tolerated and defended by those very philosophies which are essentially anti-metaphysical and which unknowingly harbor the most dangerous vestiges of the outmoded metaphysical approach. Recognition of these hazards should prove of value in demonstrating how and why esthetics must continue to concern the philosopher in his new role as proponent of the termination of esthetics as a philosophical science.

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UGO SPIRITO

At the beginning of the 20th century, British esthetic theory was predominantly idealistic. The writing of Bernard Bosanquet sets the tone for this tradition, which has later manifestations in the work of R. G. Collingwood and Samuel Alexander. In response to attacks on idealism by Bertrand Russell and George E. Moore, esthetics also reverted to common sense and careful

scrutiny of its experiential foundations. The position that Moore set forth in *Principia Ethica* had influence outside the scope of philosophy as well, as evidenced by the writing of the formalist critics Roger Fry and Clive Bell. Literary criticism was also affected by the shift in philosophical position. The criticism of T. S. Eliot, William Empson, and I. A. Richards exhibits concern for intrinsic values in literature. At the same time there was a school of experiential esthetics influenced by the work of German psychologists. The views of this school were expressed in the concepts "psychical distance" (Edward Bullough) and "empathy" (Vernon Lee). Still other German influences have played and continue to play an important part in British esthetics. With the establishment of the Warburg Institute in London, British philosophers were able to study at first hand the consequences of the style analysis developed by Heinrich Wölfflin, Alois Riegl, and Erwin Panofsky. One writer influenced by these views is Herbert Read. There are two dominant trends in contemporary British esthetics: one that continues the inquiry into the nature of beauty (H. Osborn, P. Haezrahi); another following the mode of linguistic analysis established by Ludwig Wittgenstein. The latter tendency is becoming the dominant philosophical current in present-day esthetics. It seeks to discover the ways in which the terms used in discussing art and esthetic experience fit into ordinary language (see William Elton et al.). There is evidence at present that British and American esthetic theory is finding common ground in this approach.

The name "instrumentalist theories" can be given to those positions which have been dominant in American esthetics since 1900. The most important figure in this movement is John Dewey. He has found critics and coworkers in George Santayana, Ralph Barton Perry, C. I. Lewis, David Wight Prall, Kenneth Burke, and Thomas Munro. Esthetic values have been defined by this group in terms of the kind of experience realized in the beholder by the object. Adherents of instrumentalism have been vigorously opposed to a formalist theory of art. Artistic concepts, such as form, are defined by them in terms of the integrity of the beholder's experience, rather than by reference to the structure of the object. Criticism in America has been dominated by the work of the so-called "new critics," who have revolted against the biographical and historical emphasis of 19th-century criticism. Most influential have been the writings of John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Cleanth Brooks, William K. Wimsatt, René Wellek, and Austin Warren. They hold that the language of the object is the most important consideration for the critic and argue that artistic values cannot be derived from an investigation of artistic intention. Their views have been opposed by the writers of the "Chicago school," who consider themselves followers of an Aristotelian mode of analysis (see R. S. Crane et al.).

The varieties of positions in esthetics and criticism have been combined in encyclopedic surveys by a number of hands. Most important in this endeavor is the work of Monroe C. Beardsley, and his technique is employed by the compilers of anthologies and large-scale summaries (see Eliseo Vivas and Murray Krieger; Morris Weitz; J. Stolnitz; T. H. Green.). Two influences from Europe have been important in the work of recent estheticians. Susanne K. Langer has brought the symbol analysis of Ernst Cassirer to the attention of American philosophers; and the methods of Ludwig Wittgenstein are employed by a number of philosophers currently at work. Finally, there is the pervasive effect of both psychoanalytic and gestalt psychology on British and American esthetics. The most important works subsequent to the contributions of Freud have been those of Ernst Kris, Ernest Jones, and Melanie Klein. The only thoroughgoing attempt to use gestalt psychology is found in the writings of Rudolf Arnheim.

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**ORIENTAL ESTHETICS.** *Islamic esthetics.* Systematic enquiry into the nature of beauty, whether embodied in literature or in the visual arts, has found no place in Islamic philosophy, for the theoretical interests of Islamic culture never reached the deeper level at which the idea of beauty appears as the common source of all artistic expression but were confined to the criticism of literary phenomena (rhetoric and poetry). This fact is at least partially traceable to the cultural impact upon Islam of the heritage of ancient Greece. During the period when Islamic civilization was at its height (9th-10th cent.), two main elements met and mingled within it which, in the realm of literature and philosophy, were never completely fused. One was the national tradition of Arabic literature, with its own criticism and rules, still largely philological and grammatical in character; the other was Greek philosophy, approached through translation.

The discovery of Aristotle's *Poetics* was decisive for the Arabs. Yet the commentaries on this work by the foremost of their interpreters of Greek thought — al-Fārābī (ca. 870-950), Avicenna (ibn-Sīnā, 980-1037), and, later, Averroës (ibn-Rushd, 1126-98) — show that the Aristotelian theories were only partially understood; they were in fact sometimes distorted, as was perhaps inevitable, in the course of the attempts of Avicenna and, more particularly, Averroës to reconcile the theories of Aristotle with the realities of Arabic poetry.

It is also relevant that the Platonic tradition, which had gone more deeply into esthetic theory than the Peripatetic tradition, reached the Arabs mostly in the form transmitted by Neoplatonic commentators. There was available to Arab scholars a translation of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, which, its title notwithstanding, was actually based on extracts from Plotinus, and they had al-Fārābī's Platonic translations and commentaries. Later came the Platonizing philosophy of *Ishrāq*, mainly after al-Suhrawardī, subsequently developed in an Iranian environment by Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadraddīn Shīrāzī) and al-Asterābādī. But the Platonism thus transmitted did not make so strong an appeal as Aristotelianism, and it was along the main lines of the latter that the philosophical thought of the Arabs developed.

Thus, through Peripatetic principles applied to traditional Arabic poetry — with greater or less success — Moslem thought worked out a system of literary rules rather than a doctrine of beauty. In the Arabic and Persian treatises, for example, it was the Aristotelian concept of mimesis (Ar., *muhākāt*) that held a place of honor.

Paradoxically, in the 9th and 10th centuries the visual arts were developing admirably without a theory, through the synthesis, in an original manner, of forms and processes based on earlier artistic traditions. Modern discoveries indicate that

the ban imposed by Islamic law on the representation of animals and the human figure (to prevent any possibility of a lapse into paganism) was not so strictly observed, particularly in the earlier period, as had been believed. It did indeed limit the development of painting and sculpture, but history and literature give ample evidence of a passion for building on the part of certain rulers, of a love of splendor and luxury that overcame religious injunctions, and of an appreciation of art in aristocratic circles. Neither the abundant documentation in literary and historical texts nor the living reality of the surviving works of art, however, gives us more than a glimpse of the esthetic principles implicit in the working out of the religious law as it affected the artistic production.

This indifference to the theoretic problems of the representational arts at a time when the arts themselves were flourishing is connected with a social fact: in the early period at least, the work of artists, unlike that of poets and musicians, was considered mechanical and manual; they were ranked as craftsmen. Today most of their names have perished. In later times — under the Timurid, Safawid, Indian Moghul, and Ottoman dynasties — the Moslem artist began to achieve status, and from these later periods we have catalogues of works of art and biographies of artists — mostly painters, calligraphers, and architects; there are handbooks on various arts and crafts (among the earliest are works on ceramic art), and these begin to lay down precepts and to state esthetic principles.

Scanty as are explicit references to esthetics, even in the classical period, descriptions of individual works of art abound in Arabic and Persian literature, not only in the East (Iraq and Persia) but perhaps even more in northern Africa and Spain. In poetry and in prose Moslem writers were wont to give their impressions of a monument, a garden, a wrought cup, a jewel. There come to mind the celebrated description by the Abbasside poet al-Buḥtūrī (820-97) of the Sassanian palace in Ctesiphon, with its paintings and reliefs of historical scenes, and the description by the Sicilian, ibn-Ḥamdīs (ca. 1055-1132), of the palaces built by Abbāside and Hammadid princes in Seville and Bougie. But these descriptions are no more than intimations of esthetic criteria; conforming to the general conventions of the time, they often degenerate into affected conceits and maxims and thus they reveal no body of principles such as might be said to constitute an esthetic — nor do they indeed even make it possible for us to reconstruct the style of the works discussed.

The dearth of articulation of esthetic values does not alter the fact that the artistic heritage of Islam is of a very high order. Doubtless the neglect of this aspect of philosophy stems, as does the tendency of Islamic art toward the abstract, from the fact that the Islamic world view is essentially centered on God. However, the tendency toward the abstract is tempered by occasional touches of realism, and expression of esthetic values is by no means entirely lacking from the literature.

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While it is a fact that the nature of beauty as it appears in various media has been little explored by Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Moslem Indian writers, and that there are no systematic treatises on the laws governing the expressions of beauty, there has been no lack of awareness of beauty in Islamic art on the part of Moslem writers. This awareness has been voiced in general terms in various texts.

The orthodox Moslem point of view, especially of the Moslem with mystical leanings, is well exemplified by passages in al-Ghazzālī's work *Kīmīyā-i Sa'ādāt* (*The Alchemy of Happiness*), written about A.D. 1106. The beauty of a thing, according to al-Ghazzālī, lies in the appearance of that perfection which is realizable and in accord with its nature: for every object there is a characteristic perfection, the opposite of which

could, under special circumstances, constitute characteristic perfection for something else. When all possible traits of perfection appear in an object, it represents the highest stage of beauty; when only some of them appear, the object represents the measure of beauty proportionate to the degree of perfection achieved. For instance, the most beautiful writing combines all the traits of perfection that are characteristic of writing, such as harmony of letters, their correct relation to one another, right sequence and spacing, and pleasing arrangement. Apart from the five senses by which beauty is perceived, al-Ghazzālī refers to a sixth sense, the "soul" (also called "spirit," "heart," "reason," "light"), which perceives the beauty of the inner world, that is, of spiritual, moral, and religious values. This concept of the vision of the inner beauty introduces a new vista of beauty, and with it of art, that satisfies even the strict theologian in al-Ghazzālī. A beautiful painting or building reveals also the inner beauty of the painter or architect. This inner beauty rests on three principles: knowledge (the most sublime form of which is knowledge of God), power to lead oneself and others to a better life, and the transcending of faults and deficiencies. Since knowledge, power, and the transcending of faults are absolute only in God, and since they derive in their human form from Him, it follows that love of the manifestations of the inner beauty by the perfect artist leads to God.

The branch of art that has been subjected to precise esthetic judgments more often than any other in the Islamic world is calligraphy. This is probably because the medium has always been highly regarded by the religious as well as the literati. The 10th-century *Risālat fī'l-ilm al-kitābah* (*Epistle on Penmanship*) by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī as-Ṣūfī of Baghdad is a typical example of this attitude. It had been preceded by other such writings, and this type of work, combining evaluation with technical comments and remarks about the significance of calligraphy, continued to be produced for at least another six centuries; it was particularly prominent in Iran in the 16th century.

The occasional esthetic comments that painting evoked were mostly of a general nature and were expressed in metaphorical and hyperbolic language. The lack of a more precise evaluation was primarily due, as we have seen, to the basic iconoclastic attitude in Islam; the representational arts were a priori unacceptable to the vast majority of the official codifiers of Moslem law and its later interpreters (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM). Despite this hostile atmosphere, so orthodox a teacher as al-Ghazzālī could find a positive approach to the beauty of a picture. For the mystic writers such as Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī (13th cent.), the beautiful painting even became a favorite allegory. Other authors, especially physicians, ascribed definite psychological effects to the artistic merit and esthetic beauty of certain paintings. It was thought that fine pictures, such as those found in the bathhouses (*ḥammām*), representing lovers, gardens, flowers, galloping horses, and wild beasts, would strengthen the powers of the body, whether animal, natural, or spiritual. It was also assumed that beautiful pictures gladden the heart and drive melancholy thoughts away. This was, for instance, the point of view of the famous physician and philosopher Muḥammad ibn-Zakariyyah ar-Rāzī, called Rhazes (864-925), who saw the effective force of fine paintings in the combination of harmonious colors, such as yellow, red, and green, with well-proportioned forms.

The historical work *Ta'rikh-i Rasā'id* of the Safawid prince Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt (16th cent.) contains something on the order of a critical esthetic vocabulary. According to him the stroke of the pen or brush (*qalam*) in a master's design or sketch (*tarḥ*) should be strong (*maḥkam*) but should also show delicacy (*nāsukī*), cleanness (*sāfi*), refinement (*malāḥat*), maturity (*pukhtagī*), and organization (*andām*). The result of his efforts would then be refreshing (*khunuk*) and mature (*pukhtah*). On the other hand, the work of an inferior artist would lack these qualities and therefore be crude (*khām*) and disorganized (*bi-andām*).

The only modern writer in a Moslem milieu who has written on esthetic matters is Bishr Farès, a Lebanese Christian scholar

who has studied in Paris and is now living in Cairo. In his work on Islamic decorative art (see *Bibliog.*), issued in both French and Arabic, he deals with such questions as the character of the ornament, especially the arabesque, with the role of stylization and dehumanization, and with fantasy, color, and calligraphy. He has also — by unearthing existent terms and creating new ones — compiled a special vocabulary in Arabic, with French equivalents, for use in discussions of esthetics.

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*Indian esthetics.* Indian studies of esthetic problems have for the most part dealt with poetry and the theater; painting is very rarely, and then only marginally, mentioned. The drama, because it appeals to sight and hearing (the only senses that are capable, according to some Indian thinkers, of rising above the boundaries of the limited "I") was considered the highest form of art. Aside from rhetoric and the empirical drama (*alamkāra*), which were highly developed in India, but which do not concern us here, the Indians were keenly interested in the study of esthetic consciousness, on the part of both the spectator and the poet. Indian thinkers recognized the unique characteristics of the poet with an insight anticipating by some ten centuries the developments of modern Western esthetics; Indian rhetors have been greatly served by the prevailingly psychological orientation of their philosophy, which has contributed many terms and concepts to their studies in esthetics.

The first Indian work on esthetics, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ("Book of the Theater"), ascribed to the mythical Bharata, is not merely a collection of observations and rules for the training of actors and poets; it is a work of deep psychological insight. The author (not without a certain sententiousness typical of Indian thought) classifies the various modulations of the human soul and treats of their transition from the practical to the esthetic plane. Bharata's work is the basic text of Indian rhetoric; it was probably written in the 5th or 6th century of our era, and, however variously interpreted, it is undeniably the foundation of Indian esthetic thought. However, for a simple and clear statement of the Indian attitude to esthetic problems one turns not so much to Bharata's as to another, later approach — that of Ānandavardhana — which, while deriving from Bharata, examines esthetic phenomena with greater intellectual rigor and without his psychological casuistry. Philosopher and rhetor at the court of Avantivarman (855-83), Ānandavardhana was the founder of the school of *dhvani* (resonance), which flourished in Kashmir in the 9th century, and the author of the famous work *Dhvanyāloka* ("Panorama of Resonance"). The starting point of his approach is the difference he observed between ordinary and poetic language. The philosophy of language has very ancient roots in India, and in various epochs its problems have been dealt with by diverse and radically differing schools; yet Indian thinkers, both Buddhist and Hindu, are in substantial agreement on one point — the instrumental and provisional nature of ordinary speech. Language is essentially pragmatic: the words we use exist in so far as they serve some purpose, and after we have used them they cease to be. This aspect of the spoken word was acutely perceived in Indian thought. According to Buddhist philosophers, words are powerless to grasp the living reality of things; they deal with the general, which is simply an image of things, an image out of focus, so to speak, and ultimately unreal.

This conception of practical speech must have lain behind an idea expressed (probably before Ānandavardhana) in three unique and extremely interesting verses by an unknown author preserved by the 12th-century Jain, Hemacandra [*Kāvyānūśāna* (*Viveka*, p. 380)]. If the subject of ordinary words is

the general (say these stanzas), such cannot be the case with poetic words, which, quite otherwise, deal with the particular, with individual things (*svalakṣaṇa*): "It is said that all things have two different natures; one, common to all, is the universal (the object of all words), which can be the substance of discursive thought only. For this reason it is said that discursive images lack vividness. The object of the words of true poets, of profound intuition, is not, in this connection, the universal but the other nature — the individual — which is the substance of direct experience."

Ānandavardhana was the first to state clearly the limits separating poetic language from the pragmatic speech of everyday. His theory, amply developed in the four chapters of his book, is very simple in its essentials. Words, he says in brief, take on in poetry a new value, meaning, and power; these coexist with their literal and metaphorical meanings, which they are not to be identified with but cannot do without. "Poetic meaning is different from conventional meaning: in the words of the great poets it shines forth as a thing different from all the other parts perceived; it resembles the effect of grace in women" (*Dhvanyāloka*, I, 4). The meaning assumed by words in poetry, while differing from the conventional or practical meaning, at the same time leans on it. The clearest statement of Ānandavardhana's position is in the following stanzas from Book I of his work: "The poetic meaning is not made intelligible by mere grammatical and lexical learning; only those who know what poetry really is grasp it. This meaning, and those rare words having the power to express it, must be studied attentively by those who wish to become true poets. As those wishing to see something in the dark are intent on first finding a lamp, the instrument of light, so those ultimately interested in poetic meaning must, in the beginning, be intent on literal meaning. As the meaning of a sentence is grasped only through the meaning of each single word, so if we are to perceive the poetic meaning we cannot dispense with the perception of the literal meaning. Just as the meaning of a word is no longer distinctly perceived after it has communicated to us, by virtue of its power, the meaning of the sentence (thus fulfilling its office), so for those who are esthetically sensitive and remain aloof from the expressed meaning, the poetic meaning flashes upon the mind, which then is the contemplator of poetic truth. To conclude, connoisseurs give the name of 'resonance' [*dhvani*] to that particular sort of poetry in which both the conventional meaning and the conventional word are subordinate" (*Dhvanyāloka*, I, 7-13).

This poetic meaning of words coexists, paradoxically, with the historical or literal meaning; as Maheśvarānanda, a philosopher of the 13th century, points out, its relation to the other powers of words is like that of freedom to men's other capacities and activities. The name by which it is known — resonance — implies the power of suggestion, of manifestation. It may be asked: suggestion, manifestation, of what? Poetic words suggest or make manifest the esthetic experience, or enjoyment, which is given an untranslatable name, "rasa," meaning at the same time juice, taste, flavor. This typically Indian conception of esthetic experience as a juice or a taste savored by the reader or spectator should not surprise us. In India, and elsewhere, sensations proper to the external senses (those of taste and touch), almost incapable of representation on the noetic plane, are easily taken over to designate the more inward states of consciousness, such as the esthetic and various forms of religious experience, which are relatively removed from the abstract. This doctrine of rasa (or rather of the *rasas*), accepted and variously elaborated by all the rhetorical schools of India (see TREATISES), is the link connecting Ānandavardhana with the rasa school, which goes back to Bharata.

A famous aphorism of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says: "Out of the union of the situation represented with the reactions and the changing mental states of the actors rasa is born." What is the nature of rasa? What are its relations with other modulations and states of consciousness? And how are we to understand this verb "to be born"? The whole of Indian esthetics hinges on such questions, which have been an inexhaustible source of polemic material to generations of rhetors and think-

ers, up to our own day. An examination of their various interpretations should not be undertaken without some knowledge of the empirical psychology of Bharata. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, eight fundamental feelings, instincts, or states of consciousness, called "bhava" (Skr., *bhāva*) or *sthāyibhāva*, can be distinguished in the human soul: pleasure, mirth, grief, wrath, resolution, fear, loathing, and wonder. These eight states are inborn in man's heart; all of them are present in every man, at least in bud, ready to emerge into his consciousness on any occasion. Occasions are many, and the dominance of this or that feeling in the various situations and encounters of life is expressed by our attitude, our face, our gestures, as provoked by particular actions and reactions. These eight bhava do not appear in a pure form; the modulations of consciousness are extremely complex, and each of the fundamental states appears in association with other, occasional and transitory, emotional states (*vyabhicāribhāva*): depression, anxiety, impatience, etc. (Bharata fixes their number at 36.) The theatrical art propounded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is entirely based on this empirical psychology. Ideally, the actor should place himself in the situation of the hero he impersonates, expressing the hero's reactions and feelings; these, being acted on the stage, not lived in real life, give spectators the particular pleasure to which Bharata gives the name of *rasa*. In other words, what the actor suggests is one of the eight fundamental states; this, when the situations, the actions, and other transitory elements that cause and accompany it no longer belong to real life but are aroused in the spectator through dramatic presentation or the reading of a poem, is no longer experienced as an ordinary emotional state but is enjoyed as *rasa*. The fundamental spiritual states being eight in number, there are also eight *rasa* (erotic, comic, pathetic, furious, heroic, terrible, hateful, and wonderful). They are essentially the same states — now not actually lived, but esthetically enjoyed. All further developments of Indian esthetic thought aspire to the interpretation and clarification of Bharata's aphorism.

The first rhetors who interpreted and analyzed the master's words were, so far as is known, Daṇḍin (7th cent.) and Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa (9th cent.). According to them, *rasa* is simply the spiritual state, raised to its highest pitch, corresponding to the situation represented, the actor's reactions, etc. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, who, like his great successors, was a Kashmiri and probably was a follower of one of the Sivaite mystical schools flourishing in Kashmir, asks a question that seems even stranger: Where is *rasa*, in the actor or in the hero he represents? To this query, which indicates how concrete, even naturalistic, was the notion of *rasa* in these times, Lollaṭa provides an answer: *Rasa* is really to be found only in the character represented, and by extension (therefore metaphorically) in the actor who impersonates him; the spectator, in the esthetic moment, sees the two as a single being.

Śaṅkuka, a Kashmiri who lived a little later than Lollaṭa, disagrees. According to him, *rasa* is not, as "the ancients" put it, a spiritual state carried to its highest pitch; rather it is the duplication of a spiritual state, derived by the spectator from the performance, the actor's gestures, etc. This apprehension of an imitated spiritual state, experienced by the spectator as *rasa*, is, to Śaṅkuka, different from any other kind of consciousness. A horse imitated by a painter, he says, seems to onlookers neither real nor false; it is nothing but an image, and any judgment as to reality or unreality is irrelevant. None of the writings of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka has survived, but the latter is quoted by the great 11th-century rhetor and philosopher Abhinavagupta. In the *Abhinavabhāratī*, his great commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he quotes Śaṅkuka as saying, "In esthetic enjoyment perceptions such as 'This happy man is really the actor,' 'Rāma is really this man, and he is not happy,' 'This may not be Rāma,' 'This man resembles Rāma' are completely absent; the mode of perception experienced differs both from a correct perception and from a mistaken one, from doubt and from similitude. What is experienced is, in accordance with the principle of the image of a painted horse, simply the perception 'This is the happy Rāma.'" We find the same idea a little farther on, in two stanzas again quoted from Śaṅkuka:



"[In esthetic enjoyment] there is neither doubt nor truth nor error; the notion inhering in it is 'This man is thus and so,' not 'This man is really thus and so.' [Esthetic enjoyment] implies no contradiction, therefore it cannot be called a form of error. It is an immediate, self-evident perception; what argument can challenge it?" Śaṅkuka's position in the history of Indian esthetics is very significant; in fact he is the first to have observed that one of the peculiarities of the esthetic experience is this very independence of criteria of reality and unreality. The esthetic image is an image, not a judgment. So far, so good. According to Abhinavagupta, the weak point of Śaṅkuka's structure is his premise that the esthetic state of consciousness is nothing but the perception of an imitated state of consciousness. This concept of imitation was refuted by Abhinavagupta, as it had been before him by his master Bhaṭṭa Tauta, the author of the *Kāvya-kautuka*, an important work on poetic art, now lost. Their reasoning is painstaking and acute: the effect of imitation (as when a clown imitates the son of a king) is in fact laughter and mockery and has no connection with esthetic experience. The imitation theory is also clearly contradicted by certain arts — dancing, for example — which obviously do not imitate anything in real life. In sum, art, for Abhinavagupta, is not an imitation of real life; it is a fresh manner of viewing it.

A third philosopher who is very important in the history of the doctrine of *rasa* is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, a Kashmiri of about the first half of the 10th century, author of the lost *Sahṛdaya-darpana*. His critique deals first of all with Bharata's phrase "is born"; in what sense, he asks, should the words be understood? Perception, production, and manifestation are facts of everyday life; they have nothing to do with the esthetic fact, with *rasa*. Hence the real meaning of "being born" as used by Bharata cannot be perception, or production, or manifestation. Theatrical performance (the actions of actors) or poetry (the words of a poet) does not make *rasa* perceptible, produce it, or manifest it. The relation between the practical, or literal, meaning and the poetic meaning is in none of these; rather, it is in something entirely different from these three facts of everyday life, namely in "revelation" (*bhāvaṇā*). This revelation, as Abhinavagupta says in his paraphrase of the *Sahṛdaya-darpana*, is a special power, different from the power of denoting, that words assume in poetry and the drama. "The task pertaining to this power, which — as Nāyaka says in so many words — is capable of removing the thick layer of mental stupor occupying our consciousness, is 'generalization' of the things represented and described. . . . The *rasa* revealed by this power is thus enjoyed through a sort of fruition different from direct experience, from memory, etc." The core of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's doctrine is precisely this concept of generalization — one of the main contributions of Indian esthetics. The essence of *rasa*, according to Nāyaka, is in neither the intensification nor the imitation of a spiritual state; it arises from the fact that in esthetic experience reality is not perceived in association with any particular ego but is generalized. In other words, the drama performed or the poem recited has the power to raise the spectator, for the moment, above his limited ego, his practical interests, which in everyday life, literally like "a thick layer of mental stupor," limit and dim his consciousness. Things and events that in practical life, when associated with "I," with "mine," repel or grieve us, are felt as a source of pleasure when they are described or represented esthetically, that is, when they are generalized, or contemplated universally rather than under the aspect of a particular individuality. This conversion of pain into a pleasure of sorts is proved, Nāyaka holds, by the fact that, as depicted on the stage, sights and events in themselves painful do not repel us; on the contrary, we enjoy them. *Rasa*, the esthetic experience known through the power of revelation (*bhāvaṇā*), is not noetic in character; it is not a perception by the intellect but an experience, a fruition (*bhoga*). This fruition is characterized by a state of loosening of the consciousness, the pervasion of the consciousness by bliss and light: it belongs to the same order as the enjoyment of supreme Brahman. From this very interesting comparison of the esthetic to the mystical experience, it is clear that Nāyaka's

analysis of esthetics incorporates patterns and insights drawn from the religious heritage of his country. Essentially, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka sees in esthetic experience a conversion of the things of reality, which in the esthetic moment appear, as it were, under another aspect. This change occurs because, in the esthetic moment there is no association with "I," with "mine."

Even at first glance this conception of Nāyaka's clearly reveals its kinship with certain religious schools of India, which must have influenced him, if only indirectly. For instance, in the teachings of the Buddhist school of *viśvānavāda* (doctrine of ideation) we find the same concept applied to mystical rather than esthetic experience. In religious experience the world of reality is not suppressed; it is seen otherwise. The Buddhist Vasubhandu says: "If it is true that things are unreal, lacking that substantial reality consistent with their own nature as imagined by the ignorant, it cannot nevertheless be denied that they do exist in that ineffable mode of living which Buddhists perceive" (*Vimsatikā*, 10). Things are inexhaustible in their actual nature; they reveal more and more modes of being, corresponding to the beholders' varying states of consciousness. Reality, in this sense, may be an object of revulsion (*parāvṛtti*), of a sort of sudden reinterpretation through which it is revealed under a new aspect: the painful and restless flow of history, *samsāra* (Skr., *samsāra*), appears to the saint as ineffable quiescence, nirvana (Skr., *nirvāṇa*; see BUDDHISM). For Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and for Abhinavagupta, as will be seen, the final transfiguration of pain is as if anticipated and foreshadowed in the esthetic experience; this, like religious experience, transforms reality, converts its very language, which magically reveals a new meaning that exists side by side with the practical meaning, anticipating and foreshadowing it but not suppressing it. For while the mystical experience is perfect fullness, in which the knots of "I," of "mine," are already completely undone, in the esthetic experience the process of undoing has only just begun. The past, with its pain, has not yet entirely lost its actuality in this process; it is still present, ready to break out in all its violence. The poet's fullness is not that of the saint. "Poetry and its study," declares Ānandavardhana, poet as well as rhetor and philosopher, "have been for me only a source of pain, and my pleasure is only in Viṣṇu." Esthetic enjoyment itself is veined by an obscure unrest: "Often," says Kālidāsa, in a passage quoted by Abhinavagupta, "while we are happy admiring beautiful shapes and hearing sweet sounds, we nevertheless feel a keen unrest; do we recall in our hearts the consequences of our former lives, imprinted on our souls without our knowledge?" (*Sakuntalā*, V, 96).

Whatever the difference between religious and esthetic experience, the two spring from the same source. This is the tenor of two stanzas, almost certainly by Nāyaka, quoted by Mahimabhaṭṭa, a rhetor of the 11th century: "Dramatic performances and the music accompanying them sustain *rasa* in all its fullness; hence the spectator, absorbed in enjoyment, turning inward, feels pleasure throughout the whole performance. Sunk into his own being, he forgets everything [pertaining to practical life]. There wells up in him that flow of inborn pleasure in which the yogi finds his satisfaction."

Another problem explored by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is the didactic value of poetry. Differing from the current opinion that drama and poetry should instruct while they entertain, Nāyaka maintains that instruction is completely secondary and that what really matters is the intrinsic value of a work of art. The two approaches are reconciled by Abhinavagupta. Commenting on Nāyaka's theory, he says, in brief, that esthetic experience in so far as it nourishes our sensitivity has also a didactic value: "The teachings we receive from a work of poetry are different from those of historical and scientific treatises. But we are ready to admit that poetry, in the long run, does instruct, although it does not employ the usual reasoning by analogy: 'As Rāma is, such do I wish to be.' It teaches us to broaden our poetic sensitivity, which is the vehicle of enjoyment of *rasa*" [*Locana*, p. 190].

These are the outlines of the development of Indian esthetics toward the end of the 10th century, in good part as Abhinavagupta, who was one of India's greatest thinkers, has transmitted

them. A Kashmiri like his forerunners, Abhinavagupta unified the scattered voices of earlier philosophers into a masterful synthesis, embracing philosophical speculation and mysticism as well as esthetics. His commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* constitutes one of the most important works of the *dhvani* school, which he played a leading role in developing. He accepts and elaborates the core of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's esthetic ideas, that is, the concept of generalization, but he rejects Nāyaka's concepts of esthetic experience as fruition rather than as knowledge and of the assumption by poetic words of the power of revelation. For Abhinavagupta, in whose view the *dhvani* and the *rasa* schools are indissolubly fused, *rasa* is not revealed: it is manifested, as Ānandavardhana was wont to say. In his *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, Abhinavagupta points out (p. 187) that to say "Rasa was perceived" is like saying "Cooked rice was cooked," for *rasa* can only be perceived. Esthetic gustation is a perception *sui generis*, unlike all others.

Elsewhere Abhinavagupta says of the perception of *rasa*: "In the case of actors performing, the idea that we are confronted with reality does not arise, nor the idea of similitude, as when we are faced with a pair of objects; nor do we think we are dealing with an error, as when we mistake mother-of-pearl for silver, nor with a false judgment, as when an erroneous notion follows from the negation of a true notion, nor with an assertion, as when we say 'This peasant is a cow,' nor with a comparison, as between a face and the moon, nor with a copy, as in the case of an image of painted clay, nor with an imitation, as when a pupil strives to arrive at the same interpretation of scripture as his master, nor with an instantaneous creation, as in a magical act, nor with a conjuring trick whose magical effect is obtained by sleight-of-hand, etc. For in all these cases something appears which is not perceived 'as generalized,' and when the spectator views it with detachment, as a third person the enjoyment of *rasa* is lacking" (*Abhinavabhāratī*, I, 35).

We have seen that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka likened the esthetic experience to the mystical — a correspondence accepted by Abhinavagupta and reflected in the very terms he used (wonder, immersion, gustation, tasting, fruition, identification, loosening, resolution). But likeness does not imply identity, and Abhinavagupta is well aware of the barriers that separate the two: "Esthetic gustation, just as it differs from the perception in an ordinary mental state (e.g., love), aroused by ordinary means of knowing such as direct apprehension, inference, revelation, analogy, differs too from telepathic knowledge, without active participation, in another's thoughts, as a third person — typified by the yogi's direct perceptions — and from the compact, pure perception, free from any influence of things outside its own bliss, experienced by the yogi of a higher order. All three of these modes of knowing are wanting in the beauty that is proper to esthetic experience, and the causes of this lack are, in order: the appearance of obstacles (practical needs), lack of commitment owing to the absence of active participation, and the fact of being immersed in the [adored] object, in a state of total self-abandonment" (*Abhinavabhāratī*, I, p. 287; see CRITICISM: India).

*Rasa*, esthetic gustation, is one: the division into eight (or nine) *rasas*, corresponding to the number of fundamental states of consciousness, has only an empirical value. (According to Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta there is a ninth state of consciousness, or *bhava* — quiet and the quietistic — and therefore a ninth *rasa*.) Abhinavagupta says: "We think that in esthetic experience consciousness itself is enjoyed, all full of bliss. In such a phase, what is the meaning of pain? Love and pain have only one function, to diversify, and the actor's function is to arouse those feelings" (*Abhinavabhāratī*, I, p. 292). Abhinavagupta finds a parallel to the esthetic experience in the case of women who even when scratched and bitten by their lovers do not cease to feel pleasure. This conception of esthetic experience necessarily implies the suppression of practical desires and hence the merging of the subject into the esthetic object, to the exclusion of everything else. The appearance on the horizon of consciousness, of desire, of practical needs, destroys the unity of the esthetic experience: some-

thing is shattered, something cracks within us, and extraneous, dispersive elements penetrate — the so-called "obstacles" (*vighna*), born of the ego's disturbing influence. The spectator must be serene, not in the grip of passions. "One of the principal obstacles," observes Abhinavagupta, "regularly occurs when the spectator is at the mercy of the tasting of pleasures, pains, etc., inhering in his own person. This obstacle consists in the appearance of other forms of consciousness, due variously to the fear of being abandoned by these sensations of pleasure, etc., to concern for their preservation, to a desire to procure other similar sensations, to the desire to get rid of them, give them open expression, hide them, etc. Even when someone perceives pleasures, pains, etc., as inhering exclusively in other persons, other forms of consciousness inevitably arise in him (pleasures, pains, mental stupor, indifference, etc.) which naturally constitute an obstacle" (Gnoli, p. 79).

Indian philosophers, though they have for the most part concerned themselves with inquiry into the esthetic states of consciousness experienced by those who contemplate the creation of the artist, have devoted considerable attention to the creative moment when the poet gives life to his work. Ānandavardhana remarks that in the domain of poetry the poet has the power of a god: things devoid of consciousness he treats as if they were endowed with it; conscious beings he deprives of life at will. "In the infinite sea of poetry the poet is the true and sole creator and as it pleases him to create so the whole grows and is transformed" (*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 498). Bhaṭṭa Tauta's definition of a poet is also interesting; according to him (as quoted by Hemacandra) the word poet (*kavi*) implies intuition and expression: "The poet, as they say, is a seer; he is such because he sees. His vision is insight into the nature of the variable qualities of beings. If the poet in his writings, then, derives truth from what he sees, the word poet is ordinarily considered to derive either from the vision or from the expression. The first poet, Vālmiki, no matter how clear and abiding his vision, would never have been considered a poet until he had given it expression" (*Kāvyaśūtrasāra*, p. 432). The ways of words, adds Tauta, are two — prose and poetry. The one starts from discursive knowledge, the other is born of intuition (*pratibhā*), conceived by Tauta, in his famous definition, as the knowledge that is an unending source of new images. This knowledge is born of contact with the real nature of things, that is, it precedes the intervention of discursive thought and comes into being when the poet's mind is completely immersed and concentrated in the poetic image. He who is not only nourished by the image but capable of expressing it is a poet.

This concept of intuition is later expressed by Abhinavagupta. *Rasa*, before being communicated to the spectators, is in the poet; in his consciousness the poetic image, cut loose from association with the particular ego of the poet, from time and space, is enjoyed esthetically. The first poem, according to an Indian legend, was born when Vālmiki saw a heron mourning beside her dead mate, the victim of a hunter. In the mind of the poet her grief spontaneously changed into a poetic image and became verse, "in the manner," says Abhinavagupta, "of a liquid that is poured out of a vase — the natural and prediscursive vocal manifestation of a spiritual state" (*Locana*, p. 86). Poetic intuition, this rich source of ever-new images, is, in Abhinavagupta's view, only one aspect of intuition in its fullness, that is to say, of mystical or religious intuition, the creative force of the "I," a brimming consciousness which unceasingly renews all things. This idea is well stated in his great mystical *Summa*, the *Tantrāloka*: "Gradually, as this nonconventional consciousness begins to prevail, we observe an increasing wonder; as our conventional words are immersed in these nonconventional and uncreated letters, different degrees of intuition occur. Those who are in this state of intuition, coinciding with the dominance of our natural consciousness, possess the gift of poetry, of eloquence, etc. And finally those who are at rest — in a state of awareness in which conventions have altogether vanished — what do they not know, with what are they not acquainted?" These verses are very important. Intuition coincides, so to say, with the

breaking down of conventions, that is, of practical language on which they are based. Our words take on a free and flowing quality which they did not possess when they were bound to our practical willing or lack of willing: language, little by little, revives. However, the full restoration (*pratyujjivana*) of words, and with them of the sounds they are made of, arises not in poetic speech but on a still higher level. The whole of practical speech, bound to "I" and "mine" (and to the modulations of consciousness they express) can be felt as the free play of the ego, as what the Indian religious schools call "mantra" (Skr., *mantrā*). The theories underlying the mantra, or ritual formula, arise from the observation of Indian thinkers that to the degree that words have meaning they imprison their hearers' minds in a network of practical interests, of "I" and "mine." The only words that escape this limitation (apart from poetic speech, on a lower level) are mantras, namely, syllables and words devoid of meaning or content, which by virtue of this very fact set the consciousness free so that it can withdraw completely into itself and be undisturbed by any distracting or confusing external symbol. Mantras — that is to say, the quest for words, signs, transcending any definite content — naturally are not facts or needs of an esthetic order; they belong to the religious sphere, and this has always been the feeling about them in India. The esthetic word, as we have seen, is essentially different. Poetic meaning transcends convention but at the same time is based on it. If we deprive poetry of its content and its words of their historical or literal meaning, poetry vanishes with them, and so does the poetic meaning, which is perceived in the same measure and at the same time as the literal or historical meaning. The quest for a pure word or a pure poem never existed in Indian culture — or if it ever did, the quest was religious, not esthetic.

After Abhinavagupta, undoubtedly the leading figure in the history of Indian esthetic doctrine, the philosophers and rhetors of India who studied the esthetic problem did little beyond repeating and paraphrasing his words, but a few names deserve mention. Mammaṭa, a Kashmiri who lived at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century, wrote the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a summary of poetic art; though this work simply paraphrases the more complex works of Abhinavagupta, it has been so popular as to overshadow them. Mammaṭa is not unique: Hemacandra and Viśvanātha are figures of comparable stature. In his book the *Kāvyamūlāsana* Hemacandra depends mostly on Abhinavagupta without even taking the trouble to paraphrase: he literally copies. Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (14th cent.), is somewhat more original; to him we owe one of the most famous definitions of *rasa*. It adds nothing to what Abhinavagupta has already said but has the merit of being clear and brief: "Rasa, composed of full understanding, bliss, and inner illumination, is enjoyed by only a few persons, and its manifestation is due to the emergence of the clear and transparent part of consciousness [*sattva*]. Such a *rasa* has no contact with other knowable things; it is twin brother to the enjoyment of Brahma. Its essence is a 'wonder' [*camatkāra*] not of an ordinary nature, enjoyed as part of our being, as identification with it." In these two stanzas there is no word or concept that does not go back to Abhinavagupta and the Kashmiri school. Viśvanātha says, first of all, that *rasa* is enjoyed only by a few persons. Who are they? They are esthetically sensitive persons, who, as the Indians say, are "possessed of heart" (*sahydaya*). Abhinavagupta put it this way: "The faculty of self-identification with the events represented demands that the mirror of the mind should be made completely clear, by means of repeated acquaintance with and practice of poetry. The possessed of heart, those who possess the consent of their own hearts, are these who have this faculty" (*Abhinavahāratt*, p. 37).

The same concept of esthetic and religious sensitiveness was expressed by Abhinavagupta in other words in one of the most beautiful pages of his commentary on the Tantric text *Parātrīṃśikā*: "For those who are not sustained by the force of consciousness, who know neither intoxication nor bliss (both being a stirring of this force), neither the image of the fairest woman nor the most tender and tuneful melody trembling on

a maiden's lips can be a source of complete happiness. To the degree that this force fails to provide nourishment, to that degree is wonder diminished; total incapacity for wonder is in fact a lack of life. On the other hand, esthetic receptivity — being possessed of heart — means immersion in intense wonder, consisting in a stirring of this force. Only he whose heart is abundantly nourished by this infinite force, who is familiar with the continuing experience of such fruition — he and no other — is gifted with this capacity for wonder" (commentary on the *Parātrīṃśikā*, pp. 48–49). This conception of Abhinavagupta's of the esthetic state of consciousness as wonder (*camatkāra*), which is echoed in the two stanzas by Viśvanātha quoted above, had its beginnings in Kashmiri speculation. Both esthetic and religious experience imply the cessation of a world — the ordinary world of history, or *samsāra* — and its sudden replacement by a new dimension of reality. In this sense the two are wonder and surprise. Of course these can be experienced only by sensitive people; souls not possessed of heart (*ahydaya*) feel no wonder and have no perception of this deeper life, remote from normal conceptual and verbal processes.

Viśvanātha is not the last; there are numberless summarizers and resummarizers. Prabhākara, who lived in the 15th century, wrote a short but lucid exposition of *rasa*, the *Rasapradīpa*. In the 17th century Jagannātha, in the famous *Rasagāṅgādhara*, expressed the old concepts in different terms. According to Jagannātha himself, the difference between him and the ancients (Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, etc.) is that for them *rasa* was a mental state, qualified by consciousness in its purity, unobscured by the obstacles of the ego, while for him *rasa* is this same consciousness in its purity, qualified by a given mental state. The difference appears to be one more of words than of facts, and Jagannātha's originality has been overrated.

The body of esthetic thought examined so far is substantially homogeneous: fundamentally *rasa* is conceived of as a mental state, regarded as independent of "I" and "mine." The single exception to the uniform acceptance of this theory, which dominates the whole panorama of Indian esthetics, is the concept of Bhoja, the 11th-century author of the bulkiest treatise on esthetics ever written in India, the *Syngārāprakāśa*; he sees things otherwise. The agent that transforms pain, transforms history, into pleasure, says Bhoja, is the ego — a sort of "self-love," of "libido" — which resides at the very center of consciousness. When we are immersed in the reality of the ego, everything is seen and lived as pleasure. Drama and poetry are simply tools enabling the sensitive man (*rasika*) to recover this love, this original desire, which is beyond the realm of feelings and the changing spiritual states in which the ego has become obscured. This is but one aspect, though a major one, of Bhoja's theory, which is extremely intricate and has not as yet been studied with any thoroughness. While Abhinavagupta continued to be read and studied — if only indirectly — Bhoja attracted hardly any followers.

If, from Abhinavagupta down to our own times, the attitude of traditional Indian culture has tended toward mere imitation or repetition, in other circles a warranted reaction has appeared. Typical of the thinking of modern Indian scholars in esthetics and in the general field of philosophical speculation is the ambition to translate into Western languages the teachings of the ancient philosophers of India, with the aim of integrating them into a sort of supersynthesis. Although in general the works so far produced offer an artificial juxtaposition of Western and Eastern concepts and ideas, rather than a true synthesis, studies deserving attention are not entirely lacking. Apart from the numerous books of A. K. Coomaraswamy, mention should be made of the two volumes of *Comparative Aesthetics* by K. C. Pandey (Benares, 1950–56), *Studies in Comparative Aesthetics* by P. Chaudhury (Santiniketan, 1953), and P. S. Sastri's articles in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

As has been said, the only art forms that have been studied from the philosophical point of view in India are poetry, the drama, and, to a certain extent, music. If references to painting that have a bearing on esthetics are few, the comments of this nature on sculpture and architecture are even fewer. Consideration of the decorative, functional, and pragmatic values



of the visual arts have as a rule overshadowed conscious esthetic judgment. A comment on painting that does come under the heading of esthetics is the observation of Śaṅkuka — illustrated by the example of the image of a painted horse — quoted earlier. His remarks find a parallel in the words of Kuntaka, another Kashmiri rhetor. Following the *dhvani* school, Kuntaka holds that the merit of a painting is not in the naturalistic rendering of any of its parts but in the artist's ability to put life and grace into his work (*Vakroktijīvita*, III, 3-4). Several other treatises apply the theory of *rasa* to painting.

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*Chinese esthetics.* One of the most famous artists of the Ch'ing dynasty, Yün Shou-p'ing, admonished painters to concentrate before taking up their brushes: "You must exclude all human presence, then creative dynamism is imparted to your hand and the original inspiration spreads in abundant measure."

In writing thus, Yün Shou-p'ing was reminding his contemporaries of the 17th century that art cannot be separated from the life of the spirit; creative dynamism manifests the immanent activity of *tao* (the absolute principle), which Chinese thought places at the origin of all things. This unknowable, the only reality in a universe of illusory images, is revealed through its activity; it emanates a force, irradiating, efficacious, and regulatory, that leads beings from nothingness into individualized existence, communicating to them their lot in life and assigning their proper function and rank. There is no form of life whose reason for existing, whose vitality, does not somehow originate from *tao* — nothing that does not express *tao*, though without ever disclosing its secret. To understand oneself and all things in their divine aspect (*shên*) one has only to turn back to this hidden reality. Impersonal, changeless, and eternal, it is felt as a sort of fountainhead of creativity, a boundless life force, a life-giving rule, a path that cuts through chaos, regulating and organizing it. The primary meaning of *tao* is "road": it is a road which passes through all that exists, distinguishing between planes and modeling forms; after having traversed all sectors of reality, all fields of activity, it closes in upon itself.

The return to *tao* suffices to bring one to the very source both of art and of sanctity. The saint and the artist, surveying the world, question all things. The "splendid harmony of natural law" is revealed to them only to the degree that they have, in their innermost selves, discovered and attained to the Law of Laws, the foundation of universal harmony. Thus in the realm of the Good, as in that of the Beautiful, the secret of perfection is entrusted only to those whose faculties asceticism has purified and quickened. The saint is able to institute rites and rules that ensure the permanence of a civilized society, and the artist has the gift of creating the "thing of beauty," the work of art, because they participate in and are animated by the sovereign power of *tao*.

The inspiration that governs both the life of the saint and the creative genius of the artist proceeds from the innermost being (*nei*), or more precisely from the heart (*hsin*), the seat of intellect and of feeling. It was Confucius who asked: "How can a man who is lacking in the properly human virtues perform rites? How can a man who is lacking in the properly human virtues cultivate music?" (E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Sseu-ma Ts'ien*, Paris, 1895-1905, pp. 238-40). "Every note in music," said the historian Ssü-ma Ch'ien (145-

86 B.C.), "is born within man's heart . . . and music comes from within" (*ibid.*, pp. 241-46). It is the expression of an inner balance which is attained only by one whose will is in harmony with the principle of order and life.

Ethics and esthetics are both subject to rules that are constant, inherent in life, and natural, and that yet transcend nature. Like morality, art founds a world ordered by the spirit, that is, by *tao*, "the principle regulating universal spontaneity." Esthetic enjoyment, the satisfaction that works of art give, has its place. Our eyes love the five colors, our ears are pleased by the sound of bells, of musical stones, our mouths find the five tastes agreeable, and we are charmed by gems and precious objects. Thus we embroider our clothes with emblems of many colors, we create harmony with the eight musical instruments, we prepare diverse and variously seasoned foods, we cut and polish jade insignia. But in the refulgence of beauty it is *tao* that shines forth: both the rapture of the artist and the wonder of the onlooker are founded solely on *tao*, which thus manifests its abundant power. If, by evil chance, the satisfaction we feel degenerates into license, the soul is inevitably troubled by a painful sense of discord. The moment art becomes the instrument of return to chaos, it degenerates, for it is linked to order, proportion, and purity in an intimate relation that Confucius tried to make clear to his disciples. One of them, Tzū-hsia, queried the Master, quoting the *Shih-ching*: "The corners of his mouth curve gracefully in an amiable smile, and his beautiful eyes gleam in black and white splendor. On a white background different colors can be painted. What does this mean?" "Before painting," Confucius answered, "we must have a white background." "Should we not understand by this," asked Tzū-hsia, "that ceremonies imply and require sincere feelings above all?" "Shang Tzū-hsia," said Confucius, "is able to explain what I think; I can begin to expound to him the Odes of the *Shih-ching*" (*The Analects*, II, 3).

The esthetic ideal of which we have been speaking is that of ancient China. Its preoccupation with the moral order is, generally speaking, typical of every great civilization in its classical period. Assuredly Chinese esthetics did not remain, over the centuries, in a state of dependence on political ethics. When the Chinese empire was established, on the ruins of the feudal society of the Chou, art gradually achieved its freedom. This evolution came about through the influence of a social class that came into being under the Han dynasty. This class, the scholar-functionaries, was unquestionably loyal to the interests of a regime that had given it authority; there was in these "sages," who had been called to the execution of public functions, no disposition to deprive the state of a means of government. But these servants of the regime were scholars, trained to meditate on the Five Classics, and practiced in writing beautiful characters; what was asked of them, essentially, was to read, to write, and to speak fitly. Made captive by a life that was monotonous and sometimes difficult, they sought escape, and found it only by taking refuge in the inner depths of their own nature. There they came into possession of the Absolute that the philosophers called "spontaneous nature" (*tsü-jan-chih-hsing*) or "Buddha's nature" (*Fo-hsing*). Those among them endowed by heaven with creative powers did not stop at naming the force that enraptured them; they achieved ecstasy (*ju-shên*) and, eluding the narrow boundaries of personality, lost themselves in the All. Embracing all forms, they floated with the clouds and flew with the birds. If there was a poet among them, he would seize his lute and sing; a painter would take up his brush to project on a flat and empty surface his inner vision. One arrayed words and rhymes, the other lines and colors, but both were fired with the same enthusiasm, aware of constructing a world and of giving life to a new entity, born of their thought.

It may be said that there has never been a great artist in China who did not claim for his art the creative privilege. For instance, Lu Chi (261-303), the author of the *Wên-fu* ("Rhyme-prose on Literature"), thus describes it: In the ferment that precedes the genesis of his poem he lets his spirit wander to the eight ends of the earth, then the light dawns and the original pattern of things and beings appears to him.

To express what he sees with the eye of the spirit, he selects rhythms and images; he calls upon all that has color, all that resounds and sings; he shakes the foliage of trees and traces streams to their sources. Then he concentrates, and free of any specific thought, he "captures heaven and earth in the cage of words and fixes a multitude of things under the tip of his brush." At last, certain of his power, he exclaims: "I can contain infinity in the space of a square foot of paper, and out of my heart, as broad as my thumb, I can release a deluge of waters." The perfectly unified thought of such an artist functions effortlessly; identified with Absolute Thought, it spreads out, peaceful and bountiful. His individual soul is reabsorbed into the great cosmic soul, as the flow of creative life springs forth from him, like fresh, clear water out of the depths of the earth. In this moment of grace, creation becomes for him a perfectly spontaneous act. The expression of an interior fullness, his song is sufficient unto itself, as if satisfied with its own beauty.

Nevertheless the art of Chinese writers cannot be summed up in the familiar formula "art for art's sake." When his activity reaches that degree of purity at which it is autonomous and immediate, the artist pursues no practical end, just as the ascetic, on attaining ecstasy, forgets his own existence and expects of his contemplation only the joy with which it fills him. Still, no one would argue that contemplation is mere pastime, except in the sense that it offers freedom, transition into another world — in this case the world of thought. Like true art, ecstasy is sufficient unto itself, yet contemplation is as essential to the ascetic as water is to fish and air to birds. Deprived of his mystic joy, the ascetic can no longer breathe, his spirit fails for lack of nourishment. Chinese artists have felt this very keenly: they speak of creative work as necessary for sustenance.

Ts'ung Ping (375-443), one of the early Chinese landscape painters, while meditating before a fine painting, used to play the lute and let his fancy travel through the universe; he acknowledged freely that the practice gave him new life. "I am nourishing my spirit," he would say. The words had a religious meaning, and Ts'ung Ping was not unaware of this. He considered art to be inseparable from asceticism, a road (*tao*) to ultimate good and to universal knowledge. Thus, even in periods when it appears to have been merely the servant of the temporal community, art in China never ceased to strive toward spiritual betterment, and true works of art were accorded the respect due to sacred things.

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While, as we have seen, the Chinese attitude to the esthetic problem was abstruse and metaphorical and did not, like its Indian counterpart, give rise to a well-ordered system of ideas, nevertheless there were some steps in the latter direction; conspicuous among them is a brief work by Hsieh Ho, who lived at the end of the 5th century. In his "Ancient Memoir on the Classification of Painters" (*Ku-hua p'in-lu*) he states that in painting there are six basic principles. Though they have existed since the beginning of time, only a few painters have had the skill to master these fundamentals, which Hsieh Ho lists as follows (trans. A. Soper): "The first is 'animation through spirit consonance.' The second is 'structural method in use of the brush.' The third is 'fidelity to the object in portraying forms.' The fourth is 'conformity to kind in applying colours.' The fifth is 'proper planning in placing (of elements).' The sixth is 'transmission (of the experience of the past) in making copies.'" The terseness of this enumeration, the lack of a commentary contemporary with the author, and the ambiguity of the Chinese characters used have given rise to much discussion as to meaning and origin. Some commentators — on the basis of an analogous division of painting into six parts that occurs in an Indian text, as well as the decidedly Buddhist color of at least one of the terms quoted — have postulated an origin in India. It is not easy to decide; if the Indian terms (variety of forms, measures, expression of feeling, grace, likeness, good application of colors) do not entirely correspond to

the Chinese terms, this does not exclude the possibility that Hsieh Ho interpreted a more ancient canon, now lost.

Whatever the actual origin of the terms used, and the precise shade of meaning that Hsieh Ho attached to them, his analysis met with great approval and gave all later Chinese art critics a point of departure for judging the artistic value of paintings. It behooves us, then, to examine his principles more closely, particularly the first three, whose peculiarities are not easily understood by Western readers. The first principle focuses on "spirit consonance." This is apparently the quality that gives life to a picture, so that lines and colors are not merely lines and colors but take on an esthetic value and a poetic meaning. The Chinese word *ch'i*, translated "spirit" or "vitality," actually has many more connotations, which are inevitably lost in translation. *Ch'i* is a sort of fluid essence, a vital breath, that pervades, in varying measure, all animate and inanimate things. A work of art is successful only when the painter can take *ch'i* by surprise and fix it under the tip of his brush. If the artist has not succeeded in imbuing the things he is representing with this essence, this vivifying spirit (in India it would be called *prāṇa*), then his work is but a faded copy of reality, lacking esthetic value. Chang Yen-yüan, a critic of the T'ang period, says: "Few painters of antiquity have combined all six principles. . . . Some ancient painters knew how to transmit the likeness of forms, irrespective of structure and vitality (spirit), but the art of painting goes far beyond likeness. Nevertheless it is difficult to explain this to the uneducated. The paintings of our times may present an outer likeness, but they do not manifest spirit consonance. If one strives for spirit consonance, one achieves outer likeness at the same time." As to Hsieh Ho's second principle, it stipulates that painters must possess a vigorous brush stroke: this energy, this vigor, forms the skeleton, so to speak, the *ku* (bony structure), both of painting and of calligraphy. The third principle, "fidelity to the object in portraying forms," should be given particular attention; it must not be seen as the urge toward realism, because this is a tendency on the whole alien to Chinese painting. It is rather the need for the natural foundation underlying painted forms, without which they would be mere abstractions. Finally, the sixth principle is noteworthy: it concerns the copying of ancient paintings, an activity greatly esteemed by the Chinese artist.

The theory of the six fundamental principles and the high place it implicitly assigns to painting, placing it on a level with poetry, may be said to constitute the foundation of Chinese esthetics and criticism.

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Chang Yen-yüan, a historian of art of the T'ang dynasty, wrote: "It is painting that carries civilization to perfection, that eases relations between men, that fathoms mystery." Others after Chang Yen-yüan have pointed out the consonance, in China, of artistic intuition and philosophical thought. In modern times also, Chinese philosophers have affirmed the spiritual vocation of art. In 1924 Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan-pei (1867-1940), in his *Elements of Philosophy* (*Chih-hsüeh kang-yao*), presented a theory of art as substitute for religion; he asked whether man, having strayed from religion, may not in the end find the consolations of life in the enjoyment of beauty. This query did not go unnoticed: four years after this first work, there appeared a *Philosophy of the Beautiful* (*Mei-ti chih-hsüeh*) by Hsü Ching-yü. Other studies followed, notable among them the works of Fu Tung-hsien, who sees art as the soul of human life and the clearest manifestation of man's progress toward a truer, better, and more beautiful world.

Thus Chinese esthetic thought has remained, up to our own time, true to the ancient ideal that called upon art to reflect the transcendental and to reveal the higher requirements of the spirit. (See CHINESE ART, especially the sections on *Painting*.)

BIBLIOG. O. Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, Translations and Comments, Peking, 1937; S. Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush*, London, 1939; A. Soper, *The First Two Laws of Hsieh Ho, Far Eastern Q.* VIII, 1949, pp. 412-23; R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts*

on Chinese Painting, Leiden, 1954; C. Lancaster, *Metaphysical Beliefs and Architectural Principles: A Study in Contrasts Between Those of the West and Far East*, *The J. of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XIV, 3, Mar., 1956, pp. 287-303.

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**ETCHING.** See ENGRAVINGS AND OTHER PRINT MEDIA.

**ETHIOPIA.** The Ethiopian Federation — which includes Eritrea — is ruled by a hereditary monarchy. Covering a large part of East Africa, it adjoins the Sudan in the north and west, and Kenya, the Republic of Somalia, and the Red Sea in the south and east. Its population is of varied stock and culture.

**SUMMARY.** Cultural and artistic development (col. 75). Eritrean and northern Ethiopian centers (col. 75): *Eritrea; Northern Ethiopia*. Central and southern Ethiopian centers (col. 80).

**CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT.** The peoples speaking a Semitic language and occupying the central and northern part of the plateau form an evolved cultural unit, documented by a long historical tradition. This cultural unit emerged principally as a result of the activity of south Arabian immigrants; it felt the imprint — the character and importance of which are not yet fully understood — of Oriental and Roman Hellenism; and finally it assumed a Christian aspect from about the 4th century, when Christianity began to establish itself (see *ETHIOPIAN ART*).

In addition, there are indigenous artistic manifestations brought about by native cultures, attributable mainly to the Cushite peoples (see *CUSHITE CULTURES*) or to those of Negro race. Furthermore, a series of archaeological monuments (carved and engraved stone steles) of undetermined origin lie in the territory today inhabited by the Cushites. Similarly uncertain is the origin of a group of structures (tombs and cisterns) on the shore of the Red Sea near Massawa and in the Eritrean hinterland in the basin of the Barka River. Islamic architecture finally emerged in those zones — marginal in relation to the central plateau — which are contiguous to the Red Sea and to the Indian Ocean, where Islam spread and lasted longer, but without significant results.

The foregoing cultural and artistic movements were affected by European influence from Portugal (16th and 17th cent.) and specifically from the Jesuits, but this influence produced only isolated phenomena in limited areas, rather than a true cultural transformation. It was only toward the end of the 19th century that the European influence became really decisive in the entire Ethiopian territory.

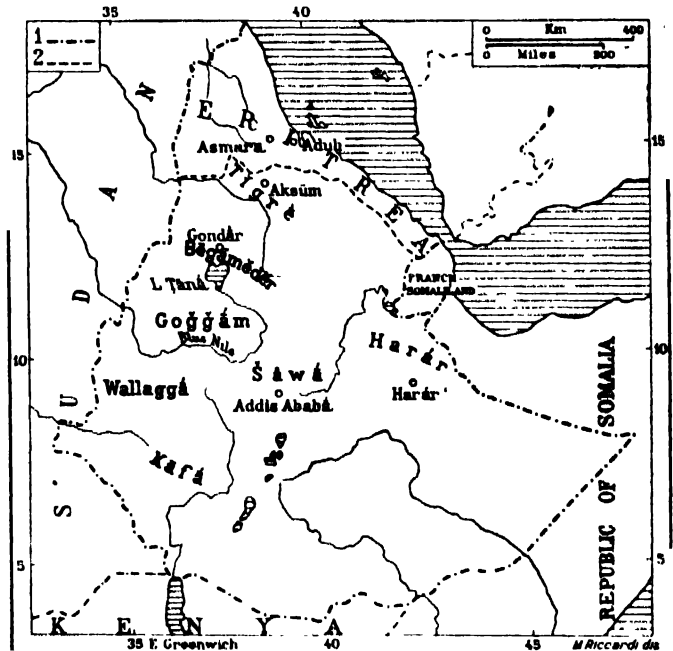
In the course of the 20th century, the majority of the cities and populated centers underwent a process of change based on regulating plans, which — generally respecting the historical centers and carefully taking environmental conditions into account — foresaw the development of cities conceived in the modern manner.

Starting in 1936, elaborate regulating plans were drawn up by architects and engineers — first Italians and subsequently other Europeans — for the enlargement or modernization of almost all the main Ethiopian centers, including Harar (G. Ferrazza), Gondär (G. Bosio), Gümna (G. Ulrich), Dirre Dawa (G. Ferrazza), as well as Kärän, 'Täsüne, Aksum, Däq Amhare, 'Adwa, Mäqale, Bonga, Hula, and others.

The vicissitudes of World War II caused some damage to ancient and modern monuments.

**ERITREAN AND NORTHERN ETHIOPIAN CENTERS.** The artistic production of Eritrea and northern Ethiopia, as yet only partially known, can be divided into three distinct periods, each of which has characteristic manifestations. To the first period, probably prehistoric, belongs a series of rock paintings and graffiti, particularly numerous in Eritrea. The second period, termed Early Ethiopian or Paleo-Ethiopian, comprises the entire production from several centuries before Christ to the 6th or 7th century of our era. Most of it has been found in Eritrea and in northern Ethiopia, in the centers of Aduli, Aksum, Yäha, Dä'r'a, Qohayto, and Tokonda', all more or less influenced by the civilization of Aksum. Typical of this period are massive structures composed of large square limestone blocks rising, for the most part, on podia with steps. Their purpose still remains uncertain; some exhibit the characteristics of a temple, while others are clearly for civil use. A south Arabian origin is ascribed to the more typical forms of this architecture, which has reached us mainly in a state of ruin. The remains of Aksum are unique (hypogeum tombs, steles, and thrones). The third period, called medieval, comprises all artistic manifestations between the end of the Early Ethiopian period and

the 16th century. This essentially Christian art has had original developments which may be defined as Ethiopian. The most characteristic forms (monolithic hypogeum churches) are concentrated in Lasta, but they also occur in northern Eritrea, south of Addis Abäba, and in Bale (Goba). Rectangular stone churches, whose side walls have alternating stone and wooden strips, also belong to that period. The most famous example of this type of architecture is the church of the Monastery of Däbrä Dammo, in 'Agame. A third type of stone church, also rectangular (but without alternating strips on the side walls), having an interior divided into three parts with a specific li-



The Ethiopian Federation, with principal archaeological and modern centers. Key: (1) national boundaries; (2) internal boundaries.

turgical function, is widespread in northern Ethiopia (see *ETHIOPIAN ART*).

During the Early Ethiopian and medieval periods there was a flowering of sculpture and painting, as well as of architecture. The latter exhibited a mainly architectonic ornament (decoration of columns, pillars, capitals, obelisks, friezes, and bas-reliefs) and thus expressed itself chiefly in stone, even though there was no absence of valuable sculpture in wood, such as the 33 blocks carved in bas-relief decorating the ceiling of the vestibule of Däbrä Dammo. The paintings, of religious inspiration, often had a decorative character; but there were also large interior (and exterior) mural paintings in the churches, especially after the advent of Christianity (4th cent.). Later (starting in the 14th cent.) the art of illumination appeared; it had a prevailing sacred character, but with original and valuable manifestations. The workmanship of base and precious metals reached a fairly high level in crowns, coins, statuettes, and liturgical objects.

Rock art (see *PALEO-AFRICAN CULTURES*), according to our present knowledge, is located mainly in northern and central Eritrea, in Qörora, Hagär, Qullitä, Dine, and Däbrä Bäat, either with or without Paleo-Ethiopian or south Arabian inscriptions. Examples of rock art occur also in Da'ro Qawlos, south of Asmara (human figures in relief within a cave); southeast of 'Addi Wugri, near the Märäb River; further south, in Gänzäbo and 'Addi Qäyyäh (paintings representing gibbous oxen); and in Tokonda', where the numerous rock graffiti and engravings, with stylized and zoomorphic motifs (mainly oxen) are mixed with south Arabian inscriptions that go back to the earliest Paleo-Ethiopian period.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, *Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia* Rome, 1900; C. Conti Rossini, *Documenti per l'archeologia eritrea nella bassa valle del Barca*, RendLinc., 1903; G. Dainelli and O. Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella colonia Eritrea*, Florence, 1912 (bibliog.); C. Conti Rossini, *Aethiopia*, RSO, 1925, p. 482 ff.; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Bergamo, 1928; R. Azäis and R. Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie*, Paris, 1931; E. Cerulli, *L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici*, AfrIt., 1933, p. 109 ff.; *Consociazione turistica italiana*, *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milan, 1938; A. Mordini, *Un riparo sotto roccia con pitture rupestri dell'Ambo Focada*, Rass. di S. Etiopici, 1941, p. 55 ff.; C. Conti Rossini, *Incisioni rupestri all'Hagghär*, Rass.

di S. Etiopici, 1943, p. 102 ff.; A. Mordini, Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1944, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1946, p. 145 ff.; V. Franchini and L. Ricci, Ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1954, p. 5 ff.; L. Ricci, Piccole note archeologiche dall'Eritrea, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1955-58, pp. 48-68; L. Ricci, Ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea, *Oriente moderno*, 1956, p. 105 ff.

**Eritrea.** Asmara is the capital of Eritrea. Its medieval church, of the Däbrä Dammo type, was destroyed after 1906. The present church was erected on the same spot in the style of the old.

In the Eritrean *roras* (mountains) are found rough steles of the Early Ethiopian period, with rudimentary decorations in Enzälal and Däbär Qäddus, and crude stone chairs in Däqäq and Gälläb. Near Rora Laba a stele bears two zoomorphic reliefs at the top in what is possibly Hellenistic style.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, Antiche rovine sulle rorae eritree, *RendLinc.*, 1923.

**Kärän.** Ruins of an Early Ethiopian structure near 'Arato are noteworthy. The medieval period is represented by the monolithic Church of Däbrä Sina.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Piva, Una civiltà scomparsa dell'Eritrea e gli scavi archeologici della regione di Cheren, *La nuova antologia*, 1907.

**Dahlaq Islands.** Cisterns are found which tradition attributes to the Persians and are also present in some localities on the coast which faces them.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Puglisi, Le cisterne di Dahlaq Chebir e di Adal nell'arcipelago delle Dahlac, *Ist. di S. Etiopici*, B., 1953, p. 53 ff.

**Massawa.** At Gärrar, perhaps the Saba of old, there are remains of pre-Christian and Early Christian building foundations, and in Däset, an old Islamic tomb.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Puglisi, La necropoli di Desset el Banaia ed una leggenda sul Cubbet es-Saladin, *Ist. di S. Etiopici*, B., 1957, p. 13 ff.

**Aduli.** This archaeological site in the Zula Gulf was the maritime center of the country from the Early Ethiopian period to the beginning of the Middle Ages. From the prehistoric period there are building remains, perhaps of old churches; ruins of the enclosing walls; bronze lions' heads, imported (?); goldsmiths' work; coins and other metal objects; and terra cotta.

**BIBLIOG.** R. Paribeni, Ricerche sul luogo dell'antica Adulis, *MAIinc.*, 1908.

**Där'a.** About 12 miles north of Qohayto are found monumental hypogeum tombs, probably Early Ethiopian. Among the architectural remains there is a lion protoma.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, Lehä, Tschuf Emni e Derä, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1947, p. 12 ff.

**Qohayto.** Of the Early Ethiopian period are remains of the foundations of numerous buildings, a well-preserved central portion of a dam with stepped wall, columns and capitals, and hypogeum tombs in the rock.

**Tokonda.** Early Ethiopian period objects include rock graffiti and engravings with stylized and zoomorphic motifs (mainly oxen) mixed with south Arabian inscriptions; building remains; and stone columns.

**Käakäas.** From the Early Ethiopian period are found remains of stone steles, mutilated and fallen for the most part, square in section, of considerable height (up to 30 ft.). One of them bears a south Arabian inscription in an old paleography. In May Turub and Grät Maḥdärä, there are building remains, square-block wall sections, and a roundish stele ending in a point.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Davico, Ritrovamenti sudarabici nella zona del Cascaṣe, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1947, p. 1 ff.

**Amba Sayēm** (south of Sän'afe). A rectangular obelisk is still standing (13 ft. high) with semicircular top, bearing an Early Ethiopian inscription and the symbols on the sun and moon. There are also building remains with south Arabian inscription.

**Zokollo** (near Sän'afe). Ruins of a spacious building, perhaps a temple, may possibly be of the early Middle Ages.

**Aramo** (near Sän'afe). Ruins are found of a medieval church (destroyed in 1940).

**BIBLIOG.** A. Mordini, La chiesa di Aramo, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1950.

**Ham** (near Sän'afe). A small medieval church was built on another Early Ethiopian one, from which it retains architectural remains and objects carved in stone.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham, *RendLinc.*, 1940.

**Däbrä Libanos** (Šimāzana). A monastery founded, according to tradition, in the 6th century is stylistically similar to the church of Däbrä Dammo.

**Sän'afe.** South of the city, the rectangular stone Church of Čēfa Mika'el appears to date back to the late Middle Ages.

**Bäraqit** (south of Sän'afe). A cylindrical stone fragment bears a south Arabian inscription.

**Bihat** (near Bäraqit). A church in Early Ethiopian style has noteworthy carvings on a capital.

**Bäräknaha** (near Bihat). An Early Ethiopian type of church has interesting paintings on the outside walls.

**Gunaguna.** A one-story church in Early Ethiopian style remains. Nearby in 'Edit, a tiny bronze statuette representing a nongibbous ox has been found.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Mordini, Un'antica porta in legno proveniente dalla chiesa di Gunaguna (Scimezana), *RSO*, 1940.

**Bahadur** (Asāb Bay). Tombs with varied objects have been located.

**Raheta** (southern Dänkäle). Remains of wrought objects and of possible south Arabian artificial works have been found.

**Northern Ethiopia.** Däbrä Dammo ('Agame). The famous monastery was founded, according to tradition, in the 6th century. The church (6th-10th cent.) has a rectangular plan (ca. 65 × 32 ft.) on a podium, with two stories (?). Worthy of note is the wooden ceiling of the antevestibule, carved in bas-relief. Its structure seems to have inspired numerous Eritrean and northern Ethiopian churches. East of Däbrä Dammo is the Church of Enda Petros, under which was discovered a Christian hypogeum.

**BIBLIOG.** Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, II, Berlin, 1913; D. Matthews and A. Mordini, The Lower Church, the Grottoes in the Burial Zone and the History of the Monastery: The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia, *Archaeologia*, 1950.

**Daḥanā** ('Agame). A group of ruins includes a Christian hypogeum tomb with steps and three underground crypts built with large square stone blocks.

**Gundägunde.** A stone church dates from the last decades of the 15th century.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Mordini, il convento di Gunde Gundä, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1953, p. 20 ff.

**Yäha.** Remains of Early Ethiopian buildings, generally elevated, include a large rectangular one measuring 48 × 61 ft. Inside one of these buildings is a medieval church, now in ruins.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, Lehä, Tschuf Emni e Derä, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1947; J. Dorease, Les premiers monuments chrétiens et l'église archaïque de Yäha, *Novum Testamentum*, 1956, p. 209 ff.

**Enda Abba Panṭälewön** (west of Yäha). Early Ethiopian wall and step remains and a characteristically rectangular medieval church are found.

**Aksum.** The most noteworthy archaeological site of the Ethiopian Federation, and old capital of Ethiopia, was probably founded in the last centuries before Christ. The following can be observed: building foundations with related access stairways; the square buildings of Enda Mika'el (88 × 88 ft); Enda Sēm'on and Ta'ka Maryam (overall measurements 263 × 690 ft; measurements of the single central building 79 × 79 ft.); monumental hypogeum tombs with several crypts (one of them — Nāfas Māwṣa — has the characteristics of a purely

south Arabian technique; two others — the "tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl — are probably of the Christian era); steles of various shapes and sizes (from 5 to 109 ft.), some of them engraved; monumental stone seats; stone sarcophagi; sacrificial basins or vessels; constructions in the living rock — oil presses (?) and tombs; brick pillars; statue bases; small terra-cotta heads; and metal objects, all going back to the Early Ethiopian period, as does the lioness carved out of rock, found in Gobodra, near Aksum. The following belong to the medieval period: the Church of Sēyon (197 × 138 ft.), with adjacent constructions belonging to various periods (destroyed, it was rebuilt in masonry on a rectangular plan); and the churches of Mary Magdalene and Abba Liqanos.

**BIBLIOG.** Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, 4 vols., Berlin, 1913; C. Conti Rossini, *Due figure in terracotta aksumite*, *RendLinc.*, 1934; U. Monneret de Villard, *Aksum, Ricerche di topografia generale*, Rome, 1938.

Hawēlti Mēlazo (near Aksum). The remains of a rectangular building are enclosed within a second one, from which it is separated by a corridor with south Arabian inscriptions.

**BIBLIOG.** L. Ricci, *Importanza della nuova zona archeologica di Haulti Melāzō*, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1959, p. 111 ff.

Fremona (near 'Adwa). The rectangular masonry Church of Enda Giyorgis is located here.

Amba Sännäyiti (southeast of 'Adwa). Monolithic Church of Wēqro Maryam contains a noteworthy vestibule and nave ceiling, composed of numerous small domes.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Mórdini, *La chiesa ipogea di Ucrò (Ambà Seneit) nel Tigrai*, *Ann. dell'Africa it.*, 1939, p. 519 ff.

Hauzen. In 'Anza are found two fallen obelisks, square in section, one with an Early Ethiopian inscription. At 'Addi Gālammo, about 10 miles northeast of Hauzen, are an altar, a statue with pedestal (both with south Arabian inscriptions), a sphinx, and a statue of a seated person; and at Enda Qirqos, also northeast of Hauzen, Early Ethiopian architectural remains and a small rectangular medieval church.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, *Un'iscrizione su obelisco di Anzā*, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1942, p. 21 ff.

Abreha Aḡbēha (northwest of Wēqro). A monolithic church has geometric paintings in the interior.

Wēqro. A rock church has inside walls which appear to be covered with plaster. East of Wēqro, the rock Church of Amba Mika'el has an unusual plan.

Aḡ'la'. The remains of an Early Ethiopian building are noteworthy.

K'wīha. At Wāger Hariba, there are remains of an old Islamic cemetery and ruins with stone columns and steles (Early Ethiopian).

Nazret (east of Māqāle). On a Early Ethiopian platform rises a medieval church.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Caquot and A. J. Drewes, *Les monuments recueillis à Macallé*, *Ann. d'Ethiopie*, I, 1955.

Dēk'a (Wāgāra). The Church of Kidanā Mēhrāt is in the style of the Gondār structures.

Dārāge (Semien). Nearby, the monolithic churches of St. Gabriel and of the Saviour contain ornamental bas-reliefs.

Sāqota. The monolithic Church of Māsqālā Krēstos is completely isolated from the surrounding rock.

Bēlbala (Lasta). The monolithic churches of Giyorgis and Qirqos are found here.

Yēmrahannā Krēstos (Lasta). Cavern church (33 × 39 ft.) has elaborate decorations.

Lalibāla (Lasta). In the village can be observed 10 monolithic churches divided into two groups; the Church of Giyorgis with a Greek-cross plan (41 × 49 ft.) stands by itself. According to tradition such churches were built by Lalibāla (12th cent.), sovereign of the Zagwe dynasty, whom the Abyssinians revere as a saint. The first group is composed of Mādhane Alām (110 × 77 × 36 ft., with five aisles, the

largest of the group); Maryam (48 × 36 × 33 ft., with an interesting rectangular porch in front of the three entrances); Māsqāl and Dēngel (the basilical plan of which is not obvious); and Mika'el and Golgota (the two churches form a single whole), inside of which is the Sēllase crypt with interesting bas-reliefs in stone. The second group is composed of Amanu'el (Emmanu'el; PL. 16); Abba Libanos (29 × 23 ft.); Mārqorios (102 × 81 × 22 ft.); and Gabriel (64 × 57 ft., with niches on the front of the building).

**BIBLIOG.** A. A. Monti della Corte, *Un gioiello archeologico tra le montagne del Lasta*, *B. della Soc. Geog. It.*, 1940, p. 363 ff.; A. A. Monti della Corte, *Lalibela*, Rome, 1940; D. R. Buxton, *The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, *Archaeologia*, 1947.

Muḡḡa. Near the small town, the cavern Church of Zāmādd Maryam has an unusual plan and walls painted on the outside.

**CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ETHIOPIAN CENTERS.** In this region, in addition to occasional cavern churches of the type described above, which go back to the Middle Ages, there exist some well-preserved remains of buildings constructed in accordance with a technique of European importation, specifically Portuguese, starting in the 16th century. Such stone and lime-mortar structures often have a dome as an architectural element. These remains are to be found mainly in the Lake 'Tana area, which has Gondār and surroundings as its center. In the central region of Ethiopia, particularly in present-day Wällo, north of Shoa, artistic constructions existed in the past, but only insignificant ruins remain. Stone steles are scattered by the thousands in southern Ethiopia; they are very numerous south and east of the Hawaš River in the regions of Soddo, Gurage, Sidamo, Darasa, Wālammo, and Kāmbatta, and others as far east as Bale (see CUSHITE CULTURES). The steles have various shapes (round, parallelepipedal, and flat); some represent the stylized human figure or (more often) constitute an elaboration of the phallic steles which are mostly round and without decoration. Made from a kind of stone not found in the spots where the steles themselves are located, these appear for the most part grouped on heights which are today abandoned. Their erection seems to be connected with funeral customs, since tombs have been found in their vicinity. The steles are not the product of the present inhabitants of the area, who consider them a mystery. In a number of places steles which appear to be different from the ones just described have been discovered, at times with inscriptions, on Islamic tombs; the natives ascribe them to legendary peoples. South of Lake Čammo, in the territory inhabited by the Konso-Gato, there are groups of painted wooden statues representing the stylized human figure on which only the face is clearly carved (IV, pls. 88, 89). Often the statue-stele groups are accompanied by rudimentary zoomorphic statues also in wood; similar but less stylized sculptures are found among the Galla of western Ethiopia.

In southeastern Ethiopia the centuries-old penetration of Islam diffused the various forms of Islamic architecture, as in the city of Harar and surrounding territory. Nearby, and compounded with relics of unmistakable Mohammedan origin, can be found remains of other structures not attributable to the present-day inhabitants, who do not use such techniques as enclosure walls and tombs.

As in northern Ethiopia, painting is here also a product of Ethiopian Christianity. We find church paintings, illuminated manuscripts, and paintings on canvas, chiefly of a religious character.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Cerulli, *I risultati del viaggio scientifico Chiomico-Ciravegna nel sud-etiopeo*, *AfrIt.*, II, 1928-29, p. 201 ff.; G. Chiomico, *Da Harro Uolabo al Uabi (monoliti e tombe)*, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1945, p. 131 ff.; C. Conti Rossini, *Ricordi storici dei Nollo*, *Rass. di S. Etiopici*, 1945.

Addis Abāba. Capital of Ethiopia, the city was built on a plateau, first as a small group of houses near the thermal springs of Finfinne in 1887, and enlarged in 1889 when the Empress Taitu persuaded Mēnēlik to transfer the *ghebi* (palace) there. The original inhabited center, which had a commercial character and was made up of masonry buildings and *tuculs* (huts), had developed along the roads through the desert, following the irregular topography rather than any overall plan. The only organic building complex was the combination of old and new *ghebi* joined by a north-south road (Mākonnen Street), which forms a right angle with a road leading to the Church of St. George. This complex constituted the nucleus around which developed the new city projected by the Italian town plan of 1936, worked out by the engineers Cesare Valle and Ignazio Guidi. The latter took advantage of the nature of the terrain for the purpose of subdivision into zones for civic, commercial, native, park, and other uses. This gave rise to buildings which were clearly European in functional character and really eclectic in style, such as offices, public buildings, and residences. With an eye to the climate and the rains, methods of roof protection and covered walks were studied. The integrity of the Abyssinian quarter was respected and separated by an ample zone of vegetation. Enlargements and subsequent improvements

of the plan were put into operation by the architects Enrico del Debbio, Giuseppe Vaccaro, Giovanni Monti, Marconi, and G. Ulrich. The churches, all built in the course of the 20th century, are mainly octagonal with outside gallery, built in masonry, wood, and iron, such as T'iclä Haymanot, Enda Mädhane, Allām Giyorgis, and Entotto Maryam; or they are circular, such as Kidāna Mēhrät and Enda Sēllasie. Inside, the churches are variously decorated with sacred scenes by local painters in a naïve narrative manner.

In the environs of the capital rises the monolithic Church of Yākka Mikā'el, unfinished and today in ruins; about 20 miles southwest of Addis Abāba lies the underground monolithic Church of Adadi Maryam, practically inaccessible because of its geographical location. Both these churches are probably later than those of Lalibāla but earlier than the 16th century.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Pagano, *Il piano regolatore a Addis Abeba degli ingegneri Valle e Guidi*, Casabella, 107, 1936, p. 16 ff.; C. Valle and I. Guidi, *Relazione sul piano regolatore di Addis Abeba*, Casabella, 107, 1936, pp. 17-23; Gli ann. dell'Africa it., II, 4, 1939. U. Monneret de Villard, *La chiesa monolitica di Yākka Mikā'el*, Rass. di S. Etiopici, 1041, p. 225 ff.; R. Sauter, *L'église monolithique de Yekka Mikael*, Ann. d'Etiopie, II, 1957, p. 15 ff.

**Gondār.** This city was built as the capital in 1635 by Fasilädäs, who had the "castle" of Gondār built within it. His original castle, still intact, and the castles and adjoining constructions of the subsequent emperors, constitute the so-called "imperial city," enclosed within an ovoid having 12 gates. A few churches, somewhat in ruins, are less important.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Conti Rossini, *I castelli di Gondar*, B. della Soc. geog. it., 1938, p. 165 ff.; A. A. Monti della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar*, Rome, 1938.

**Bäre Gēmb** (south of Gondār). The Mikā'el church of the Portuguese period has a mixed central plan.

**G'ārg'āra** (Lake Tana peninsula). Remains are found of the palace and of a church built by the Jesuits in the 17th century.

**Guzara** (east of Lake Tana). Remains of a 16th-century castle may be seen.

**Lake Tana.** On the island of Mētraha are remains of an 18th-century mausoleum; on the islet of Rima, a church with paintings, perhaps European; on the island of Kēbran, a church adorned with paintings, rebuilt by the Europeans; on the islands of Dāq and Nārga, paintings of possible European origin.

**Dābrā Mawi** (Gōgḡam). Remains of two Portuguese-style palaces are found.

**Martula Maryam** (Gōgḡam). Vestiges of the two-story homonymous church have stucco (?) decorations and paintings of European (Renaissance) style.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Beke, *Description of the Ruins of the Church of Martula Mariam in Abyssinia*, Archaeologia, 1847.

**Dābrā Wārq** (Gōgḡam). Remains of Portuguese-style civil structures are in stone.

**Gayēnt.** The medieval church of Betlā'hem has structural analogies with Yēmrāhannā Krēstos.

**Dawēnt.** The rock-carved Church of Yādibba Maryam, also known as Dābrā Abuna Muse, is noteworthy for its mural paintings.

**Mikanā Sēllasie and Qorbonta** (Wällo). Ruins of European-style buildings (15th-16th cent.) remain.

**Maqet** (Wadla). Monolithic Church of Dābrā Abuna Aron is found here.

**Wagede** (western Wällo). Monolithic churches of Dābrā Kärbe and Dābrā Sēge are located here.

**Gasēča Abba Giyorgis** (south of Wällāgga). A group of three monolithic churches may be seen.

**Hēgersera** (northwest of Harar). Slab tombs are arranged in peculiar fashion.

**Nur Abdoš** (north of Harar). Mosque remains with squared stone columns and stuccoes are near anthropomorphic funeral steles.

**Harar.** North and west of the city, near Surre and Dirre Dawa, there is a series of rock paintings. In the city, there are civil and religious structures (Islamic style).

**BIBLIOG.** P. Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig, 1888; L. Robecchi-Bricchetti, *Nell'Harar*, Milan, 1896; H. Breuil, *Peintures rupestres préhistoriques du Harar (Abyssinie)*, CRAI, 1934, p. 225 ff.; H. Breuil, *Peintures rupestres préhistoriques du Harar (Abyssinie)*, L'Anthr., 1934, p. 473 ff.

**Surre** (west of Harar). Monumental tombs of the dolmen type are seen.

**Bate and Bio** (west of Harar). Walls, at times quite high, are built with well-squared blocks of stone.

**Dobba** (west of Harar). Monumental tombs of the dolmen type and anthropomorphic funeral steles are found.

**Mana Qallu** (west of Harar). Remains of a mosque may be seen.

**Derbaga** (northwest of Giggiga). Remains of a mosque with three rows of columns, rectangular and round, show that it was built with cut stones and set in mortar.

**Bišan Bae** (south of Harar). Monumental tombs of the dolmen type and slab tombs are found.

**Goba** (Bale). Hypogeum church was cut in rock.

**BIBLIOG.** F. De Zeltner, *Le monastère souterrain de Goba*, L'Anthr., 1904.

**Šeh Huseyn.** Mosques with *qubbas* are typical in their architectural details. A phallic stele, tombs, walls, and dwelling in dry-stone technique are also found.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Cerulli, *Alle sorgenti dell'Uabi-Uebi Scebeli*, Milan, 1932.

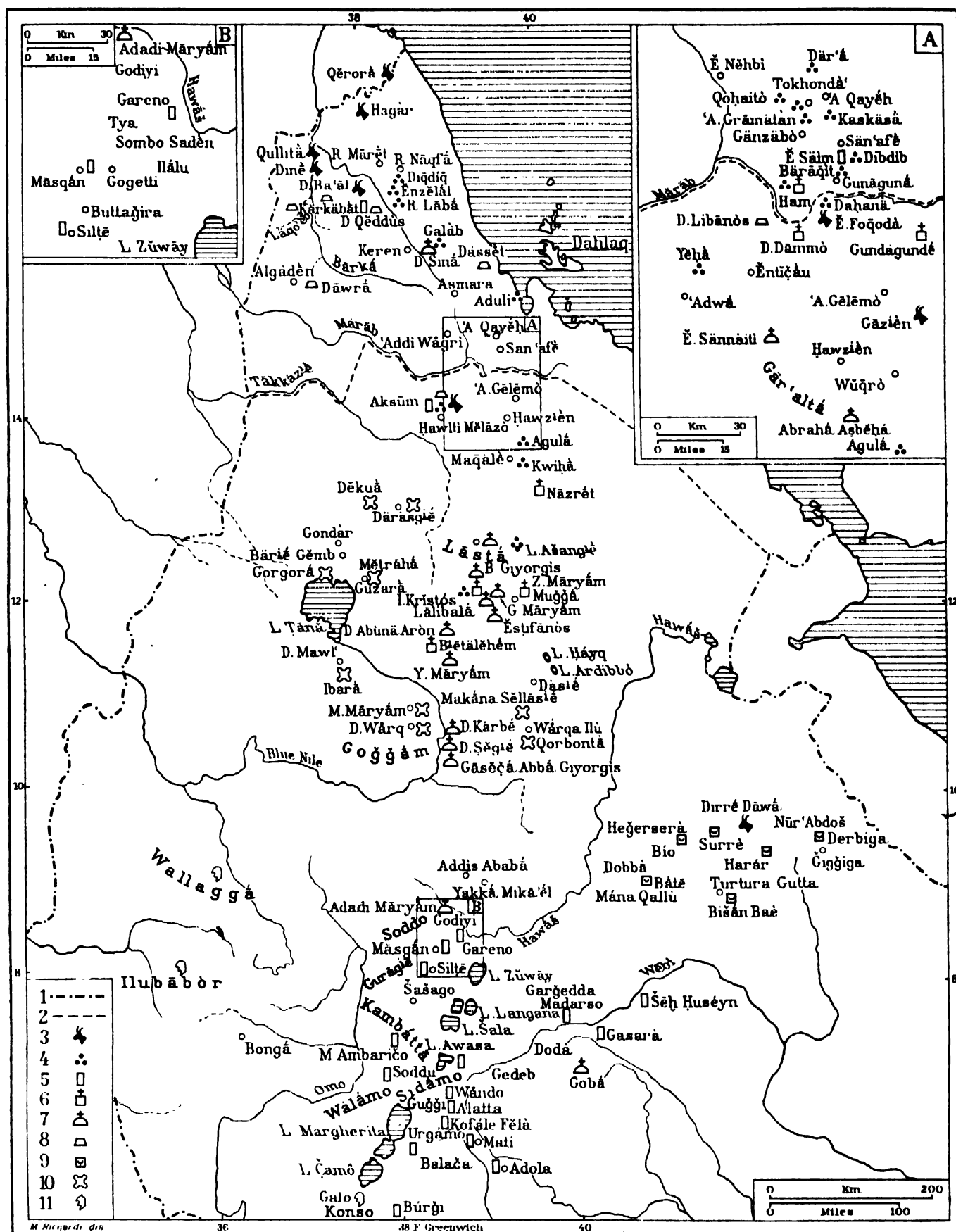
*Illustration: 1 map in text.*

**ETHIOPIAN ART.** Most of the art of the Ethiopian area was produced by the pre-Christian and Christian civilizations which developed in northern and central Ethiopia and in Eritrea. There were also manifestations of other cultural influences in south and east Ethiopia, including the monuments resulting from the influence of Islam. Establishment of a satisfactory chronology has so far been impossible, but the continuity of the pre-Christian and Christian Ethiopian tradition permits formulation of approximate subdivisions as a convenience in orientation. In the Early Ethiopian period are included all the vestiges of monuments built from the beginnings of Ethiopian civilization — basically founded by south Arabians — until several centuries after the penetration and establishment of Christianity (ca. 4th cent.); in other words, the period covers the several centuries before Christ to the 6th or 7th century of our era. The following medieval period, continuing the previous art forms and receiving new ones, came to an end toward the 16th century when new foreign contributions, particularly European, changed the character of the art. To the medieval period belong the oldest complete monuments of Ethiopia's Christian civilization as well as the relatively poor remains of Islamic monuments in the southeast. The modern period includes the rest, from the 16th century to the present. Ethiopian art as a whole is still little known. In its major works, it clearly reveals the impact of foreign artists and artistic trends.

**SUMMARY.** Historical background (col. 82). Architecture (col. 86): *Early Ethiopian period; Medieval period; Modern period.* Sculpture (col. 94): *Early Ethiopian period; Medieval period; Modern period.* Painting (col. 96). Minor arts (col. 97).

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.** The ethnic currents of clearly identifiable Asian origin which have gone into the formation of the Ethiopian culture distinguish it from the neighboring African cultures and give it a character of its own. From the very beginning of their transposition to African ground, these currents have assumed marked regional aspects. The origins of the Ethiopian civilization go back to the first gradual in-





Ethiopia, distribution of the principal art forms from prehistoric to modern times. Key: (1) National boundaries; (2) internal boundaries of the Ethiopian Federation; (3) rock paintings and engravings; (4) monumental ruins of Early Ethiopian period; (5) obelisks and steles; (6) medieval churches; (7) monolithic rock churches of medieval period; (8) tumulus tombs of unknown period; (9) structures of Islamic derivation; (10) "castle" of Portuguese period; (11) anthropomorphic wooden statues (*Orthography according to the system of the Rassegna di Studi Etiopici.*)

vasions by south Arabian peoples settled along the northeast margins of the lands from the Eritrean coasts up to the beginning of the plateaus, later to become the Ethiopian territory (FIG. 83). The settlements probably began as early as the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., spreading out from Aduli and presumably other focal points on the Red Sea in a southwesterly direction; but the first mention of the kingdom of Aksum (Axum), which for a while was to centralize the immigrants and the people they assimilated and dominated, is in the first century of our era. The rare examples of art produced on Ethiopian soil prior to the south Arabian settlements (see ARABIAN PRE-ISLAMIC ART), and still insufficiently known, have a prehistoric character (see PALŌO-AFRICAN CULTURES), which reappears in diffuse forms everywhere on the continent. The Agau and Sidamo (see CUSHITE CULTURES), the autochthonous peoples whom the immigrants met on the plateau and who still occupy a large part of it, do not seem to have had much influence on Ethiopian art. The introduction of Christianity in Aksum under the reign of 'Ezana (ca. A.D. 330-50) and its progressive dissemination among the peoples of the plateau in the following centuries exerted a decisive influence on every aspect of Ethiopian culture. The conversion of the Ethiopian king probably had some political motivation — aimed at obtaining the sympathies and alliance of Byzantium in opposition to Sassanian Iran — leading us to believe that a connection with the Byzantine Empire had already existed for some time. Frumentius, first bishop of Aksum, was consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria. This first bond was destined to continue, adding — perhaps even more than the geographical proximity — to the Coptic influences on Ethiopian culture through the centuries (see COPTIC ART), and to the Syrian influences on Ethiopia, functioning through Egypt beginning in the 6th century. New influences were felt in Ethiopia about the middle of the 5th century, when Monophysite exiles and communities of monks fleeing persecution in the north took shelter first in Yemen and then in the Aksumite territory. It is probable that the multiplication of conversions in Ethiopia and the detachment from Catholic orthodoxy were due to these refugees. The Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 brought about a slackening of the ties with Alexandria and a consequent crisis in the young Ethiopian church, which persisted until the 12th century. At the same time the rise of Islamic power gave a decisive blow to the expansionist ambitions of Aksum toward the Sudan on one side and on the other side toward Yemen, previously conquered for half a century and then abandoned in the 6th century. With the Red Sea trade routes closed, the Aksumite state turned to other paths of expansion, and it began that gradual conquest of inner Ethiopia which, with varying fortunes, was not concluded until the early 20th century. Not even a brief summary of these episodes can be given here, but it should be noted that the political (and therefore the cultural) center of the Ethiopian state has continually been changing. First it went from Aksum to Lasta, where the dynasty of the Zagwe ruled in an obscure period. Then it moved to Shoa with the installation of the Salomonid dynasty, founded by Yékuno 'Amlak in 1270. Soon thereafter a series of wars began against the Islamic states of eastern Ethiopia (first of all, Ifat), which lasted from the 14th to the late 16th century and concluded with the Christian victory. But even before this cycle of wars was concluded, a new one was begun with the appearance, about 1500, of less well-organized but more numerous and dangerous adversaries, the Galla, coming in unceasing waves from the south. These invasions, which overflowed all of central Ethiopia and even reached the western and northern areas, did not abate until well into the 18th century. The destruction brought by the Moslems, especially with the campaigns of the Graft (1530-43), was increased and resulted in a general lowering of the cultural and artistic conditions of the Christian populations engaged in the defense of their territories. Under the reign of the emperor Fasilädäs (Fasiladas, 1632-67), the capital was again shifted northward to an area better protected from the invader — Gondär in Dämbäya.

Ethiopia's geographical position and historical vicissitudes explain why its contacts with European culture were so limited

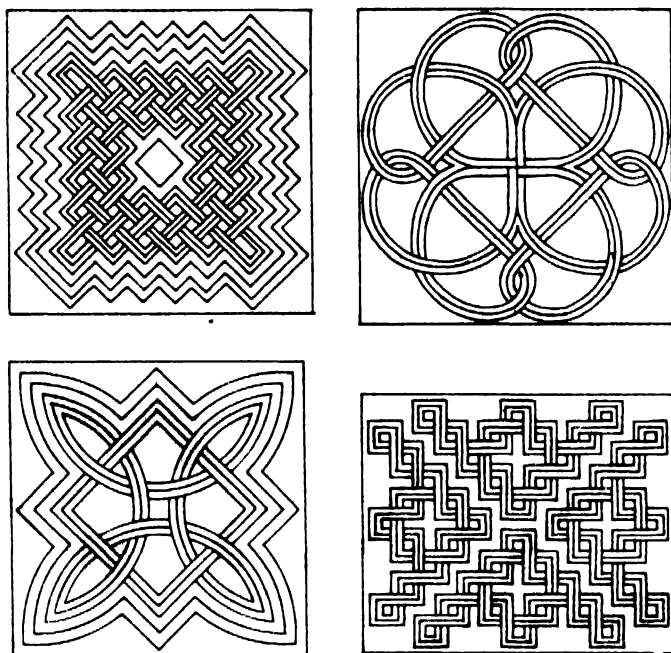
until more recent periods; why these relationships were always hostile to the Islamic world; and why its rapport was practically nonexistent with the more western countries of Africa which have had a richer development of original arts (see SUDANESE CULTURES). As far as the Occident is concerned, contacts of a certain importance had been initiated under the reigns of Lēbnā Dēngēl (1508-40) and of Gälawdewos (1540-59), culminating in the well-known participation of the Portuguese in the war against the Graft, but with very limited cultural and artistic effects. The ensuing penetration of the Jesuits, who, under the reign of Susenyos, seemed to be acquiring authority in the court and on the point of reconverting the country to Catholicism, was sharply interrupted by the abdication of the king and the expulsion of the religious orders by his successor, Fasilädäs. The return to the old faith promoted xenophobia, raising a barrier to further contacts with the West. When contacts were resumed in the 19th century, Ethiopian art had already ceased for some time to express anything of importance.

**ARCHITECTURE. Early Ethiopian period.** Besides the characteristic remains of Aksum, there belong to this period a number of buildings, now more or less in ruins, in which a single structural type may be recognized despite variability of construction techniques, ground plans, internal divisions, and materials — mostly limestone, but also sandstone (at times veined or reddish), slate, granite, white or green marble, and, rarely, brick. The buildings rise on a stepped podium or base formed of layers of squared limestone blocks. But, except for one building in Yäha of about the 5th century B.C., usually regarded as a south Arabian temple, the upper part of the walls is always gone, probably due to a peculiar building technique which alternated horizontal wooden beams with courses of masonry (rubble or stones with mud mortar). That this type of construction was used in Early Ethiopian buildings (but not Yäha) is documented on the sculptured steles (see below). The podia are also found elsewhere: another monumental ruin in Yäha; remains near the Church of Abba Panälewön (Aksum); a monumental hypogeum, perhaps funerary (Näfas Mäwča), in Aksum, with structural details in an unquestionably south Arabian technique; the hypogeum "tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsäl in Aksum, and the hypogeum under the Church of Enda Petros, east of Däbrä Dammo, 'Agame (Debra Damo, Agame), all probably dating from Christian times; the podium of the present Church of Nazret, east of Mäqäle; and the ancient dam of Qohayto, also stepped. In all of them the podium has a staircase with an over-all height of about 5 yd., while the building technique varies, using polygonal stones of different sizes or simple masonry (mud mortar and rubble). The perimeter of the podium is also varied, even in the same building. Usually rectangular, it has one or more recesses along its sides which give the four angles of the podium the appearance of triangular spurs jutting out from a recessed core. From the sculptured steles it can be deduced that the high walls of the Early Ethiopian buildings also had the same development, presenting projections at the angles shaped more or less like turrets.

The interior arrangements of the buildings can be treated as three principal types. The first, represented by the previously mentioned south Arabian temple of Yäha, is oriented east-west, with the entrance on the west. The interior was presumably divided into two main areas, one having four columns at the center, arranged in a square and supporting the ceiling, while the other (perhaps a vestibule) seems to have been divided into three square rooms, the middle one opening on the first area and raised about 7 or 8 in. above it. One of the two lateral rooms, separated by walls, seems to have contained a wooden staircase leading to a presumed second story. The second principal type of interior arrangement is oriented north-south, with two opposite entrances. Its internal division has been attributed to a double purpose of its rooms (official and domestic). This type is represented by the remains of secular buildings, square in plan, such as Enda Mika'el (ca. 29 × 29 yd.) and Enda Sēm'on, and by the central building (ca. 26 × 26 yd.) of the complex of Ta'ka Maryam, all in Aksum. The third principal



type, perhaps the most common, is oriented east-west, usually with the entrance on the west, and has an exterior staircase, usually on the façade. This kind can be recognized in Aksum (Ruin F at Betä Giyorgis, and perhaps in the building which preceded the Church of Šëyon, and in the "tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl, a complex combination of two buildings overlying two burial-chamber hypogea); at Dēbarwa; at 'To-konda' (two buildings); at Qohayto (at least five); at Ag'la'; at 'Arato; and at Aduli (two or perhaps three), where one, supposed to be a Christian basilica of Coptic Syrian model, has a central room, or apse, on the east in the shape of a horse-shoe, and another, possibly the remains of a secondary church with a central plan, seems to have replaced the ancient col-



Däbrä Dammo, wooden friezes inside the church (from D. R. Buxton).

onnade in the center with an octagon of eight square wooden columns. It has been maintained that buildings of this type reproduce the plan of the Eastern type of Christian basilica with a square apse. But, aside from a few rather uncertain examples (the "tombs" of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the two buildings of Aduli, and perhaps that of Šëyon in Aksum), all the other buildings, which might go back even to pre-Christian times, lack the elements which would define them as churches.

Piers or columns of various forms were customarily used to sustain the usually flat ceiling. Only in narrow areas has the rather exceptional employment of the vault and arch been ascertained. As a rule, the columns were square, of wood, and in small proportions, often beveled or having a concave reentrance at the corners, or, more rarely, having all sides concave. The base was a simple cube, often in steps, perhaps through derivation from an ancient brick structure (such as the remains of brick piers in Aksum). The capital, parallelepipedal or cubic, or more often stepped, was generally undecorated. The larger columns were probably in masonry. The pavements consisted of even slabs laid down symmetrically, sometimes in a design accentuated by the use of colored stone. There are no remains of doors and windows, but their form and placement can be deduced from the sculptured steles and probably from the oldest churches (see below). The same holds for the decoration, both internal and external. Moreover, fragments such as brackets and friezes, often carved in low relief or incised with various motifs, have been found in Yäha, Tokonda', and Aduli.

The buildings so far mentioned were related to one another in various ways. For example, the whole complex might be in the form of a rectangular compound, the north corners filled

by buildings and the whole south end consisting of two transverse buildings separated by a courtyard. In the center of the enclosure was the main building, connected to these northern wings by narrow transverse structures. The outside perimeter as well as the inner buildings had portions of the wall projected and portions recessed (e.g., 'Ta'ka Maryam, ca. 87 x 131 yd., and a building of Qohayto).

A probable south Arabian origin has been attributed to the most characteristic forms of this architecture — step podium, indented outer walls, beveled columns. Statue bases and south Arabian altars recently discovered in Ethiopia show the same recessed step motif. Despite similarities with analogous manifestations in eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern countries, ancient and modern, the derivation of the wall-building technique — alternating courses of wood and masonry with the generally round beam ends projecting for decorative as well as structural reasons — is less certain. This type of building seems typical of the Early Ethiopian architecture, which carried it to great technical perfection.

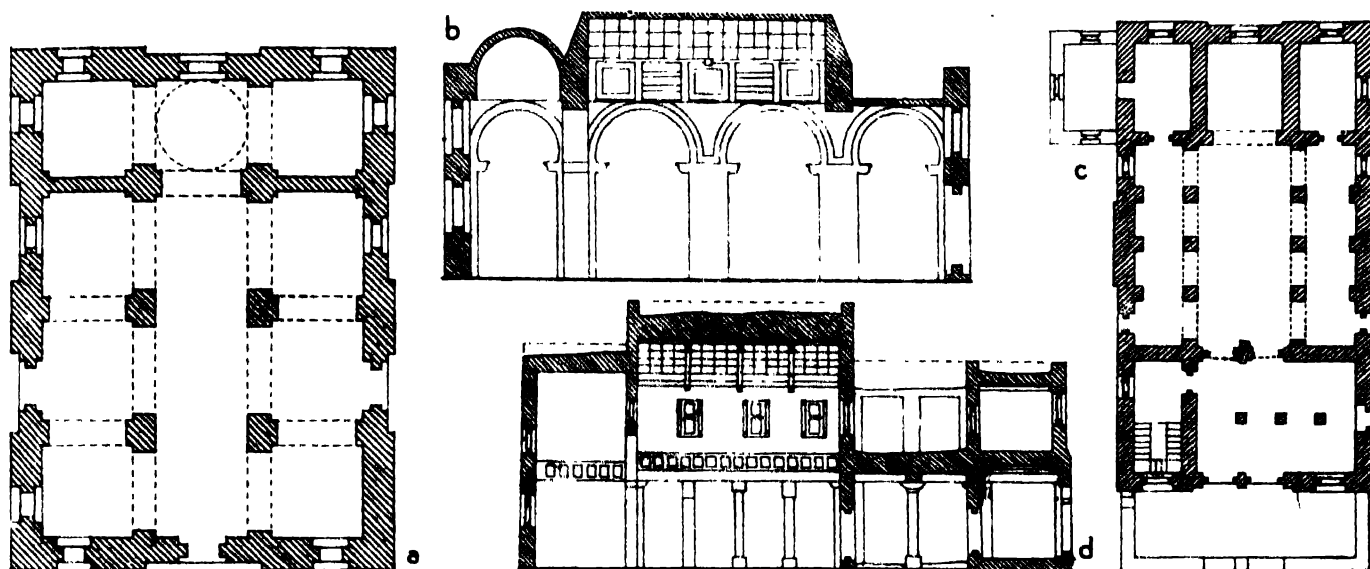
A unique position, at the heart of the Early Ethiopian artistic production, is occupied by the archaeological finds of Aksum. As previously noted, they are made up of some remains of buildings such as churches, palaces, and hypogean tombs corresponding to the structural types described so far. There are also such relics as steles, stone thrones, and stairways sculptured out of the living rock on the hillsides. Stone steles, upright or fallen, intact or fragmentary, have been found in many archaeological sites of Ethiopia, and far to the south as well (see CUSHITE CULTURES). But most are at Aksum, where they are clustered in three different areas and carved out of basalt. Varying in form, workmanship, and height (from about 5 to 110 ft.), they were probably funerary or commemorative monuments. This may be deduced from the stone basin often found as an independent structure at their feet, perhaps an altar for funeral offerings. A good number of the steles bear symbolic sculptures or south Arabian and Early Ethiopian inscriptions. The most significant group is comprised of the six large steles of Aksum (only one is still erect), each with a semicircular top, and sides indented by two or four reentrant curves placed over one another two by two (PL. 14), a technique recalling the column woodwork. Resting on a wide base, and completely sculptured on one or all sides, the Aksumite steles reproduce, except for minor variations, the architectonic and decorative elements of the Early Ethiopian buildings (PLS. 13, 14). On the architrave of the door, which also appears on the reverse of the stele, can be noted a dentil and on the top a motif of little arches or horizontal lances (PL. 14). One stele is carved in relief with a round column, which grows narrower toward the middle, with a trilobate base and a flaring capital in large volutes, closed at the bottom with an ovolo molding. On the capital rests a gabled rectangle enclosing a smaller rectangle within it, a motif repeated on the back of the stele. The capital presents analogies with Egyptian or Babylonian forms, the ovolo, or "egg," molding with south Arabian decoration. At least some of the sculptured steles are of pre-Christian date. Their monumental character has been connected with constructions in large blocks of ashlar, more genuinely south Arabian, but the possibility must be admitted of influence from India, which, almost in the same period, was reproducing the architecture of its own great wooden temples in stone monuments in the Deccan (q.v.). Contacts with India in the first centuries of the Christian era now seem to be proved by apparently Indian statuettes discovered in Aksum in 1958-59 and Kushan coins of the 3d century, of an extremely fine mint, recently brought to light in Däbrä Dammo. On the other hand, proof of Indian artistic influence at the beginning of our era has been found in southern Arabia, and should not be neglected. However, as the system of quarrying the steles in Aksum is analogous to the Egyptian one, the presence of Egyptian workmen has been inferred, and furthermore, remains of Egyptian art have been found in Aksum and elsewhere on the plateau.

The so-called "thrones," or stone "chairs," found in the center of Aksum, outside the city, and perhaps elsewhere, consist of large dressed stone slabs between 5 ft., 10 in., and 8 ft., 6

in. wide, and between 5 ft., 3 in. and 9 ft., 2 in. deep, on which rested lesser blocks (although sometimes the whole was monolithic). The smaller block served as the "chair," about 7 to 20 in. high, with grooving of varying depths, perhaps for the insertion of back rest and arms. A south Arabian statuette found in Ethiopia shows a person seated on a chair with neither back rest nor arms, very similar in structure to the "thrones." One in Aksum has at its four corners four little square pillars (PL. 15) without capitals; three of the columns cut in one piece with their base. It is thought that the "chairs," designated as such by tradition, were used in various Ethiopian ceremonies. On the basis of the workmanship they may be

the two women's galleries opening onto the aisles, thus transmitting an indirect light to the nave. The elevation of the pavement toward the sanctuary recalls the vestibule at Yāha, as well as the raising of the apse and of the iconostasis in the early Christian basilicas.

The same orientation, structure (except for the absence of the podium), and interior plan are found in other apparently antique churches: probably in the one-story church in Asmāra (demolished in 1906); in the one-story church of Aramo, south-east of Sān'afe, with wooden arches and columns (destroyed in 1940); in the Church of Barāknaha (perhaps one story) near Sān'afe; in the Church of Dār'a, perhaps elevated on a burial



Church of Yēmrāhannā Krēstos: (a) Plan; (b) longitudinal section. Church of Dābrā Dammo: (c) plan; (d) longitudinal section (From D. R. Buxton.)

assigned to the oldest Early Ethiopian phase. The works excavated from living rock must also go back to that period -- the rectangular basins connected with drainage canals (some terminating in lion protomas) at Aṣafi, thought to be oil presses because of similar contemporary constructions in Syria; staircases on the sides of the hills near Aksum; and hypogeum tombs with access stairways.

**Medieval period.** A place all its own is held by the monastery church of Dābrā Dammo (restored by D. Matthews in 1948), datable between the 6th and 9th or 10th centuries, although the basic nucleus of the temple is perhaps earlier. A connecting link between the Early Ethiopian building technique and the medieval one, it fuses some characteristics of each period. The plan of the church is similar to those of Early Ethiopian buildings, resembling also the ancient Syrian basilica with a square apse. Like the Early Ethiopian ones, it rises on a step podium, now buried, and is oriented east-west, with entrance on the west. The walls in elevation have projections and recesses and are built in alternating projection courses of masonry (perhaps once plastered) and setbacks in olive wood (PL. 16). The interior has a nave and aisles preceded by an antevestibule, a vestibule (containing the stone staircase to the upper floor), and a hall divided transversally by three columns with capitals supporting the wooden coffered ceiling, which has panels in low relief (see below). A wooden frieze of 15 small windows on each side, of Early Ethiopian type (FIG. 87), runs on the wooden trabeation of the nave, supported by six square monolithic piers. The frieze continues on the walls of the square apse. Above this rises a cupola (diam., ca. 2 yd.) with six flattened and painted wooden ribs joining at the center in a cylindrical umbo. The flat terracellike roof above the cupola covers a rectangular space, forming part of the upper story of the building, which is divided into several rooms. Among these are

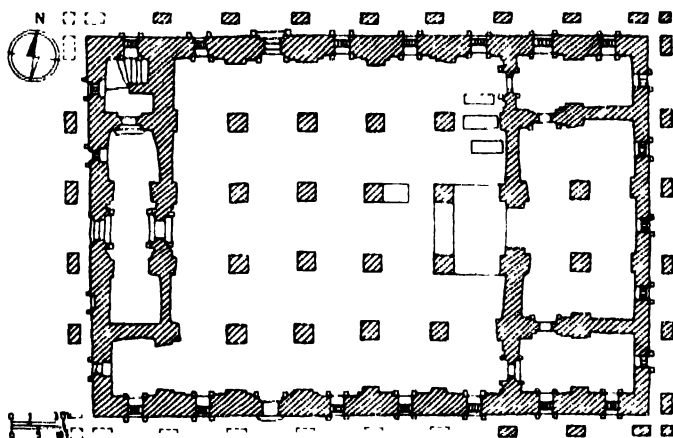
hypogeum (destroyed after 1947); perhaps in the old church of Šēyon at Aksum, of very large proportions (ca.  $65\frac{1}{2} \times 47$  yd.) with a nave and four aisles (destroyed in the 16th century); in the Church of Dābrā Libanos near Ham; perhaps in the Church of Dābrā Bizān, seen by Francisco Álvarez in the 16th century; and in the Churches of Gunaguna and Biḥat, among others.

The basic architectural elements listed so far are found, with ever greater development, in some one-story rock-cut churches. The most interesting of these is Yēmrāhannā Krēstos (Imrahanna Krēstos) north of Lalibāla (PL. 17; FIG. 89), which tradition attributes to the 12th century. It resembles Dābrā Dammo on a small scale (ca.  $11 \times 13$  yd.), but is distinguished by various details. The masonry courses of the standing walls are plastered and covered with stucco, the hemispherical dome projects from the roof, the four angles have a pronounced turret form reminiscent of Early Ethiopian constructions, and the vestibule is lacking. (The painted decoration will be discussed below).

A unique plan, with two narrower units on the east and west enclosing the wider and longer central section, is presented by the little Church of Zāmādā Maryam, near Lalibāla, built in a cave on a low plinth. Its walls are plastered and frescoed on the outside, the nave is vaulted, and its roof is barrel-vaulted.

The one-story rock-cut churches, some very tiny, generally have semicircular arches springing directly from the columns, and barrel vaults, sometimes transversal. In Wēqro of Amba Sānnāyiti in Tēgre the ceiling of the vestibule and nave consists of small domes symmetrically arranged. There are several little domes in Bāṣlotā Mika'el and Yādibba Maryam at Dābrā Abuna Muse in Dawēnt south of Wadla. The walls inside are covered with stucco. The ceilings, decorated with incised geometric designs, are sometimes painted and gilded as in Abreha Aṣbēha near Ag'w'la in Gār'a'alta. They are characterized by plastered stone columns, the nave generally higher than the aisles,

sacristy raised above the church floor, frieze of blind windows continuing also on the west wall of the nave, an occasionally decorated dome, and the use of the rooms at the sides of the sanctuary as chapels. The period of these churches is uncertain. The plan, which has a few peculiarities in the more southern



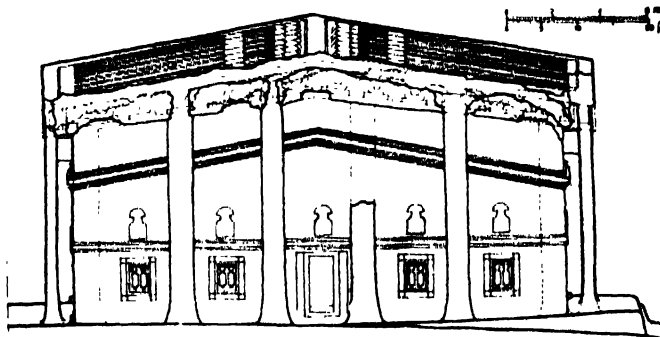
Lalibäla, Church of Mädhane Alām, plan (from L. Bianchi Barroviera).

rock churches (Wällo, Wadla, and Dawēnt), and the archaic architectural elements bring to mind the high Middle Ages. For some of them, tradition names periods between the 6th and 15th centuries. In a few of the monolithic churches the whole structure is carved out of the living rock, but completely or largely isolated from it, as in Giyorgis (PL. 16) and Mädhane Alām (PL. 17; FIGS. 91-93) of Lalibäla, constituting real works of architectural sculpture. In exceptional cases, perhaps not native, wooden elements appear. The churches of Lalibäla and some others are carved from reddish-grey soft tufa. They usually have a rectangular plan and east-west orientation such as Amanu'el (Emmanu'el; PL. 16), except for those whose basilican plan is not evident and seems rather an approximate adaptation, as in Mäsqäl, Dēngēl, Marqorēwos, and Gabriel at Lalibäla. The plan of Amba Mika'el (Gärä'alta) is abnormal, with two unfinished chapels at either side of the entrance, rather than the sanctuary.

Tradition attributes a few of the monolithic churches such as those at Lalibäla to the period before the 11th century but places most of them in the period from the 11th to the 13th century. It should be noted that in this period the Early Ethiopian architectural forms are retained just as official court documents repeated the formulas of the Aksum kings. There is a unity of conception, execution, and artistic perfection in all of this architectural complex, which forms an independent whole. Tradition, moreover, confirms the completion of this cycle, naming the authors of it as foreign workmen or Egyptians, a designation that can be taken to mean only strangers from the Near East, perhaps Arab-speaking. Various details have been thought attributable to Coptic influence — the use of special coloring materials and the character of certain low reliefs with figures — but the greatest architectural affinities have been found to be with the monolithic temples of India, which are earlier or approximately contemporaneous with the Ethiopian ones. Subjects of Indian inspiration also seem present in the ceiling decoration of Yēmrāhannā Krēstos. Some paintings with characteristics of the pictorial style of Ellora (Deccan) have even been found here. In agreement with tradition, this would mean a closeness of origin between Yēmrāhannā Krēstos and many churches of Lasta. The geographical unity seems another proof of the limitation in time and space of this peculiar architectural current, of which Yākka Mika'el and Adadi Maryam near Addis Abäba seem to be marginal expressions.

The old rectangular masonry churches of northern Ethiopia are, as a rule, structurally related to the preceding ones. One story high, without walls of alternating courses, they have a simple straight perimeter. The interior is divided into three parts,

each of which has a precise liturgical purpose: the *qene māhalet*, a room for the liturgical chant, corresponding to the ancient vestibule and usually accessible from the interior; the area reserved for the laity at the divine service or communion; and the sanctuary with the tabernacle, reserved for the clergy. According to the location of the last two parts, two types are clearly distinguishable. The first, thought to be the oldest, is represented by only two examples, one in Yäha, destroyed about 1950, and the other, the new Church of Šeyon at Aksum. The second and later type is represented by Enda Giyorgis in Fremona; by Mika'el in Čēfa, south of Šän'afe; by the Church of Asmära in its later transformation; and by Abba Liqanos near Aksum, among others. In Enda Giyorgis six drums project from the roof, corresponding to six small wooden domes on the interior, one of which is over the sanctuary. In the use and disposition of such domes, a Syrian-Bizantine influence has been observed. The Church of Gundägunde east of Däbrä Dammo, probably constructed in the final decades of the 13th century, has nine little cupolas over the sanctuary. Some churches have a plan which participates in both the above types or differs only partially, forming an intermediate type, such as Abba Pančälewön near Aksum. The dating of these two types is uncertain, just as are the motives determining the creation of an isolated sanctuary found in even the southernmost examples, such as Adadi Maryam. Ancient tradition has been the supposed source of this innovation (seen in medieval Christian monuments including the Church of Asmära in its later form), as it has of the four-columned sanctuary (seen in the south Arabian temple of Yäha and some remains at Qohayto), both of Nabataean origin. These architectural characteristics presumably arrived in Ethiopia by way of the south Arabians, who in turn received them via Iran (although no examples seem to have been found in the archaeological remains of southern Arabia.) The second type of church under discussion is structurally similar to the round church, today prevalent in Ethiopia, in which the circular plan of the native house predominates. It has been supposed that this plan was first developed in the south, where the influence of the south Arabian tradition would have been less. But the influence of the Christian round churches of the Near East and that of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem are not excluded. When the circular plan first appeared is uncertain, perhaps about the 16th century. In the round church two concentric walls create a ring corridor that has an opening into the central space for the laity. At the center of this is the square raised sanctuary, oriented east-west, with the main entrance on the west. The conical straw roof often has the inner side braided in decorative designs. The entrances from the outside open diagonally to the east-west axis, on which are placed the doors opening from the corridor into the central space and the three doors of the sanctuary. Wooden doors and windows often have



Lalibäla, Church of Mädhane Alām, elevation of the west façade (from L. Bianchi Barroviera).

concentric frames, sometimes carved with geometric motifs. The window panels are usually perforated in a geometric open-work, and the door panels are carved and painted.

As far as the architecture of the private dwelling is concerned — except for the circular hut of local origin, today

extremely widespread in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea — the square stone houses having one or two floors, usually with a single room, are attributed to the continuity of a tradition that is in all likelihood Early Ethiopian and perhaps of south Arabian importation, although so far the relative finds are missing. Some complex plans (for example, crossing of a square plan with the round hut) seem to repeat very ancient practices, as proved by the remains of buildings of archaic type. The presence of square houses with two floors and a single room together with other presumably Early Ethiopian remains in Däbrä Dammo, confirm the antiquity of this type. It includes the usually square two-story building serving for entrance to the courtyards, particularly of the old churches, and used for li-

*Modern period.* The remains of the construction of the modern period are European or preponderantly European in style and often designed by foreigners. They are fairly scarce in the territory around Gondär, up to Gogğam, in Amhara and Shoa. To this period seem to belong the remains of the two-story Church of Marçula Maryam (Gogğam), important for the variety, richness, and fineness of the framework and decoration, in which European (perhaps Italian) and Oriental (perhaps Egyptian) architectural and ornamental concepts are clearly recognizable. According to tradition it was built by master workmen from Egypt.

The larger part of the ruins of the modern period seem to go back to the Portuguese or, more often, to be inspired



Lalibäla, Church of Mädhane Aläm, details of the interior. (a) nave and right aisles; (b) end of the last right aisle toward the west façade; (c) back walls of the left side cella (from L. Bianchi Barroviera).

turgical or ecclesiastical purposes. Access to the upper floor is by way of an external stone staircase. In the rectangular buildings the roofs of earth or straw are flat or pitched (the latter clearly imported). In the round and squared buildings, the roofs are of straw, round or conical, supported by a central beam. Except for very rare instances, the dimensions of these buildings are modest. Analogous two-story buildings are found in Amhara and Gogğam, where the door usually has an arched frame. In some cases foreign influence going back no further than the 15th or 16th century seems to be indicated.

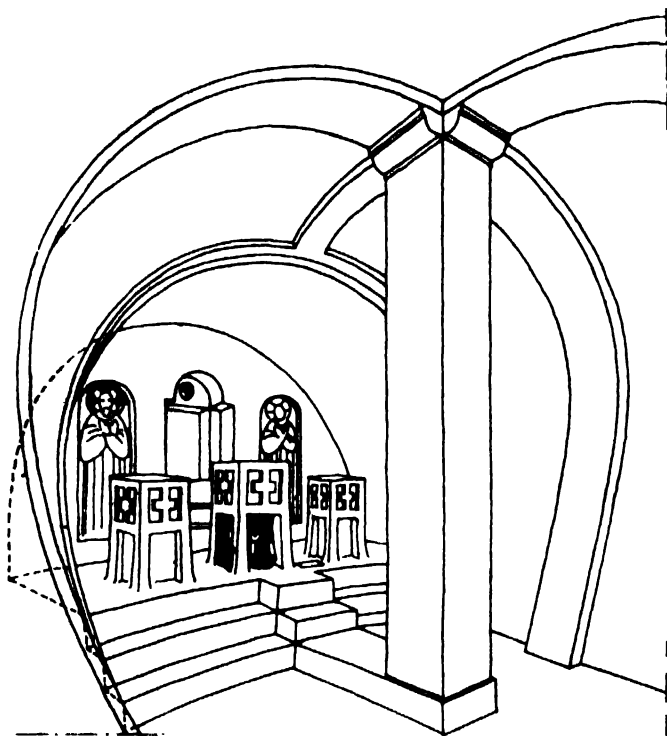
The diffusion of Islam (probably in the 11th and 12th cent.) in southeastern Ethiopia introduced its overseas architecture, seen especially in the remains of mosques revealing great technical skill. Also frequently seen are the square Islamic tombs with a high and irregular dome and small beams projecting into the interior.

Remains of walls built of very large ashlar blocks put together without mortar, found throughout the territory, are often identified as Abyssinian work prior to the 16th century; a similar identification is also suggested by present inhabitants for other remains of squared and cemented stone walls, perhaps former habitations or fortified centers; and sometimes these structures are attributed to ancient legendary peoples. In the zones of the south and west of Harar exist crude funeral monuments of the dolmen type and of unknown provenance. Also of unknown origin are the ancient sepulchral monuments of the extreme north and near the Eritrean coast — massive square constructions surmounted by a low cylinder of beaten earth and conical summit, with a single room inside, conical in cross section.

by Portuguese models, but with their own peculiar characteristics; built by skilled workmen, without doubt foreign (Indian, Syrian, Armenian, and others), most are from the 16th to the 18th century. The most important buildings are found in the area of Gondär (PL. 19). The principal characteristics are: rectangular plan, rarely round; turrets of various forms at the angles or at the sides of the buildings and enclosure walls; walls of stone and mortar with hydraulic lime; two, or sometimes three, floors; roof with a terrace, a low cupola, or an ogival cupola (barrel-vaulted in the turrets); exterior and sometimes interior staircase of wood; and doors and windows with semicircular arches. Inside, the rooms are sometimes very large, having flat ceilings with wooden beams resting on brackets at the walls; in the upper floors a vaulted ceiling corresponds to the domed roof. They were dwelling places for the king or the great; sometimes they were churches, an occasional one still in use. Typical for its concentric plan, square and round, is the Church of Mika'el at Bäre Gëmb, a little south of Gondär. Various skillfully constructed bridges with semicircular arches also belong to this architecture, most of them in the zone of Gondär.

*SCULPTURE. Early Ethiopian period.* Remains of figures in the round or in high relief are rare. The following examples, attributed to a few centuries before Christ, are of a clear south Arabian art, but with iconographic peculiarities: two small sphinxes of sandstone and limestone; two small statues of persons seated on a chair without back rest or armrests; and rude stone or bronze statuettes of cattle without humps. Perhaps of Early Ethiopian origin are some small terra-cotta heads probably

used as stoppers; one, very finely modeled, seems to be related to the head of one of the sphinxes. A bronze statuette of a humped cow with an incised inscription may be Early Ethiopian. A stone slab bearing the outlines of two widespread feet, 36 in. long (Aksum), was perhaps the base of a colossal statue. The leonine protoma similar to a sphinx sculptured on a rock spur on Lake Ašänge is of imposing size and perhaps Early Ethiopian. The lion occurs frequently in the sculpture of this period and the following. Particularly noteworthy are the figures of a lion and a lioness sculptured in low relief on rock near Aksum (PL. 15). Architectural and decorative sculpture, apparently of south Arabian derivation, is better documented, especially the steles. The geometric motifs carved on architectural



Lalibāla, Church of Golgota, crypt of Sēllase (from L. Bianchi Barriviera).

al fragments are considered south Arabian, since they are found particularly at Yāha. The stylized plant motifs are rare and sometimes accompanied by sculptured crosses; they are of the Christian era.

**Medieval period.** Only low-relief sculpture is known. A well-developed carved decoration with geometric and architectural motifs cut in wood is found on exteriors and interiors of both wood and stone churches; this includes the mimbars, chairs, or monoxylous tabernacles of an early period, often repeating the form of the columns or of the buildings themselves. Translated into stone, these motifs are found in the moldings of the rock churches where the frieze of blind windows becomes a work of sculpture, at times brightly painted and inlaid in gold. A group of geometric designs from the Church of Dābrā Dammo has close similarities with Coptic, Syrian, and Islamic Egyptian motifs of the 5th to 10th century, thereby providing a clue for the dating of the church. The 33 square panels of the north portion of the coffered ceiling of the second vestibule of Dābrā Dammo are carved in low relief with animals and, more rarely, geometric designs (PL. 18). Perhaps the work of several hands and often executed with great mastery, they have been related to analogous Sassanian and Copto-Islamic Egyptian sculptures of the Fatimid period. They may also be prior to the 7th and 8th centuries. Whether their placement and present position in the ceiling are original or the result of an adaptation is debatable.

Low-relief stone sculpture is found on the façade of Maryam in Lalibāla (PL. 19). Besides a Deposition with an angel (?), nine strongly stylized but severely expressive saints in monastic dress — carved in low relief within arched niches having molding on the outer edge — decorate the walls of the Church of Golgota in Lalibāla (PL. 19). The influence of Coptic sculpture is felt here, apparently accentuated by the presence of color on the molding, thought to have been derived from ancient Egyptian practice. A crude imitation of these are the two saints in low relief in the Church of Qānqanit Mikā'el. On the four sides of a stone tabernacle in the crypt of Sēllase (Golgota) are low reliefs of the four Evangelists with winged human bodies (three with animal heads, motifs thought to derive from Syrian sources, repeated in the Ethiopian iconography on metal and in illuminated manuscripts). Two other figures analogous in style and execution, but larger, with the head of an ass and an ox, are on the back wall of the same crypt (FIG. 95).

**Modern period.** On the façade of a building of Portuguese style in Gondār there are zoomorphic and anthropomorphic reliefs whose attribution is uncertain because the Christian Ethiopians did not traditionally practice sculpture. The animal figures seem stiff and stumpy, the execution of the human figures more skilled.

As yet we are inadequately informed about a traditional school of icon carving in wood or soft stone and gilded and painted in bright colors, which existed in Gēšān, near Ambas-säl (central Ethiopia).

Both the origin and the technique of the stone steles found in the areas to the west of Harar remain unsolved problems. They are probably sepulchral, carved in the form of a schematized human bust. They are not large and sometimes have abridged features and symbolic motifs of uncertain meaning, in interlacing lines, which are incised or in relief. The sculptured steles of the south are varied (see CUSHITE CULTURES; ETHIOPIA).

**PAINTING.** Except for the rock art which belongs to a different and wider cultural horizon (see PALEO-AFRICAN CULTURES), Ethiopian painting is documented only in Christian times. Basically sacred or of sacred inspiration, it appears in churches and holy places. Perhaps the first examples are to be found in the most ancient churches. The use of frescoes seems old. A frescoed frieze with archaic stylized figures of saints and animals and with hunting scenes (recalling Iranian works of the 8th and 9th centuries) runs around the inside of the little Church of Mādhanē Alām. The remains of three layers of frescoes, of which the deepest is perhaps contemporaneous with the church, are in the vestibule of Wēqro near Hāuzen. A frescoed frieze with scenes of the Visitation is in Maryam in Lalibāla, where other parts of the church also seem to be frescoed. The figures of saints or angels of an archaic flavor and the geometric designs painted in fresco on the inside of Bēlbala Čārqos and Gännätä Maryam are in a peculiar technique. Especially in the latter there is a great variety of human and animal polychrome figures, rather stiff in appearance, isolated or in groups. The color turquoise blue, which is regarded as typically Egyptian, is found in the two churches. The ceilings and walls of Yādibba Maryam, with figures of the Zagwe king-saints, some of whom are historical, are of an archaic aspect and seem to be painted directly on the rock. Perhaps the pigment was used dry on a prepared surface. The addition of color to the low-relief decorations in the various churches was frequent. The geometric decorations incised in the stucco covering the inside walls of Wēqro near Hāuzen were painted red. The use of stucco seems to be of Coptic derivation. The painted decoration repeats the geometric motifs of the sculptured decoration, but others added to it — particularly in Yēmrāhannā Krēstos and in Maryam of Lalibāla, which are very similar to each other in this respect. The polychrome figures on the Yēmrāhannā Krēstos ceiling, where the foreign origin and production are apparent, are noteworthy for their type of subject, style, and mastery of execution.

Wall painting and painting on wood seem to be limited to a few churches. Some icons, diptychs, triptychs, and paintings

placed together in the form of a small book are done in tempera on wood. The iconography is at times very archaic, but the place of origin and the period in which this technique reached Ethiopia cannot be established. Wall painting in fresco and on wood has been replaced by painting in tempera on canvas previously prepared with a layer of white gesso and then glued to the wall. Egg white and oxskin glue are used to fix the colors. Oil painting is rare. Perhaps the change occurred together with increased European influence after the 15th century. Painting on canvas is found on the outer walls of the sanctuary, with subjects and composition fixed by tradition.

The tradition of the illuminated manuscript is refined and ancient. Its iconography, sacred and substantially identical to that of panel and canvas painting, derives mainly from Egypt and from Jerusalem. The oldest illuminated manuscripts seem to go back to the 14th century (PLS. 20, 21). Stylistically they are highly schematized, with flat colors. In composition and type the illuminations show a marked Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian influence, while the Coptic influence is felt mainly in the ornamental decoration and much less in the iconography. At the same time they show secondary characteristics typical of their Ethiopian surroundings (PLS. 21, 22). European influence occurs increasingly from the 15th century onward.

The foreign influence did not, however, go beyond the iconography. The Ethiopian painter usually limited himself to a simple schematic drawing, following established canons of representation, but neglected compositional balance and omitted modeling altogether. Stereotyped, the figures were depicted in elementary positions, with stiff and encumbered gestures, and in a spaceless setting. Formal requirements were solved by the varying poses of the figures placed in a single plane. The colors were hard and heavy. Within these general characteristics, clearly distinctive of Ethiopian painting, it is at times possible to distinguish the continuity of a particular style or "school," with a shorter or longer tradition. Secular subjects are rare in the Ethiopian production of the past centuries; they began to appear in the 19th and 20th centuries. Even today in Ethiopia the painter is considered a simple craftsman who must express himself for an exclusively didactic purpose. The painters are usually ecclesiastics. Tradition records various famous names of the past, going back as far as the 14th century.

Because of subject and style, engraving on metal must be considered together with painting. Portable crosses, manuscript bindings, and liturgical objects are included in this category. Among the geometric motifs mention should be made of the so-called "Solomon's cross" and the broken-line meanders, both of an old tradition. Figure representations include the four Evangelists in their symbolical representations.

**MINOR ARTS.** Numerous fragments of pottery have been found in the Early Ethiopian archaeological sites, especially in Aksum and Aduli. The variety of types — unpolished, slipped, glazed, handmade and wheel-turned — is great. The forms and dimensions of the utensils are diverse: vases with a wide or narrow mouth, bowls, cups, and basins, with surfaces either smooth or decorated with incised geometric designs, but rarely in relief. Very occasionally there is found decoration with plant, animal, or anthropomorphic motifs. In both the forms and the ornamentation, foreign influences can be discerned: Nubian of the Roman period, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian of the Sassanian era seem to appear. Today the potter's craft is still widespread in Ethiopia. In Christian Semitic Ethiopia pottery is practiced by pariah craftsmen, that is, by an inferior caste.

Among the archaeological remains, vases of serpentine, granite, alabaster, and marble have also been found. They were probably made where found, but under the influence of foreign art currents (Hellenistic, Byzantine, and others). Small ornamental or useful objects were also made of stone. It seems that today neither stone nor glass is worked. Glass, even in the past, was always imported.

Various objects of base and precious metals of Early Ethiopian date, and some of the medieval period, have come to light, particularly in the zone of Aduli, where a goldsmith's workshop

seems to have been found, and also in Aksum (PL. 23). Gold, silver, bronze, and copper coins were minted by the Aksum kings, seemingly from about the second half of the 3d century to the 7th and 8th centuries. The first coins copy the Roman type. There followed a typological innovation (a bust on each face) due perhaps to south Arabian influence. The varieties in coinage types are rather numerous.

The still-living tradition of metalworking is in the hands of special classes of craftsmen not belonging to the Semitic Christian groups (except perhaps for the workers of precious metals) and considered of low caste by these groups. They produce various objects, above all, personal ornaments of fine workmanship often in filigree, a technique supposed to have been introduced by Armenians, Arabs, Greeks, and Indians. At least in modern times, the working of precious metals is very often done by craftsmen of these nations. Some of the jewelry motifs bring to mind ancient Egypt or other countries. Delicate filigree work is found in south Arabia, and the Ethiopian work probably owes a good deal to this source.

The metal liturgical objects (crosses, censers, sistrums, and staffs) are also of great interest, with elaborate geometric forms and ornamental engraving. The crutch-shaped staffs reproduce subjects from the repertory of Ethiopian painting (sacred scenes and images, and geometric motifs). An ancient Egyptian origin has been suggested for the sistrums. Brass and gold processional crowns are interestingly decorated in *repoussé* (PL. 23). The hand crosses, sometimes of wood, as they seem to have been in the past centuries, present the same elaborate and artistic decoration as the metal crosses. The leather of the bookbindings, the arms cases, and similar objects are engraved with geometric designs. Mention should also be made of the basketry, noteworthy for the brightness and harmony of the colors.

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Illustrations: PLS. 13-23; 7 figs. in text.

**ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART.** Italy gradually attained political, linguistic, and cultural unity after the Roman conquest. This process was actually completed only during the 1st century B.C. Italy before the Roman conquest was divided into sections inhabited by peoples who differed greatly from one another and who had reached different levels of culture, even though they were related by common ties and had been exposed to the same foreign influences. It is impossible, therefore, to speak of a unified development of art in Italy, such as that of Greece, during the pre-Roman period. The products of Sicily and the sections of the Italian peninsula that were colonized by the Greeks may be classified definitely as Greek art, although they have some individual characteristics. The artistic traditions of the rest of the country have their roots in protohistoric times; there are occasional indications of Near Eastern influence, but the most important single factor by far was the influence exerted by Greece. The motifs and styles of Greek art provided, throughout the centuries, a constant inspiration for the more advanced centers of Tyrrhenian Italy, from Campania to Etruria. See ARCHAIC ART; CLASSIC ART; EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY; GEOMETRIC STYLE; GREEK ART, WESTERN; HELLENISTIC ART; MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY; ORIENTALIZING STYLE.

The Etruscans, who were the most important people of the peninsula before the rise of Rome, played a major role in the field of art. They developed the native traditions and combined them with Greek forms, leaving behind them works of considerable importance, coherence, and originality. Etruscan influence, in turn, reached other peoples of central and northern Italy and led to the formation of artistic trends and traditions that, during the last centuries of the republic up to the time of the empire, became common to the entire peninsula and made themselves felt beyond the limits of Italian soil (see ITALO-ROMAN FOLK ART).

**SUMMARY.** Peoples and cultures of pre-Roman Italy (col. 100): *The Greek colonies and the influence of Greek civilisation; Tyrrhenian Italy south of the Tiber: a. Sicily and southern Italy; b. Campania; c. Latium; The Etruscans and their sphere of influence; Eastern Italy: a. Apulia; b. Picenum; c. The Umbro-Sabellian peoples and Italic culture; Northern Italy: a. Aemilia and Romagna; b. The Veneti; c. The Ligurian and Alpine world.* Problems of criticism (col. 112). Historical and artistic features (col. 116): *a. Early cultures; b. The development of representational art under Near Eastern and Greek influences; c. Archaic art and the supremacy of Etruria; d. Classic and Hellenistic influences; e. Characteristic features of Italic art.*

**PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF PRE-ROMAN ITALY.** The birth of the concept of Italy as a political unit coincided with a specific event: the granting of Roman citizenship to the peoples of the Po Valley in 49 B.C. and the official extension of the name of Italy to the Alps (see ITALY). Previous to this there had only been a vague notion of the unity of the territories that the Greeks generically alluded to as Hesperia, that is, "the western land," or even less specifically called Tyrrhenia, Ausonia, and other names. On a purely geographical and ethnic basis some of these territories could at times even be considered as appertaining to non-Italian areas, such as the Hellenized regions of the south to the Greek world (Magna Graecia) or northern Italy to the Gallic world (Cisalpine or Citerior Gaul). Furthermore, the larger islands — Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica — despite their historical relationship with the peninsula, especially close in the case of Sicily, did not belong to Italy either before or immediately after the Roman conquest, not until Diocletian's administrative reform joined them to the *Diocesis Italianica*.

From prehistoric times, however, the entire area — continental, peninsular, and insular — can and must be considered

as a unit, well defined and separate from other Mediterranean areas not only because of its natural boundaries, consisting of the sea and the Alpine mountain chain, but also because of the effect that these physical delimitations had on its history and on some aspects of its civilization. The peoples of the area possessed more numerous and deeper ties among themselves than with the outside world.

The geographical conditions peculiar to the Italian area proper — the length of the peninsula, its mountainous interior, highly developed coast line, and morphological and climatic variety — explain why it was so open to outside influences and to the development of regionalism. Both these traits can be found throughout Italian history and are especially evident during the period preceding the Roman conquest. On the one hand, there was the phenomenon of Greek colonization, a determining factor in the progress of the peninsula and Sicily. On the other hand, the country was divided into regions within which separate ethnic groups, more or less organized into national units, imposed their own traditions and developed their own separate culture patterns. The names of the various peoples and the territories they occupied are reflected in the 11 administrative regions set up by Augustus at the end of the unification process. They are: I, Latium et Campania; II, Apulia et Calabria; III, Lucania et Bruttium; IV, Sabini et Samnium; V, Picenum; VI, Umbria; VII, Etruria; VIII, Aemilia; IX, Liguria; X, Venetia et Histria; XI, Transpadana. Of these, only Aemilia (the term is derived from the Via Aemilia) and Transpadana did not correspond to traditional geographical units. Naturally these subdivisions made at the time of Augustus refer directly to the conditions existing immediately before and contemporaneous with the Roman conquest. The variety and development of the local groupings were infinitely more complex.

Our real knowledge of the peoples of ancient Italy goes back to the time when they came into contact with the Greeks in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (FIG. 103). The first Italic epigraphic documents date from this period. The introduction by the Greek colonists of an urban society and of writing made a vital change in Italian life and marked the beginning of historical times. This civilizing process began in the south and spread rapidly along the Tyrrhenian Coast; its progress was much slower in the interior of the peninsula, on the Adriatic Coast, and in the north. Up to the time of the Roman conquest the conditions of life and the forms of culture in these latter regions were the same as those which immediately preceded the period of Greek colonization. (Archaeologically speaking, they belonged to the Iron Age.) The more advanced communities and ethnic groups had, naturally, a greater unity and national consciousness; this was the case with the Etruscans, and later with the Latins (the inhabitants of Latium), the Campanians, the Samnites, and others. These groups exercised their influence, to a greater or lesser degree, on the neighboring peoples. It is obvious, therefore, that the conditions prevailing in pre-Roman Italy cannot be said to have resulted wholly from the multiplicity and variety of the regional societies. The general picture is complicated by the different levels of these societies, and by the influence one region had upon another; these factors had especially important repercussions in the field of art.

A brief review of the various ethnic groups with their chief historical and cultural characteristics follows. The discussion begins with the Greek colonies, considered in the light of their contribution to the creation and the progress of pre-Roman civilization and art in Italy. Then follows a discussion of the individual regions to the north. The Phoenician-Punic colonies, limited to western Sicily and Sardinia, are examined in another article (see PHOENICIAN-PUNIC ART). Cultures native to Sardinia and Corsica, the roots of which are to be found in prehistoric times, had little or nothing to do with the development of Italian art and culture; they are also omitted from this article (see MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN; MEDITERRANEAN PROTO-HISTORY).

*The Greek colonies and the influence of Greek civilization.* Greek colonization of southern Italy and Sicily was certainly

preceded by commercial contacts which go back to the Mycenaean period (see CRETAN-MYCENAEAN ART). These contacts had a certain influence on the local cultures in the late Bronze Age and in the period of transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, especially in Sicily (for instance, in the so-called "Pantalica Nord" culture). The first colonies go back to the 8th century B.C. The dates of their founding in historical tradition coincide substantially with archaeological evidence and constitute a basis for the chronology of the indigenous cultures.

Some recent theories emphasize the "Italian" characteristics of the western Greek cultures, attributing them to the influence of the surroundings and the native population that participated in their development (see GREEK ART, WESTERN). The colonists themselves were referred to not as Greeks but as Italiots or Siceliots, depending on the region in which they had settled. However, the cultural affinities which existed between the Greek cities and other centers in Italy were almost wholly one-sided. Innovations and progressive elements constantly passed from the Hellenic to the non-Hellenic communities, while the cultural features developed through mutual contact between the two were late and of minor importance.

Immigrants of various ethnic groups, chiefly from secondary island or coastal districts such as Rhodes, Euboea, Achaia, or Locris, took part in the initial phase of colonization — competing or associating (*synoikiai*) with one another. Athens had no part in these undertakings. Corinth, mother country of Syracuse, on the other hand, exercised a greater influence throughout the area than the establishment of a single colony can account for, even as important a one as Syracuse. There is a tradition that Corinthian artists settled in Etruria during the 7th century (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 152).

For the indigenous population the changes wrought by the arrival of the Greeks were revolutionary. The characteristic traits of this colonial civilization between the 8th and the beginning of the 6th century are reflected quite clearly in the non-Greek centers by the importation and wholesale imitation of products — especially vases — for the most part from the Aegean Islands and Corinth (with none at all from Attica); and by an ever-increasing Corinthian influence not only on painting but also on the sculptural arts and particularly in the use of terra cottas for architectural revetments. This last art, attributed by ancient tradition to Corinth, fell on fertile soil in Italy and continued to develop even after the close of the archaic period.

During the 6th century, at the greatest height of colonial development, a cultural milieu, a kind of Greco-Italic "koine" that included southern Italy, Sicily, Campania, Latium, and Etruria, came into being. During this period, with the arrival of new colonists from Aeolis and Asiatic Ionia (chiefly Phocaeans) and with the further development of trade, the contacts between western Greek settlements and eastern Greece grew closer. Enlightened tyrannies, based on the Ionian model, were established in a setting of great economic prosperity. The "Achaean" cities of southern Italy became famous for their refinement and exquisite taste. Sybaris, destroyed in 510 B.C. by the city of Kroton (Crotone), is a foremost example of this type of community. An idea of its grandeur can be formed from the ruins of Poseidonia (Paestum) and the nearby Sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the Sele. A little later the Deinomenid dynasty, defeating the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. and the Etruscans off Cumae in 474, laid the foundations for the hegemony of Syracuse. The Ionian influence both on customs and art is especially evident in the centers of Etruria and Latium during the second half of the 6th century; during the 5th century a more direct Italiote and Siceliote influence gradually took its place. At this time there was a growing Athenian prestige, until then established almost solely by the mass exportation of black-figure and red-figure ware to the cities of western Etruria. There is evidence that there were Greek artists in Rome, namely Damophilos and Gorgasos, who decorated the Temple of Ceres on the Aventine, dedicated in 494 B.C. (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 154). During the 5th and 4th centuries, with the establishment of Spina and Adria in the Po





**Distribution of peoples in ancient Italy in the 5th century B.C. and principal sites.** (1) Area of Greek colonization; (2) territory of the Etruscans and of their expansion; (3) cities; (4) archaeological sites. Arrows indicate the expansion of the Celts and Umbro-Sabellians.

region and the founding of the colony of Ancona by Dionysos of Syracuse, new trade routes were opened for Greek merchants.

By the end of the 5th century, with the failure of the Athenian attempt at western expansion, the wars between Carthage and Syracuse for the control of Sicily, and the fall of the Greek colonies on the Tyrrhenian Coast, a new phase began for the Greek colonial world. The colonies became increasingly distinctive and independent of the mother country and tended to take a more active part in the affairs of the peninsula. Tarentum (Gr., *Taras*; mod. *Taranto*) became the major cultural and artistic center of southern Italy, and its influence was felt as far north as Rome and Etruria. Sicilian unity took shape under the hegemony of Syracuse, with the events heading from the dynasty of Dionysos and the rule of Timoleon to the reigns of Agathokles and Hiero and well into the Punic Wars.

The most significant proof of the far-reaching effects of classic concepts of figure representation and western Greek techniques is found in the field of painted pottery. During the 4th century, when importation of Attic vases ceased, a whole series of local schools manufacturing imitations of Greek models sprang up all over central Italy (the Apulian, centered around Tarentum, the Lucanian, and the Campanian), in Sicily, in the Faliscan territory, in Etruria, and on the upper Adriatic Coast. As a result of the Roman conquest of the south, the Italic and Sicilian artistic traditions blended with those of non-Hellenic Italy, and in turn underwent the "foreign" Hellenistic influence of Greece and the East.

*Tyrrhenian Italy south of the Tiber. a. Sicily and southern Italy.* Our knowledge of the native populations of the southern part of the peninsula, on the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts, and of Sicily is limited because they were early conquered or driven back toward the interior by the Greek colonists. These peoples had no chance to assert themselves as a political or cultural unit in more than an extremely perfunctory fashion. Historical tradition hands down to us a vague and often inaccurate picture of them, and written sources are very scarce. Archaeological discoveries in this area are modest and give only an idea of the very early phases of this civilization.

The Siculi (Gr., *Sikeloi*) inhabited the central eastern part of Sicily and believed that they had originally come from the peninsula, where there remains some trace of their presence, along with that of the ancient Itali (whose name eventually spread from Calabria to include all of Italy), the Bruttii (Gr., *Brettioi*), the Morgetes, the Chones, the Oenotrii (Gr., *Oino-trioi*), and the Ausones. Modern critics have felt justified in attributing to all these different races one archaic Indo-European origin. The progenitors of the Latins would also belong to this same group, and from this theory stems the term "proto-Latin" group. Remarkable similarities have been found to exist between the language of the Sicilian inscriptions and Latin.

Archaeologically, southern Italy belonged to the Iron Age culture of the trench graves, which stemmed from the late Bronze Age Sub-Apennine civilization and became increasingly open to Greek influence. Pottery and bronze with geometric patterns prevailed. In the Sele River basin there is evidence of the spread of cremating peoples, related to the Etrurian Villanovan culture; strong Apulian influences, notably in painted pottery, also penetrated here. In Sicily the manifestations of this early period were more varied. Late local Mycenaean traditions mingled with peninsular elements (to be hypothetically attributed to the invasion of the Siculi) and with Greek contributions. In the north of Sicily groups of proto-Villanovan peoples practicing cremation existed (Lipari, Milazzo). In the southeast the cultures of "Pantalica Sud" and Finocchito reached their peak a little before and during the period of Greek colonization. The civilization of western Sicily, inhabited by the Sicani and the Elymi (both probably of pre-Indo-European origin), presents a certain amount of originality in the field of art, particularly in the region around Agrigento and San Angelo Muxaro (perhaps the site of the legendary Kamikos).

*b. Campania.* From an ethnographic and archaeological point of view primitive Campania seems closely tied to the rest of

south Tyrrhenian Italy. This region, according to historical tradition, was inhabited by the Ausones and the Oscans (Gr., *Opikoi*). Up to the Roman period its inhabitants were referred to by the latter name. The Iron Age culture is for the main part that of the trench graves; typical examples of this culture are found in the pre-Hellenic necropolis of Cumae and in the Sarno Valley. With its favorable position, its coast line rich in natural harbors, and its fertile land, Campania was destined to assume a position of primary importance in the history of the civilization of ancient Italy. The Greek pioneers settled on the coast and turned Cumae into a major center, through which new currents could spread to the rest of the peninsula. The Etruscans soon followed, built colonies and bases, and developed Capua. The archaic civilization of Campania, particularly in its production of terra-cotta plaques and bronze objects, reflected these multiple influences.

During the second half of the 5th century the Samnites descended from the mountainous interior and conquered the native population, the Greeks and the Etruscans. The invaders forced their own organization and language on the natives, but in turn absorbed the local traditions and culture.

During the 4th century and the Hellenistic period, Capua became one of the most important cities in Italy, and later, for the Romans, represented the keystone of their rule over the rest of the peninsula. Art in Campania developed along parallel lines to the painting, sculpture, and ceramics of the Etruscan and Latin world.

*c. Latium.* Originally, the Latins inhabited a relatively limited region south of the Tiber, with small federate centers around the Sanctuary of Jupiter on Mount Albano. Their burial grounds of the Iron Age reveal that they practiced the rite of cremation, and their culture shows affinities both with the Villanovan Etruscan culture and with Campania. Already in the 7th century Greek and Etruscan influences affected the development of this culture, especially notable for its furnishings and architectural decoration. Cities such as Tusculum, Lanuvium, Ardea, Velletri, Segni, Tibur (Tivoli), Praeneste (Palestrina), and, on the Tiber, Rome, rose and flourished. The importance of the Latins in the history of the ancient world was connected especially with the future of these cities. The Etruscans in the period of their greatest strength undoubtedly dominated a part of Latium, as historical tradition tells us was the case of Rome under the dynasty of the Tarquins. Toward the end of the archaic period there grew up a real cultural and artistic Etrusco-Latin unity. There was also a large-scale immigration of Italic peoples from the interior: the Sabines, whom we find in Rome itself, and the Volsci, who conquered all of the southern part of Latium down to the sea.

After the crisis of the 5th century Rome assumed a role of paramount importance not only politically but also culturally, without erasing, at least for a time, the influence of certain local traditions. (A typical example was the flourishing production of figured bronze cists in Praeneste.) North of the Tiber around Falerii (Civita Castellana), the Falisci, a people of Latin language who were greatly influenced by the Etruscans and by the Sabines, had their own artistic development, especially noteworthy for its 4th-century painted pottery.

*The Etruscans and their sphere of influence.* The Etruscans (called Etrusci, Tusci, Tyrrhenoi in Greek, and Rasenna, the last being an indigenous name) are distinct from the other peoples of ancient Italy not only because of the size of their territory, the extent of their power, and their cultural superiority, but also because of the peculiar nature of their non-Indo-European language (which, however, does have some Indo-European elements). The origin of this language is obscure, and speech apparently kept them apart from neighboring peoples, a fact that was remarked upon even in ancient times. Their isolation has also been attributed to their exotic origin, for it is believed that they may be descended from groups originating in the Aegean Islands or in Asia Minor. According to Herodotus (*Histories*, I, 94), they came from Lydia. Some modern scholars say rather that they descended from very ancient pre-

Indo-European peoples, already living in Italy or who had moved there from the north. In any case, the formation of the Etruscan nation — as it appears in historical times — must have been a process too long and complicated to be explained by a simple formula of derivation. The cultural aspects of early Etruria show profound connections with Italian protohistory. Even admitting the presence of external factors, one can hardly conceive that the Etruscans stem from a recent colonization of the Greek type. Historically speaking, the Etruscan civilization — including its artistic development — is an Italian phenomenon.

The original territory of the Etruscans lay along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, between the Tiber and the Arno, and extended back into the interior of this region. The gently rolling countryside provided easy routes of communication along the coast, rivers, and lakes, and was rich in mineral deposits (copper and lead in the Colline Metallifere, iron on the island of Elba, etc.). These factors were influential in the development of the Etruscan civilization.

The beginning of the Iron Age was characterized by the appearance of cremation, as practiced in the "proto-Villanovan" culture, and by the subsequent development of the so-called "Villanovan" culture, with its biconical funerary urns, Geometric decorations of bronze and pottery, small statuary, and other products (9th–8th cent.). Greek and Near Eastern influences, reaching this region as a result of the Greek colonization of southern Italy and Sicily and the continuous increase of trade, effected the transformation, beginning with the coastal centers, of the Villanovan civilization into a magnificent and opulent Orientalizing one. Etruria became one of the most important regional centers of this civilization, which was widely spread in the Mediterranean world (see ORIENTALIZING STYLE).

The Orientalizing phase (7th to the early 6th cent.) saw the establishment of an urban society, the first flowering of architecture, the specialization of industries and crafts, and the evolution of writing. (The first documents in the Etruscan language belong to this period.) Intense activity on the seas, which led the Etruscans into competition with the Greeks and the Phoenicians, undoubtedly also began during this time. This activity, which has been reported to us by Greek historians as the "Tyrrhenian thalassocracy," provoked open conflict between the powerful cities of Etruria and the Greek colonial world. [It was a conflict famous for such episodes as the attempted conquest of the Lipari Islands by the Etruscans, the sea battle off Sardinia (battle of Alalia against the Phocaeans, ca. 540 B.C.), the wars in Campania and Latium.] At the same time and in spite of this antagonism, the number of Greek imports as well as the extent of Greek influence increased throughout Etruria, whose civilization reached its artistic climax between the 6th and 5th centuries, first under Peloponnesian influence, then eastern Greek, and finally Attic and the severe style.

The structure of Etruria at that time now emerges clearly. It featured a system of city-states, very like the Greek *poleis*, each connected to the other by racial, economic, and political ties. Each, however, had its own autonomous life and distinct cultural and artistic traditions. Tradition speaks of 12 sovereign cities (Gr., *dodekapolis*). From the surviving monuments the following centers may be distinguished as the most important: along the coast, going north, Caere (Cerveteri), Tarquinii (Tarquinia), Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia; and inland, Veii (Veio), Volsinii (Bolsena), Clusium (Chiusi), Perugia (Perugia), Cortona, Arretium (Arezzo), Faesulae (Fiesole), Volaterrae (Vulturno). Generally speaking, the cities along the coast were the first to develop.

During the archaic period power was in the hands of traditional monarchies or tyrannies modeled on those of the Greek city-states. The tyrannies in all probability were controlled by the class that had risen to a certain degree of eminence through trade with the outside world and perhaps, like its colonial Greek counterpart, was deeply concerned with the refinements of city life and the development of the arts. A vivid account of the life and customs of this class survives in the tomb paintings in Tarquinii (Tarquinia). Later, a republican system prevailed within a political-religious oligarchy that became progres-

sively narrower and more conservative. It lasted until the end of the Etruscan civilization.

Unfortunately no work of Etruscan literature, which undoubtedly did exist, has come down to us. Very few Etruscan epigraphic documents have survived, although they are more numerous than those left by any other group in pre-Roman Italy. Etruscan traditions and religious institutions were highly evolved, and the scientific knowledge and economic organization of this people show that they had reached an advanced stage of civilization, comparable in some ways to that of the Greek world.

According to historical tradition, the Etruscans at the height of their power controlled almost all of Italy (Cato in Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Aen.*, XI, 567; Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri*, I, 2, and V, 33). This may be a slight exaggeration, but it is certain that the Etruscans did occupy vast regions beyond the limits of their original territories and that they imposed their civilization, directly or indirectly, on many Italian peoples of different races. That they controlled part of Latium, including Rome, and of Campania, probably from the beginning of the 6th century if not earlier, is proved by Etruscan inscriptions, which have been found in Rome, Satricum, Capua, and Pompeii, and by the strong Etruscan influence on the culture and art of these regions. The conquest of the eastern part of the Po Valley took place approximately at the end of the same century. The city of Felsina (Bologna) rose over an ancient nucleus of indigenous habitations belonging to the late Villanovan culture. Two other Etruscan centers of considerable importance north of the Apennines were Spina, near the mouth of the Po, and Marzabotto, south of Bologna. We can assume that Etruscan political and commercial control extended south along the Adriatic as far as Rimini; north as far as Mantua, which boasts of Etruscan origins, or perhaps to the foothills of the Alps; and northwest as far as Milan. Northern Etruria flourished during the 5th century. Its civilization — generally referred to as the Certosa culture — absorbed many local influences. Its cultural relationships with the Veneti were especially noteworthy, and it was in close and constant touch with the Greek world through the seaport of Spina on the Adriatic.

All northern Italy, including Liguria, felt the presence of the Etruscans along the Po River; the same protohistoric trade routes that connected this region with central Europe were used to send Etruscan products as far as Germany and Scandinavia. Etruscan influence was felt along the Adriatic Coast in Picenum; in the Apennine region in Umbria and in the Sabine country, which could be reached directly from Tyrrhenian Etruria by crossing the valley of the Tiber; and in the country of the Sabellians and the Samnites, accessible through Campania.

The political and economic decline of Etruria began during the 5th century, after the Greeks and the Carthaginians gained control of the sea routes, thus putting a decisive end to the ancient rivalry for maritime domination. This was followed by the loss of Latium and of Campania, the expansion of the Umbro-Sabellians, and finally the great Celtic invasion that submerged northern Italy and threatened the Tyrrhenian area. (The burning of Rome by the Gauls took place in 390 B.C.) During the 4th century and the first decades of the 3d, the expanding power of Rome gained control little by little of all of Etruria proper, partly through conquest and partly through a series of alliances, until it finally became part of the Roman-Italic federal state.

Forced into political passivity even within their own boundaries, the Etruscans fell back upon a rigid cultural and religious conservatism, dominated by ritual and by an increasing preoccupation with death. They were not indifferent, however, to late classic and Hellenistic influences, which reached them from Magna Graecia and Sicily. The interplay between Etruscan traditionalism and Greek innovation extended beyond the original Tyrrhenian area of Campania, Latium, and Etruria, with Rome as its center, and included the entire peninsula.

*Eastern Italy. a. Apulia.* In ancient times the term "Apulia" seems to have designated only the northern part of the region

now known by that name; the Salentine Peninsula was called Calabria. The region was divided among the Daunians, who inhabited what is now the province of Foggia; the Peucetians, in the province of Bari; and the Messapians, the Calabrians, and the Salentinians, in the Salentine Peninsula. There also exists the ethnic name Iapygians (perhaps to be connected with Apulians), sometimes identified with the Messapians and sometimes used in a more general way. Tradition gives all these peoples—who were undoubtedly related to one another, as can be seen from their cultural affinities—an overseas origin: Crete or Illyria. And, as a matter of fact, epigraphic documents, known as Messapic inscriptions, and the names of people and places show strong linguistic similarities with the opposite side of the Adriatic.

The development, however, of the ancient population of Apulia is deeply rooted in local protohistory. The Sub-Apennine civilization almost imperceptibly grew into the Apulo-Salentine Iron Age culture, which in many instances made use of the same centers. Proto-Villanovan centers where cremation was practiced appeared (at Torre Castelluccia and Timmari near Matera) without noticeably affecting this process. Greek colonization rekindled embers left by a previous Mycenaean civilization and, using Tarentum as its center, spread new elements of civilization, such as the alphabet of the Messapic inscriptions and Geometric decoration of painted pottery. The latter possesses unusual characteristics of originality and refinement, which differed from place to place and which remained practically unchanged until the Hellenistic period. There is evidence that a certain amount of exporting took place and that this region exerted an influence on other regions along the Adriatic Coast, such as Picenum and Istria, as well as on the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula.

Funerary painting shows Campanian and Samnite influence. An urban civilization later developed centering around Canusium (Gr., Kanyasion; mod. Canosa), Rubi (Ruvo), Ceglie, Brundisium (Gr., Brentasion; mod. Brindisi), Oria, Lecce, and Rudiae, which formed a confederation. These cities defended themselves from the Greeks and succeeded in maintaining their independence until the Roman conquest.

*b. Picenum.* The Picenes (Gr., Pikenoi), who gave their name to the region on the Adriatic that roughly corresponds to the present Marche, were an Italic race of the Umbro-Sabellian group. Modern scholars, however, on epigraphic and linguistic evidence, conventionally use the term "Picenian" to designate all the populations native to this region. Sources mention the Aeyli and the Liburni, the latter obviously related to the Illyrian people of the same name. It is probable that the people called Iapuzci (or Iabuzci), mentioned in the Umbrian text on the Iguvine tablets, are none other than the inhabitants of Picenum related to the Iapodians of Illyria and to the Iapygians of Apulia. In the necropolis at Novilara, near Pesaro—characterized by an Iron Age culture with factors that show Danubian, Balkan, and Near Eastern influences—there are some unusual figured steles with inscriptions that are almost impossible to classify. South of Ancona—and even outside the Augustan region of Picenum itself, in the territory of the Vestini, the Paeligni, and others—a different set of epigraphic documents, written in what could be an Indo-European dialect and possibly related to or belonging to the Umbro-Sabellian group (the so-called "proto-Sabellian" or southern Picene inscriptions), has been found.

After an early period, characterized by the infiltration of the proto-Villanovan (Pianello di Genga in the Marche) and Villanovan (Fermo) cremating peoples, a prosperous local culture developed. There was a vast production of bronze articles and ornaments, schematic styles, Orientalizing elements, and works of representational art that reveal archaic Greek and Etruscan influences. Our evidence for this civilization comes from the necropolises of Numana, Belmonte Piceno, Ascoli Piceno, Fabriano, and other places. The colonization of Ancona by the Greeks and the Gallic invasion during the 4th century brought new influences to bear on this region. At Montefortino a typical Celtic-Italic culture existed.

*c. The Umbro-Sabellian peoples and Italic culture.* The most important ethnic group of ancient Italy, after the Etruscans, was made up of the peoples who inhabited the valleys in the Apennine chain from Umbria to Lucania. Modern scholars group these people under the designation of western Italic peoples, or, simply, Italic peoples. They never achieved a sense of unity except, perhaps, for a brief period at the time of their struggle against Rome. They may legitimately be thought of as a unit for a number of reasons, however: the structure of their Indo-European language, which is quite distinct from Latin; their probable common origin, from a region that the ancients identified with the valley of the Velino River, east of Rieti, where the sacred lake of Cutilia (*umbilicus Italiae*) was to be found, an area which may perhaps actually be somewhere in the mountains of the Sabine region and northern Abruzzo; the diffusion of their ancient name, derived from the root *sabh-* or *saf-* and found in the words Sabini and Sabelli (or in the Greek version, Saunitai, Samnites, Sanniti); and some aspects of their institutions and their history.

The history of the Italic peoples is essentially the history of their expansion, which took place mainly between the 6th and the 4th centuries B.C. Ancient tradition connected this expansion with the rites of the "sacred spring," that is, with the mass migration of an entire generation, consecrated to sacrifice, in search of a new land. The first mass movements began when the inhabitants of the Apennine region pushed toward the Tyrrhenian Coast. The Sabines and the Volsci pressed into Latium during the archaic period. The Samnites conquered Campania, taking the name of Oscans. The climax of this migration came between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century with the flocking of the Samnite tribe of the Hirpini or Lucanians to southern Italy until they reached the furthest point of the peninsula, where they took the name of the Bruttii, the original inhabitants of the region. At the same period Italic tribes were going north through Picenum, along the valley of the Tiber, up to the very margins of the Po Valley. These tribes are grouped under the name of Umbrian (Gr., Ombrikoï), which is probably also an acquired name (perhaps linked with the Ligurian Ambrones). The Italic expansion was arrested only by the wars against Rome.

During this period the following groupings of these peoples were formed: (1) The Umbrians were located to the north in the region called Umbria. The main centers were Narni, Terni, Todi, Spello, Assisi, Tadinum, Gubbio or Iguvium, and others. (2) The Sabines had Rieti and Tivoli as their main centers. The Volsci were established in Latium and the region immediately behind it (Anzio, Velletri, Norma, Fregellae, Arpino, etc.). (3) The "central peoples" were composed of the Hernici (Anagni, Ferentino, Alatri, etc.), the Aequi (Caiasoli), the Marsi (Maruvium, Alba Fucens), the Paeligni (Corfinium), the Marrucini (Chieti), the Vestini (Amiternum, Aufinum, etc.), and the Praetutii (Teramo). (4) The true Samnites, subdivided into Frentani, Caraceni, and Pentri, were in Samnium, which had Aufidena, Bovianum Vetus, and other centers. (5) The Samnites of Campania (also called Campanians or Oscans) had as their main center Capua. (6) To the south the Hirpini or Lucani in Lucania and the Bruttii in Bruttium often settled in the ancient Greek colonial sites, for example, Poseidonia (Paestum).

It is understandable that a variety of vicissitudes and the extent of the territory over which these peoples settled might account for a number of cultural differences, including those of dialect. The most obvious of these was the contrast between the language of the central-southern Sabellians, especially as revealed by the Oscan inscriptions in Campania, and that of the Umbrians, known to us through the Iguvine tablets.

During their various wanderings the Italic peoples sometimes took the ethnic name of the people whom they had conquered; even more important was the fact that they absorbed elements of culture (for instance, the alphabet from the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Latins) and forms of artistic expression. The Etrusco-Latin world and the Greek colonies on the Tyrrhenian Coast had a direct influence on the Sabines and on the Umbrians along the valley of the Tiber, on the Volsci in Latium, on the Samnites in Campania, and on the Lucanians

farther south. This same influence, though to a slighter degree, reached the interior regions of the country and imposed itself on the more backward Iron Age cultures, like the one discovered in the necropolis of Alfedena. The old cultures were not completely transformed, however. On the other hand, along the Adriatic Coast, Apulian, Picenian, "Etrusco-Padanian" (northern Etruscan), and Celtic elements were found. The general picture was a heterogeneous one, which emphasizes the lack of continuity of the historical experience of these peoples. It is also possible, however, to discover common qualities of rugged strength and vitality reflected in the exterior aspects of their civilization, even in their art, which often reacted to the variety of external stimuli. The cyclopean architecture of the great walls, built out of polygonal blocks; geometrically abstract sculpture; small votive bronze and terra-cotta figurines, rudely fashioned; and the funerary and vase paintings are the most important manifestations of Italic artistic production.

*Northern Italy. a. Aemilia and Romagna.* The region that lies between the Tuscan and Aemilian slope of the Apennine Mountains and the Po is in a sense a passageway connecting the Adriatic and the peninsula to the Alpine and sub-Alpine world. It explains the coexistence and constant superimposition of peoples and cultures in this region, which made it incapable of developing a definite character of its own. During the Iron Age the Villanovan culture, called thus from the Aemilian locality of Villanova, flourished. This culture cremated its dead, and there are rich vestiges of its existence in the burial grounds of the villages that occupied the present Bologna. During the so-called "Arnoaldi" phase (7th-6th cent. B.C.), Near Eastern influence from the sea and Venetic influence from the north were introduced. It has not been determined which people or ethnic group brought the Villanovan culture into Aemilia.

The Etruscans, who according to tradition settled in a section of the Po Valley, greatly influenced the next civilization, generally referred to as the Certosa culture. It reached its peak during the 5th and continued into the 4th century. There is also evidence of strong Greek influence (through the port of Spina), as well as the Etruscan and purely local ones (manifested in the sculptured funerary steles and the bronze situlae that are also commonly found in Venetia). The Celtic invasion, which had begun during the 5th century, passed across Aemilia and imposed itself upon the Etruscan domination, without, however, leaving cultural traces of any importance.

*b. The Veneti.* According to historical sources the Veneti (Gr., Enetoi) were an Illyrian tribe from the east who, driving out the Euganei, settled in the region that took their name. With them are linked the Histri, the Carni, and several Alpine tribes. The language of the Veneti, which is known through votive inscriptions, is Indo-European and different from Umbro-Sabellic and Latin, though it has some connection with the latter. It is remarkable that this people preserved their independence and unaltered traditions until the Roman conquest, which they were able to do because they settled between the foothills of the Alps and the vast expanse of the lower Po and Adige Rivers. The Iron Age culture, called Atestine from the discoveries in the tombs of Ateste (Este), was characterized by cremation and by objects and ornamental motifs that link it to both the Villanovan and the Danubian and Adriatic cultures.

During the 7th and 6th centuries Orientalizing and proto-Hellenic features made their appearance. This culture developed slowly and regularly until the 3d century B.C.; Greek art and civilization did not have the same fundamental renovating effect on it that they had in the nearby region of Aemilia, which was under Etruscan influence. Characteristic of this civilization are bronzes decorated with embossing and incision; chief among these are the bronze situlae, which were also produced in the Alpine and Transalpine regions, in the Hallstatt culture complex, in Slovenia, and elsewhere (see EUROPEAN PROTO-HISTORY). In a later phase there was a similarity to certain aspects of Italic art. The urban elements in this civilization were only embryonic. The most important centers were Ateste (Este),

Padua, and Adria on the sea. The last was at the border of the Etruscan domain and in part under Greek influence.

In Istria, Danubian-Balkan and Adriatic influences were manifested in the spiral-meander ornamentation of steles and vases. Relationships with Picenum and Apulia existed in such Iatrian cities as Pola and Nesazio.

*c. The Ligurian and Alpine world.* For a great part of northern Italy there is no authentic historical tradition before the Roman period. The population was sparse and scattered; the economic resources of this almost entirely mountainous region were few; and there were no well-defined ethnic zones with a progressive tradition of culture. Furthermore, very little seeped in from more evolved centers and countries. All these factors make it difficult to form a picture of the peoples and cultures of Liguria and the Alps in the pre-Roman period.

The very concept of "Ligurians" (Ligures, or Gr., Ligyes) is extremely vague. It can refer not only to all the inhabitants of northwestern Italy and a few in central Italy, but also to tribes beyond the Alps and in western Europe. Or it can be narrowed to designate only the people living within the boundaries of Augustan Liguria. The following peoples are said to be of Ligurian stock: the Friniates and the Apuani from the Tusco-Aemilian Apennine region; the Veituri and the Ingauni from the Ligurian Apennine region and the Ligurian coast; the Anamares, the Bagienni, and the Taurini from the Po Valley; the Vediantii, the Segovii, the Medullii, the Salassii, the Lepontii, and others from the western Alps.

As for the peoples of the Alpine foothills and of the central and western Alps, ancient tradition varies between connecting them with the Ligurians (as in the case of the Stoeni) or with other groups, such as the Euganei and the Raeti (Trumpilini and Sabines in the Bresciano; Camunni in Valcamonica; Arusnates in the Veronese; Beluni, Anauni, Genaunes, Venosti, Isarci, Saevates, etc., in the valleys of the Adige River). Moreover, it is impossible to establish the relationships among the more important groups, with which, however, the oldest populations of this region are connected. It is likely that their language belonged to the pre-Indo-European group, and perhaps they inhabited the entire Po Valley before the Venetian, Etruscan, and Celtic invasions. It was the Celtic invasion flowing down from central and western Europe across the Alps into northern Italy that fundamentally altered the ethnic, social, and linguistic physiognomy of this region (see CELTIC ART). The greater part of the valley was left to the Celtic peoples (Cenomani and Insubres in Lombardy, Boii along the banks of the Po). The foothill and Alpine regions were the scene of various combinations of peoples, as indicated by the name of the Celto-Ligurians (Keltoligyes) and the "Lepontic" inscriptions in the Ticino Valley. The Raetian peoples of the valley of the Adige, known through a fairly complete series of epigraphic documents, seem to have been under the sway of the Veneti, the Illyrians, and the Etruscans.

Culturally and artistically speaking these regions offer, as is understandable, heterogeneous aspects. The rock graffiti of the Alpine sanctuaries of Valcamonica and Monte Bego in the Maritime Alps and the anthropomorphic steles (menhir statues) of Alto Adige and Lunigiana (Tuscany-Liguria border region) — which have echoes in southern France and in Corsica — are linked to ancient indigenous prehistoric traditions. In the upper Po Valley and the lake region the Golaseccan Iron Age culture had some connection with the Venetic and Aemilian world.

The Ligurian Riviera, where Genoa gradually assumed the importance of a real urban center, seems to have been open to Greek and Etruscan influence. Celtic culture in Italy, which usually presents few remarkable or original characteristics, does bear, however, some elements of La Tène I and II.

**PROBLEMS OF CRITICISM.** The monuments and works of representational art of the peoples of pre-Roman Italy were for a long time regarded simply from an archaeological point of view as a source of information on the mythology of ancient peoples. For example, the scenes on Etruscan mirrors, urns,

and vases were studied with this in mind. It is only in the last decades that they have been examined for their historical and artistic worth.

There are many difficulties to be overcome, however, in making an evaluation. In the first place, our knowledge of the material itself is incomplete, especially that of some regions which have been little explored. For instance, the accidental discovery of the statue of the warrior from Capecstrano (PL. 35) in 1934 in Abruzzo opened totally new horizons to the student of Italic sculpture. Many documents that are kept in museums, in museum files, or in private collections have never been published. They are not well known, their significance and worth are not recognized, and they are sometimes mixed with other documents of different historical periods. In general, the art of the Etruscans has been recognized and appreciated for a longer period and has also been more thoroughly studied than that of other Italic peoples. There are collections and systematic studies of single subjects (paintings, terra cottas, sarcophagi and urns in low relief, pottery, and mirrors) as well as general historical outlines. But for the regions beyond Etruria, almost no critical research has been done and much of the material has never been classified. Because of this imbalance many works on Etruscan art treat objects that are not of Etruscan but of Latin, Umbrian, or other origin.

Another difficulty lies in the absence of a historical scheme within which to place the various artistic phenomena. In speaking of Greek art, before launching upon an appreciation of its worth, unity, and coherence, it is possible to refer to a series of facts well defined in both time and space because of the existence of a Greek nation and a Greek civilization. But in Italy before the Roman period there was no unity, ethnic, cultural, historical, or even geographical. The idea of an "art of pre-Roman Italy" or "Italic art" must remain in the abstract or at best the hypothetical result of a process of reconstruction.

We can refer to the different peoples and regional cultures into which Italy was divided, and speak of Etruscan art, Campanian art, Picene art, Venetic art, and so forth. But even this method of classification presents complications. Some groups are easily recognizable by their cultural and ethnic characteristics, and developed with a certain amount of continuity within a well-defined geographical region; this is true especially of the Etruscans, and also of other minor nationalities, such as the Apulo-Salentinians and Veneti. But the cultural characteristics of certain other peoples and the ethnic character of some cultures are less distinct and are hard to place in time and space. The linguistic unity of the Umbro-Sabellians was not accompanied by a cultural unity; it would be absurd to speak of an "Umbro-Sabellian art." On the other hand, cultural and stylistic phenomena closely linked Etruria with Villanovan Aemilia, and the cultures of Picenum with that of Venetia, embracing peoples and areas that differed greatly from one another, and continuing for a longer or shorter period of time, according to the locality. There are other examples; for instance, the art of Latium cannot be considered separately from that of Etruria or Campania, nor the art of Abruzzo from that of Picenum.

The last and most serious difficulty arises from the indisputable and overwhelming influence of Greece, which from the archaic to the Hellenistic period imposed her conception of representational art and her stylistic development not only on her colonies and immediate sphere of influence but also on most of Italy. So marked was Greek influence that it appears to be the determining factor in the artistic expression of all the non-Greek populations of Italy. It is easy to understand that this external conditioning of Italian art has complicated correct evaluation at both a practical and a methodological level. During the past decades the attention of scholars has been centered almost exclusively upon an abstract discussion defending either the dependence or the autonomy of Italic art. In view of the preeminence (and our superior knowledge) of Etruria, these discussions have become little more than a debate on the "originality" of Etruscan art.

The sources that survive indicate that the ancients were aware of certain artistic traditions, or, rather, some peculiarities

of artistic production, native to ancient Italy. According to Varro, the art of modeling clay was particularly advanced in Italy, especially in Etruria (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 157). This is attested by the wealth of archaeological evidence on monumental terra-cotta temple sculpture. It is also stated that bronze sculpture was a well-known and venerable art in Italy and that examples in the Etruscan style (*signa Tuscanica*), unquestionably made in Etruria, were scattered in the most varied places (Pliny, op. cit., XXXIV, 34); see also Horace, *Epistulae*, II, 2, 180, on the fame of Etruscan small bronzes, *Tyrrhena sigilla*). The concept of "Etruscan style" — expressed by the adjective *tuscanicus* — is quite clearly distinguished, not only for temple architecture (Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IV, 6-7) but also for representational art; Quintilian explicitly contrasts Etruscan and Greek sculpture (*De institutione oratoria*, XII, X, 1). Just what was meant by Etruscan style can be gathered from Strabo (*Geographica*, XVII, 1, 28), who groups the figures on Egyptian bas-reliefs with those of the Etruscans and the earliest Greek works of art; from Varro (Pliny, op. cit., XXXV, 154) on the "Tuscan" character of all the works in Roman temples prior to the construction of the Temple of Ceres (early 5th cent.); and finally and especially from Quintilian (or his Hellenistic source), who uses the Etruscan style as the measure of archaic rigidity in classifying the styles of the Greek sculptors ("Callon and Hegesias were harder, being close to the Etruscan mode;" op. cit., XII, X, 7). This means that in ancient times the term "the Etruscan style" referred essentially to Etruscan art of the archaic period.

All Roman literature, on the other hand, tends to emphasize the contrast between native art, with its terra-cotta and wooden images which were considered to be the expression of an ancient "rough simplicity" (Ovid, *Ars amandi*, III, 113), and the shocking modernity of Greek art, which triumphed in Italy after the conquest of the East. The difference in the nature of the two kinds of representational art was felt as a chronological as well as a psychological and moral contrast between two different civilizations (Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri*, XXXIV, 4, 4; Seneca, *Dialogorum*, XII, 10, 7).

A critical examination of pre-Roman art became possible only at the end of the 18th century, when European scholarship came once again into direct contact with original Greek art. Painstakingly descriptive studies on individual Etruscan monuments had been done during the early part of the century. (A typical example is the work of A. F. Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, 1737-43.) These works exalt the perfection and originality of Etruscan art, in their enthusiasm placing it chronologically before Greek art; they comprise the "Etruscanizing" phase of Etruscan archaeology. (Winckelmann himself did not wholly escape this infatuation.) Lanzi, in *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia*, 1789, was the first to realize that Etruscan art could have developed only as a consequence of the Greek colonization and that it was greatly influenced by Greek art. He also outlined a chronological scheme divided into three periods that correspond approximately to our Geometric-Orientalizing, archaic-classic, and Hellenistic.

During the 19th century there was a negative attitude toward, or at least a lack of interest in, the art of the non-Greek populations of Italy. This was a result of a rapidly growing interest in Greece, the evaluation of the characteristics and worth of Greek art, the attribution of works previously thought to be Etruscan to Greek craftsmen (such as the painted vases found in large quantities in Etruscan necropolises), and the triumph of classical and academic ideals. The better pieces were attributed to Greek hands, or considered exact copies of Greek models; every divergence from these models, the slightest deviation from academic principle or natural proportion, was attributed to lack of technical skill, provincial clumsiness, or intrinsic barbarism. Etruscan art was compared to an exotic plant, uprooted from its native habitat and unable to survive in a different climate (K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, Breslau, 1828). The reaction against the enthusiasm of the previous period went so far as to place the artistic qualities of the Etruscans on a lower plane than those of the other peoples of ancient Italy, particularly of the Latins (T. Mommsen, *Römische Ge-*



*schichte*, Leipzig, I, 1854). This negative attitude is best illustrated in the first work specifically dedicated to Etruscan art, *L'art étrusque* (1889), by J. Martha. Martha denied the possibility that Etruscan art could have developed like a living organism, because of the constant recurrence of Greek influence. He saw in Etruscan art only "the interest of a copy, itself mediocre, of a beautiful model."

With the dawn of the 20th century the points of view of critics began to change. Art historians shifted their attention to periods and surroundings that, in contrast to classic civilization, were considered primitive or decadent or barbaric. These began to be appreciated for their own peculiar creative values, quite different from the classic. Franz Wickhoff (*Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895; Eng. trans., *Roman Art*, London, 1900) affirmed that the peculiar virtue of Roman art lay in its illusionism and in its narrative power; Alois Riegl (*Die spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1901) engaged upon a reevaluation of late-antique and early medieval art that he considered an intentional expression of a new ideal (*Kunstwollen*), an "optic" conception of art as opposed to the "tactile" conception of classic Greek art. These ideas began to take hold in the midst of a heated controversy between academicism (naturalism) and the revolutionary forces of contemporary art. The latter were reinforced by the "discoveries" of prehistoric, Negro, barbaric, and other arts, each of which became fashionable in turn.

The time was right for the "discovery" of Etruscan art. The finding in 1916 of the Apollo of Veii (I, PL. 359) along with fragments of other terra-cotta statues of the archaic period may be considered the starting point and immediate cause of a renewed interest in Etruscan art. The beauty and perfection of these statues was such that they could not be regarded as mere imitations of Greek sculpture; moreover, it was thought that the dynamic and expressive qualities of these works made them easily distinguishable from Greek art. The greater part of Etruscan art came to be judged according to this new criterion, until opinion was opposed to that once expressed by Martha; in other words, Etruscan civilization was believed to have succeeded in producing an original art (A. Della Seta, 1920-21).

During the next few years there was an unprecedented enthusiasm for and interest in Etruscan art. Many works of specialized critical research, such as the ones on portraiture by G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg (1926) and R. Bianchi Bandinelli (1925, 1927), appeared; studies of a general nature were written, for example, that of P. Ducati (1927); congresses were held; and the Istituto di Studi Etruschi was established in Florence. There were even some scholars who opposed the prevailing Etruscan trend by reviving the concept of a general "Italic art" (G. Cultrera, 1927). By developing this last concept C. Anti (1930) declared that there existed an Italic art cycle, parallel to, but at the same time different from, the Greek. Anti thought that the spirit of the Italic cycle, which included an Etruscan phase and a later Roman phase, had permeated all Western art up to modern times. The salient characteristics of this art, according to this theory, are found in its antinaturalistic representational techniques, its immediacy, its interest in the individual personality, and the primitive quality of its style. The problem of Etruscan or Italic art became the very center of the all-embracing controversy between classicism and anticlassicism, between naturalism and primitivism. The contrast in values between the Greek world and the Italic world had to be explained in terms of this antithesis. Guido Kaschnitz-Weinberg (1933, 1944) tried to explain it as a basic divergence in "structure," understood as inherent essence, or entelechy, which regulated from within the whole field of figural expression. To the naturalistic "organic" structure of Greek art he opposed the "inorganic" structure of Italic art, the latter manifesting itself in two different currents, one "plastic-dynamic," the other "geometric-cubistic." Similarly, the structural constant of Italic-Roman architecture, from the first grottolike tombs to the dome of the Pantheon, was its feeling for interior space.

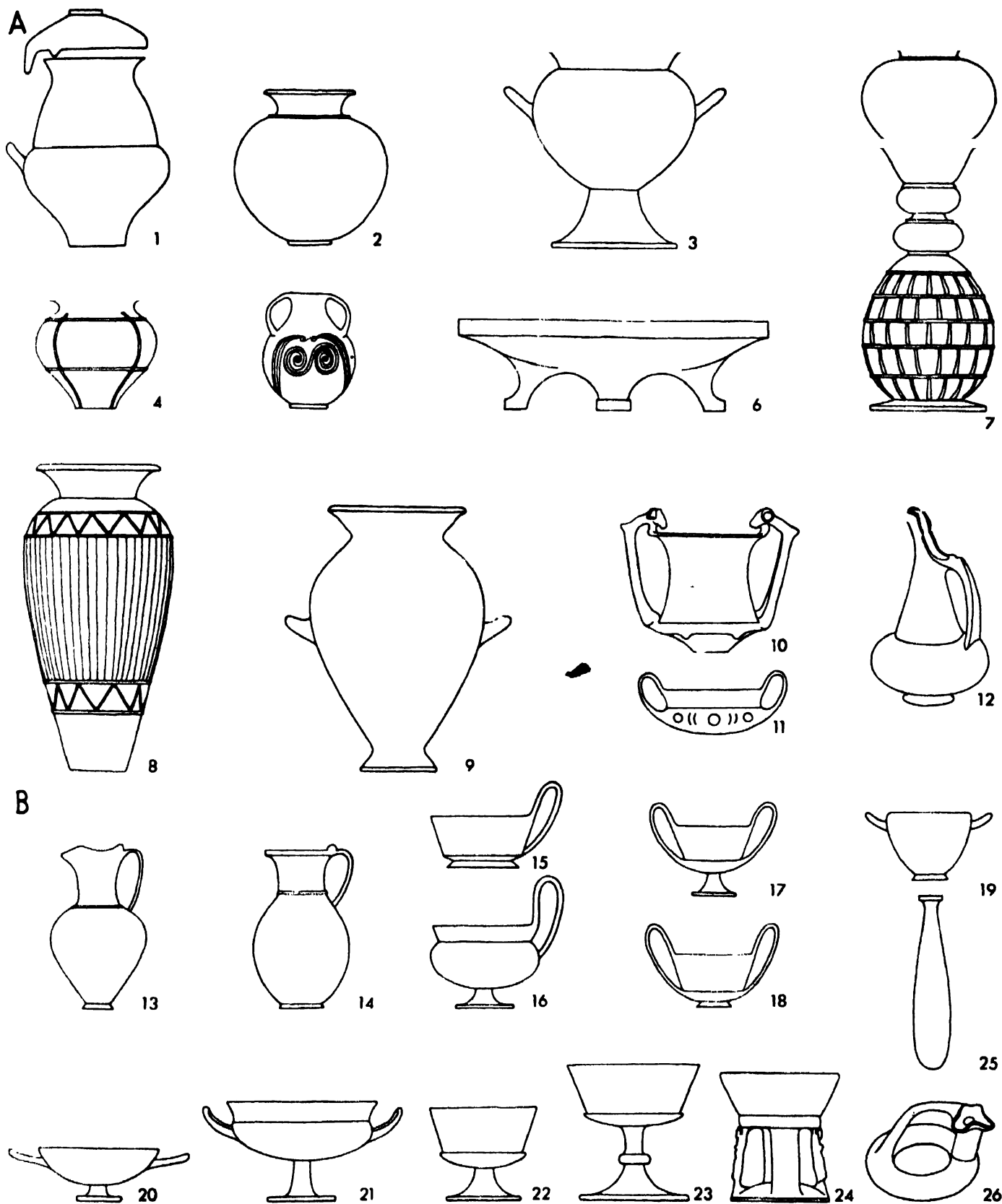
This theoretical determinist view of Kaschnitz-Weinberg has given rise to heated controversies, especially concerning the

importance of the individual in the creation of works of art as opposed to a collective creation (R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *CyArts*, 1937). But the view has also proved to be a fertile source of new ideas, with other interpretations, based on the theory of historical necessity, stemming from it. For example, the individuality of Etruscan art as expressed in its fundamental anti-Hellenism and anticlassicism has been attributed to an Oriental influence, derived from the hypothetical migration of the Etruscans from the Orient (H. Mühlenstein, 1929). Associations with the island of Cyprus have also been proposed (E. Gjerstad, 1933). Doro Levi (1933), on the other hand, explains the Geometric quality of Etruscan and Italic forms as a survival from the Greek archaic Geometric period. Of late the concept of "peripheral art" has prevailed, referring to a complex of figural elements common to Italy, the western Mediterranean, and continental Europe. In this complex, prehistoric and Oriental heritages mingled to varying degrees with Greek influences, in a retarded and traditionalist development in which original qualities were not entirely absent (A. Böethius, 1950).

These last theories have arisen as a result of the discussions provoked by the discovery of the warrior from Capecetrano, and, outside Italy, the statues found at Entremont in Provence. The recognition of the existence of a living preclassic current on the margin of Hellenic culture — later flowing into Roman and late-antique art — offers a solution on the historical level to the old controversy of classic and anticlassic by ascribing the inorganic, Geometric, decorative, "expressionistic" characteristics (G. Rodenwaldt, 1940) of the anticlassic art to the endurance of a cultural tradition rather than to the obscure laws of an inherent principle or to atavistic predisposition (M. Pallottino, 1953).

As a matter of fact, during the past few years the variety of aspects of Etruscan and Italic art — often of a contradictory character — has been emphasized. It was an art at times immutable in its repetition of ancient formulas, at times completely absorbed in a fanatical imitation of Greek models, at times overflowing with its own original vitality, which was impetuous though short-lived. Another theory suggests a difference between the "sophisticated" art, which was Hellenizing, and the popular art, which gave expression to native Italic and Etruscan taste. The impossibility of reconciling these various phenomena within a single coherent and autonomous development and of explaining them by discovering "constants" does not exclude the existence of authentic, recognizable values in individual masterworks and groups of masterworks. Nor does it preclude that at various times and in various places real art traditions developed. These traditions, which lasted for varying periods of time and were connected with one another, make up a kind of complex and episodic history, which lies within a greater artistic tradition called Greco-Italic. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, P. J. Riis, C. C. van Essen, G. M. A. Hanfmann, T. Dohrn, J. Thimme, and others have done valuable research on the problems of the artistic phenomena of pre-Roman Italy. Knowledge of Etruscan art has been diffused to a broad public through the Exhibition of Etruscan Art and Civilization held in a number of European cities in 1955-56, and through a considerable number of publications on general and specialized topics.

**HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC FEATURES.** The section which follows describes the most important phenomena in the art of pre-Roman Italy, following a scheme that, while taking into account the problems mentioned in the previous section, adheres as closely as possible to actual facts as established by modern research. At the same time an attempt to follow the historical development of the peninsula as a whole will be made. It would be difficult to do this by considering each cultural region by itself (that is, by examining separately the art of Etruria, Latium, Picenum, Venetia, etc.) or by following a strict chronological scheme, ignoring the great variations in environment and tradition. It seems preferable, therefore, to adopt a scheme based on the individualization of some fundamental forms of expression that follow one another as phases or stylistic levels but which also spread and existed side by side with new ele-



Types of archaic Etrusco-Italic ceramics. (A) Impasto ceramics: (1) biconical cinerary urn, Villanovan type; (2-4) types of craters and jars; (5) small amphora, Latian type; (6) brazier; (7) deinoia with stand; (8, 9) pithoi; (10, 11) kantharoi; (12) pitcher with long spout (*Schnabelkanne*). (B) Bucchero ware: (13) oinochoe; (14) olpe; (15, 16) kyathoi; (17, 18) kantharoi; (19) skyphos; (20, 21) kylixes; (22-24) calyx-craters; (25) alabastron; (26) ring-shaped vase.



ments in the art of the less-developed centers or in single facets of artistic production in the major centers. This will enable the reader to see the facts in their true relationship and to perceive, within a wider and more accurate perspective, the ties between the artistic traditions of the different peoples of ancient Italy. First, the common, though varied, early production, which was at the level of an Iron Age culture; next, the phases of Greek influence, especially strong in the Tyrrhenian area on Etruria, Latium, and Campania; and finally, the gradual formation of an Italic "koine" in the Hellenistic age and under the hegemony of Rome are discussed.

*a. Early cultures.* When the Greeks established their first colonies on the peninsula and in Sicily, the area had already passed from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age. A number of technical, social, and cultural changes place this transition at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. and connect it with similar developments throughout the Mediterranean world and the European continent (see EUROPEAN PHOTOHISTORY). The rite of cremation spread along with burials of proto-Villanovan type. There occurred a gradual formation of regional cultures which represent the immediate antecedents, the initial phase, or the dominant characteristics of the civilization of the peoples who were to settle in the respective territories (see above, *Peoples and cultures of pre-Roman Italy*).

During the Iron Age, both before and contemporaneous with the Greek colonization, works of art quite different from the modest specimens that the prehistoric world had produced began to make an appearance in Italy. It is impossible to ignore these early phenomena in a comprehensive study of the art of pre-Roman Italy. They represent for several ethnic groups the starting point, and often the very essence, of artistic concepts that persisted even after the beginning of historical times (especially in the Apennine and Adriatic regions and in the north). They explain motifs and tendencies that endured or reappeared in the artistic traditions of more evolved peoples, such as the Etruscans — motifs and tendencies which would otherwise be incomprehensible and are actually often misinterpreted.

There is no evidence of a monumental art in architecture, painting, or sculpture either in the Iron Age or in the societies that continued to make use of forms typical of the Iron Age. Architecture probably remained essentially a repetition or an elaboration of the primitive hut, elliptical or rectangular in shape, with gabled or rounded roof. The buildings were probably similar in design to the small models used as cinerary urns in Latium and in the Villanovan culture (III, PL. 124). The artistic taste of peoples at this level appears almost exclusively in the shapes and decoration of the minor objects — furnishings, arms, tools, jewelry — whether destined for everyday use or for religious or burial rites. Within the apparently narrow sphere of artisanship, however, potters and metalworkers reproduced a number of rather uniform objects that display an unusual variety and richness of imagination in the application of decorative elements, either incised, embossed, or modeled in the round. These objects include spheroidal or biconical vases, cups, small amphorae, laminated bronze vessels shaped like goblets, situlae, ollae, helmets, daggers, belts, fibulas, and pendants on chains. Our best documentation is derived from tomb furnishings.

Several aspects of this artistic output were common throughout a large part of continental Europe. Impasto ceramics (FIG. 117), made of clay of various colors and decorated with geometric motifs of a prevailingly linear type (bands of lines, dog teeth, squares, meanders, swastikas, etc.) or with bosses within concentric circles and ribbing in relief, make up the most common and least varied of these household articles. Some types appear to belong exclusively to one particular society, such as the Villanovan biconical urn. The objects most characteristic of this period, however, are made of laminated bronze; they have incised or embossed geometric decoration or three-dimensional appliques that were soldered onto the forms. The motifs (birds, horses, bulls, and even human figures) reveal a peculiar tendency toward an abstract schematization of the

subject and a preference for elongated and curvilinear shapes. This style is found throughout a large part of north-central Italy, forming a link between it and the Alpine and Danubian areas. There is even reason to believe that the style came from the north or from the opposite shores of the Adriatic. We must not, however, exclude the possibility that Italian centers contributed to the development of this widespread phenomenon.

Small works in the round — such as statuettes of humans and animals — decorations of vases, household objects, and armor were produced, however, in both the schematized style and a much freer and less polished one, which quickly catches with a spontaneous realism the essential appearance of a gesture, pose, figure, or group of figures.

This latter style is also found in the art of other regions of the Mediterranean world, from Asia Minor to Greece, particularly during the period included between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). We can therefore presume that the production of Italy, notwithstanding its local flavor, fits into the over-all picture of this period. Nevertheless, between the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., Etruria appears to have been the center from which sprang this realistic and rudimentary style, which often went along with and formed a remarkable contrast to the severe and rigid geometric decorations found on traditional objects of Oriental inspiration. Several examples can be quoted to illustrate this: the perfume burner from Visentium (Bisenzio) in the shape of a wagon with scenes of daily life (PL. 24), the funerary urn from Montescudaio, near Volterra, on whose lid the deceased is represented at a banquet (PL. 24), and similar pieces in bronze or terra cotta. This primitive art still flourished during the Orientalizing phase and extended into the 6th century, when Greek and Oriental influence was less felt, especially in funerary art. An example of the presence of this primitive strain is found in the anthropomorphic ossuaries or canopic jars (PL. 28) from Clusium (Chiusi), which will be discussed later. It is possible to connect this style with that undercurrent of spontaneous folk expression that was later to emerge in Etruscan art, a reaction against the cultivated style. This original primitivism in sculpture was common throughout all Italy as well as in the Tyrrhenian coastal centers, but in a more vague, less active form than in Etruria. Its presence, especially shown in small votive bronzes, was one of the most significant elements of the Italic "koine" of the last centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. (see below).

The arrival of Greek commerce and Greek colonists on the Italian shore, which was destined to bring about revolutionary changes in the way of life of the Italic peoples, also had an immediate effect on some aspects of the contemporary Iron Age societies. Even if we exclude the theory that the use of geometric patterns to decorate vases and bronzes was due essentially to the influence of the Greek Geometric style (Åkerström, 1943), it is nonetheless true that certain concepts were modified and that there arose an industry of painted pottery in imitation of that imported from Greece or from the colonies. There is evidence of this in Sicily and Calabria and on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian shores (see GEOMETRIC STYLE).

Beginning with the last years of the 8th and continuing on through the 7th century, in both Campania and Etruria the painted Geometric style assumed an ever-growing importance in the production of pottery. This production drew increasingly closer to the Greek, especially to proto-Corinthian models, whereas impasto ware tended toward a three-dimensional ornamentation. Objects from the workshops of southern Etruria, which were closely allied with those of Cumae — in the so-called "Italic-Geometric" style — are identified by animal and plant motifs (PL. 33) of the same schematic-curvilinear inspiration as contemporary bronzes. On the Adriatic shore the principal centers were in the Apulo-Salentine territory (FIG. 121). In the region inhabited by the Daunians, the Peucetians, and the Messapians some differences in pottery are found. There is a definite individuality of style in the shapes of the vases (spheroid craters with wide mouths and columnar handles; askoi; and the Messapian *trozzelle*, spherical craters with two side

handles rising far above the brim) and in their delicate and complex decoration, often in polychrome. Although this production began in precolonial, or protocolonial, times, it reached its zenith only during the 7th to 5th centuries. Tenaciously conservative, it continued to exist, absorbing one by one elements of archaic and classic ornamentation, such as palm leaves, ivy, and stylized waves. Its last manifestation came during the Hellenistic period in the pottery of Canusium (Canosa). Also of the archaic period is the noteworthy western Lucania

bronze objects from Urartu; and Greek, Rhodian, and Corinthian pottery of the Orientalizing period. Similar objects were made locally, an exotic motif used on household objects often blending with the local style or developing new decorative adjuncts. The most ornate and significant examples come from the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Caere (Cerveteri; PL. 25) and the Barberini and Bernardini tombs in Praeneste.

The first monumental tombs of the tumulus type with large rooms belong to this period (IV, PL. 456). Building technique



Forms and decoration of Apulian painted ceramics. (A) Daunian ceramics: (1) funnel crater; (2) kyathos (interior), (3) wide-mouthed squat oinochoe. (B) Peucetian ceramics: (4, 5) craters; (6) biconical hydria. (C) Messapian ceramics: (7) crater; (8) wheel-handled pitcher; (9) *trozzella*. (D) Canosan ceramics: (10) double-spouted askos; (11) candelabrum; (12) twin situla (from D. Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy*).

group (Sala Consilina), with its polychrome and figured vases of a striking decorative effect.

Another and in some ways more decisive external factor contributing to the integration of the artistic traditions of the Iron Age came as a result of Oriental influences that filtered through the net of Mediterranean sea routes. They were probably introduced to the peninsula by the Greeks, whose own civilization was under the sway of Oriental art at that time (see ORIENTALIZING STYLE). The cities growing up on the coast of Etruria, and to a lesser degree on the coast of Latium and Campania, at the end of the 8th century and throughout the 7th century imported in increasingly great quantities objects and models from the Near East. At first they were small products for the luxury trade in glass or faience from Egypt and Phoenicia; then ivories and goldwork from Syria and Cyprus;

developed, and false vaults and false domes (PL. 26) similar to the ones found in the eastern Mediterranean countries came into use. Sculpture and wall painting also began in this period. This Orientalizing civilization with its barbaric love of luxury seems to have been at home mainly on the Tyrrhenian Coast rather than in the area of Greek colonization. This was probably true because of the social and economic conditions prevalent in Etruria, which was then going through a period of prosperity and expansion. Traces of this Orientalizing period are also to be found in Iron Age societies in other parts of Italy — in Picenum, in Villanovan Aemilia, and in the Veneto. In these regions, however, it did not bring about a radical change from the preceding artistic tradition. Rather it grafted itself upon the existing style, certain features of which continued unchanged into the 5th and sometimes the 4th century B.C. An example

is seen in the art of the situla in the Venetian Alps, which in its turn later extended its influence to the north (FIG. 123; PL. 34).

In the artistic traditions of northern Italy, some features stemmed directly from a prehistoric and protohistoric inheritance, prior to the Iron Age, and endured or appeared sporadically in later periods. There are the cliff drawings dating from the earliest times found in sacred places in the Vallée des Merveilles near Monte Bego in the Maritime Alps and in Valcamonica. The primitive quality of these designs finds a close



Ornamentation of an Atestine bronze situla from the Boldù-Dolfin grave. Fourth cent. B.C. (from *MALinc*, X, pl. III).

parallel in vase graffiti and steles like the ones from Novilara in Picenum. There are also the anthropomorphic steles (menhir statues) of Alto Adige, of Liguria (IV, PL. 450), and of Corsica, whose schematic and symbolic style also appears along the Adriatic Coast as far as Apulia. In all probability they provided the basis for the development of that peculiar Italic sculpture, which is discussed below. The funerary steles of the Aemilian region can also be traced back to them.

A decorative tradition based on the combination of the meander and spiral motifs, which surely stems from the neolithic and Bronze Age art of eastern Europe, can still be discovered in the decoration of pottery and in the stone sculpture of Istria, the Veneto, and Picenum. Though these phenomena occurred on the outskirts of, and are essentially foreign to, the main development of the artistic societies of historical Italy, they nonetheless have a place in this development.

*b. The development of representational art under Near Eastern and Greek influences.* At the time that a new civilization was developing in Italy under the stimulus of Greek colonization, an equally revolutionary development was taking place in the field of art. The artistic language created and perfected over a period of a thousand years in the Near East — accepted, handed down, and spread by Greece — with its own well-ordered understanding of visible reality, its own narrative and representational code, its own laws of composition, and its own traditions, conventions, and achievements, was adopted in the peninsula. This heritage brought Italy within the area of civilization known as "the ancient world." The taste for abstract decoration and spontaneity of expression that is the chief characteristic of the art of the indigenous cultures was gradually absorbed and replaced (though not wholly crushed).

The subject matter and the compositions were at first inspired almost entirely by the animal repertoires of eastern art, including the fabulous creatures of Near Eastern or Greek invention (winged beasts, griffins, sphinxes, chimeras, etc.). The decorative bands and panels on Orientalizing bronzes, ivories, vases, and jewelry are filled with these figures (PL. 25). Etruscan funerary art, both painting and sculpture, from the very beginning embraced these themes (PL. 30), which were handed down almost ritually, until the latest period, often with all their archaic features. The marked interest Etruscan artists showed in animal figures may have been based on a strong iconographic tradition. Originally, however, these zoomorphic themes remained in the decorative sphere, as did other Orientalizing motifs in which human figures also appear (i.e., scenes of hunting or war and sacred subjects of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Syrian, or Cypriote inspiration). Little by little, subjects and figures from Greek mythology began to make their appear-

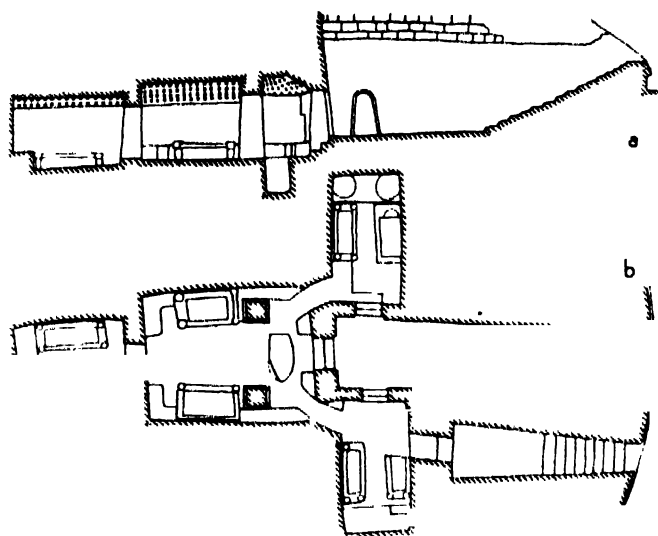
ance within these themes. Their importance to the art of Tyrrhenian Italy steadily increased from the 6th century, chiefly because of the growing imitation of Greek models and the presence of artists from the Hellenic world. This was especially true of architectural decorations, painted pottery, bronze objects (PL. 36), and gems. It is difficult to determine what was done for religious reasons and what had a purely decorative function (that is, what was executed for the figures and the story they tell, as opposed to what was made merely to add to the beauty of buildings and objects). This is especially true of some figures that were repeated upon widely differing occasions, for instance, gorgons, centaurs, silenoi, and maenads. Small votive statuary, on the other hand, adopted and made wide use of the Greek male figure, clothed or nude (*kouros*), the female figure (*kore*), the warrior, and others (PL. 40).

The most interesting aspect of this new development is that at a given moment Oriental and archaic Greek forms were used to express themes and concepts belonging to the ideology, religion, and funerary practices of the non-Greek peoples of Italy. In the proto-Etruscan world the need to individualize and immortalize the corporeal image of the deceased — whether rooted in the burial practices of the Mediterranean world (e.g., use of Egyptian, Mycenaean, or Phoenician masks, portrait statues, and anthropomorphic containers) or in European proto-history (e.g., menhir statues; see *ESCHATOLOGY*) — exercised a strong stimulus on artistic production. Thus there appeared a funerary statuary of terra-cotta or stone figures, at times assuming a fairly monumental size and character, directly inspired by the Orientalizing and Greek-Orientalizing styles; examples are the seated statuettes from Caere (Cerveteri) in the Museo dei Conservatori, Rome, and the British Museum (PL. 27), and the large pillar-statues from the Tumulo della Pietrera in Vetulonia (PL. 27). Later funerary sculpture was inspired by Greek archaic art.

At the same time an unusual kind of sculpture appeared. The forms of useful or symbolic objects (vases, cippi) were combined with representational elements, and the local urge for expression transformed and broke down the orderly design and the logical structure of the Oriental and Greek models. This was true of metal masks, canopic urns (PL. 28) and complicated cinerary urns with human figures from the region around Clusium (Chiusi), cinerary urns in the form of statues (PL. 43), and cippi terminating in human heads. All these, which sometimes show a precocious attempt to portray individual physiognomy, are characterized by a concentration on and separate treatment of the head, but the body is handled as a whole. This tendency later gave rise to developments of great importance for the artistic traditions of ancient Italy up to the Roman period. The same buoyant imagination that combined structural with human or animal shapes and with other fantastic decorative motifs triumphed also in the field of impasto ceramics, especially in the bucchero pottery, between the late 7th and the early 5th century (PLS. 29, 33; III, PL. 136).

Wall painting and stone relief began to develop in Etruria during the archaic period, chiefly within the field of funerary art, which provides the most significant examples of the characteristics of local taste. The great majority of painted friezes in burial chambers, especially those in Tarquinia, and of reliefs on urns and cippi, particularly those found around Clusium, are made up of realistic compositions representing banquets, dances, games, funerals, and sometimes scenes from a hunt, a battle, or similar subjects. If we disregard Near Eastern antecedents and the few examples of Greek funerary art, these themes seem to be typical of the Etruscan world. They show the skill and imagination with which its people took over the forms, iconography, and compositions of archaic Greek art and adapted them — sometimes completely transforming the original — to their own religion and society, which were very different from the Greek. They used the Greek artistic language to reproduce scenes from real life. These scenes in some instances were captured with such drama and wit that they seem an echo, in the midst of a new style, of the primitive Iron Age sculpture (e.g., in such lively details as the overturning chariot in the Tomb of the Olympiad in Tarquinia).

A marked preference for subjects taken from real life, rather than iconographical or mythological subjects, became a traditional characteristic of all artistic currents radiating from Etruria. It later spread to the art of the steles and situlae of northern Italy (PL. 34); it left its imprint, with themes of war and warriors, upon the funerary painting of the Italic peoples of



Caere (Cerveteri), Tomb of the Painted Lions: (a) cross section; (b) plan. (from *MAInc.* XLII, fig. 1).

Campania, Lucania, and Apulia (PL. 45), and upon the funerary and triumphal painting of Rome (see ROMAN IMPERIAL ART). Each society adapted this quality to its own particular character. It also furnished in a later period a constant inspiration for Italo-Roman folk art (see ITALO-ROMAN FOLK ART) and Roman provincial art.

The influence of Greek and Oriental representational concepts was also felt beyond the Tyrrhenian area and its immediate surroundings. It reached other Italic societies directly, affecting them to a greater or lesser degree. The Apulo-Salentine ceramics were almost immune to it and remained obstinately faithful to the original Geometric style.

In the heart of Italy, in the Sabellian and Picene territories, there was a steady increase in the production of statues in human form, which were inspired by proto-Hellenic sculpture. At the same time there remained an echo of a primitive and ritualistic rigidity in pillarlike structures, masks, and other products. This survival may be observed in the famous warrior from Castrano (PL. 35) and similar pieces. All along the Adriatic Coast there were isolated centers in which objects decorated with figures in imitation of archaic Greek models were produced. The decorated bronze pieces are especially numerous. These centers, however, were fewer and simpler than the ones found in Etruria.

Like the pottery, the household objects and bronze decorations of Picenum, the Po Valley, and the Venetian Alps generally remained faithful to Iron Age traditions. When these centers did adopt decorative motifs of human and animal figures, they were apt to dissolve and transform the compositions of Orientalizing, Greek, and Etruscan origin to their own structural and decorative taste, which was the antithesis of the narrative and illustrative style of archaic Greco-Italic art (FIG. 123).

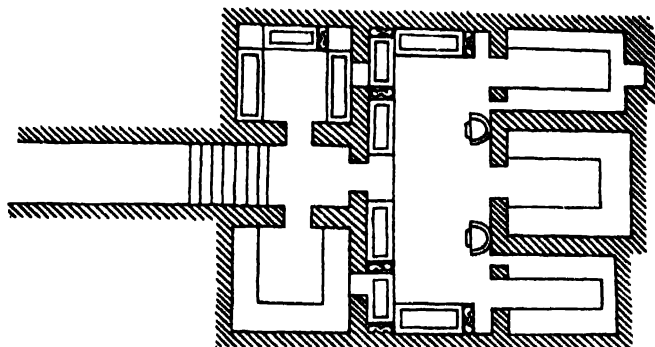
c. *Archaic art and the supremacy of Etruria.* From the late 7th to the mid-5th century the cities of Tyrrhenian Etruria were undoubtedly the most advanced cultural and artistic centers of non-Hellenic Italy. Because of their power and prosperity and the mass importation of foreign objects, especially pottery, or, more particularly, because of the presence of Greek artisans, the quality and variety of local products steadily improved and increased. Etruscan art during this period began

to possess those qualities of stability, monumentality, and universality that may be compared to contemporary Greek art.

Etruscan civic, domestic, and religious architecture stemmed from an amalgamation of the primitive native habitations and elements derived from proto-Hellenic architecture. Its structures were of light materials, the roofs made of wood and adorned with polychrome terra-cotta coverings. Unfortunately the original buildings were so fragile that none have come down to us; only fragments remain, and our knowledge comes on the indirect evidence of small models and imitations of interiors or exteriors found in the rock-cut tombs (IV, PL. 458). We can, however, visualize the wealth and variety of motifs based on the fundamental scheme of a simple rectangular building with sloping gabled roof, common to both house and temple; gradually the complexity of the layout of private dwellings was increased by multiple chambers, rounded rooms, and porticoes, as can be seen from the different types of tombs that make up the necropolis of Caere (FIGS. 125, 126, and 127).

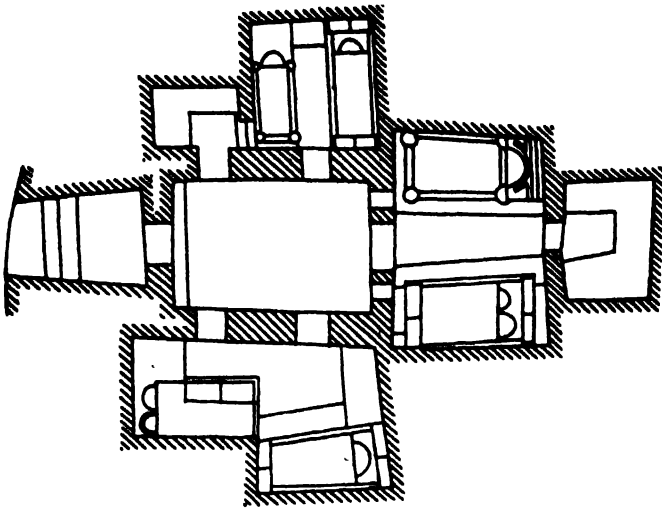
Temple architecture went through a period in which slight variations were made; then one plan became generally accepted. It consisted of a wide building either with three cellae or with a single cella flanked by two open wings (*alae*). These were fronted by a pronaos of equal width with four low, widely spaced columns (FIG. 127). This general plan, which remained unchanged throughout the centuries, is described by Vitruvius as a "Tuscan" temple (*De architectura*, III, 3, 5; IV, 7, 1-5). One of the most famous temples of this archaic type, which can be studied through the ruins of the foundations and the remaining pieces of the terra-cotta decorations, is the Temple of Portonaccio in Veii. The original structure of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome, which tradition places in the time of the Tarquins and the decoration of which is attributed to artists from Veii, also belongs to this type (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 157; Plutarch, *Poplicola*, 13; Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Aen.*, VII, 188). These "Tuscan" temples seem to have been spread over Tyrrhenian Etruria [Veii, Pyrgi (Santa Severa), Cerveteri, Fiesole], the Faliscan territory, Latium (Falerii, Rome, Lanuvium, Segni), and Aemilia (Marzabotto) (FIG. 129).

Not only for its structures but also for its decorative details Etruscan architecture seems to have looked back to an early period of Greek architecture — the period that immediately preceded the development, or rather the adoption to the exclusion of all other forms, of stone buildings and of the three orders. Thus the Tuscan column repeated and handed down to posterity the proto-Doric type of column, which has a noticeably thick shaft without fluting and a round plinth. At the same time another type of capital with volutes beginning at the base was widely used. This form owes its inspiration to the capitals of Syria and Cyprus and to the "Aeolian" capitals of eastern Greece (FIG. 131).



Caere (Cerveteri), Tomb of the Chairs and Shields, plan (from *Patroni*).

Particularly important for the development of decorative and representational sculpture is the terra-cotta ornamentation of the wooden temple roofs, comprised of friezes covering the beams, the outer edges of the roof tiles, antefixes, and acroteria (PLS. 38, 39). Probably by the end of the archaic period the closed temple pediment decorated with figures, as in Greece,



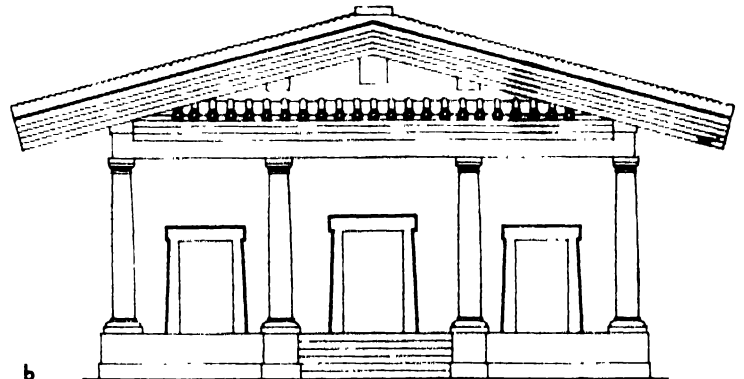
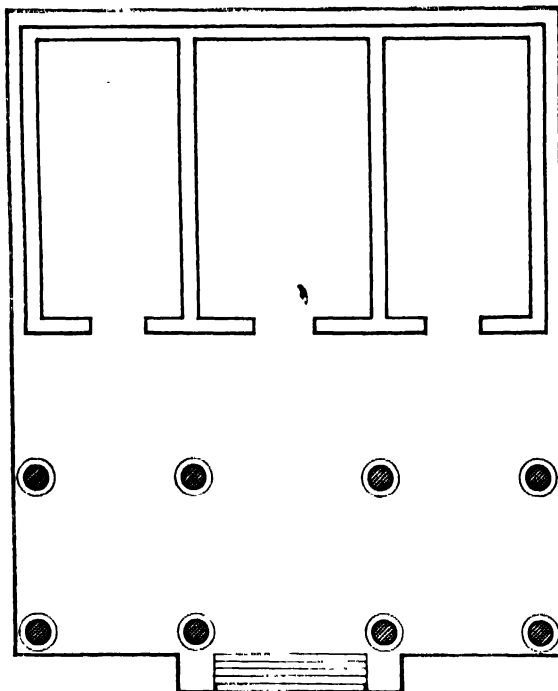
Caere (Cerveteri). Tomb of the Casetta (Little House): plan (from *MALine*, XLII, fig. 180).

came into use along with the empty pediment over a small, overhanging shed roof and with the visible ends of the beams decorated, as in the little model of the temple façade from Nemi. Basically these features are derived from the Greek world, chiefly Corinth and the cities of Sicily and Magna Graecia (see *ARCHAIC ART; PELOPONNESIAN ART*). But in the Etrusco-Latin region the exuberance of ornament and the development of figural elements reached an unprecedented level. A first decorative, or "Ionic," phase of the earliest type of building was characterized by antefix heads not surrounded by foliage or sunbursts, friezes in relief on the cornices (of eastern Greek origin), and by a reddish color of the terra cotta. The second, or "archaic," phase began at the end of the 6th century. Antefixes assumed a shell shape or even the shape of figures (PL. 38) and the

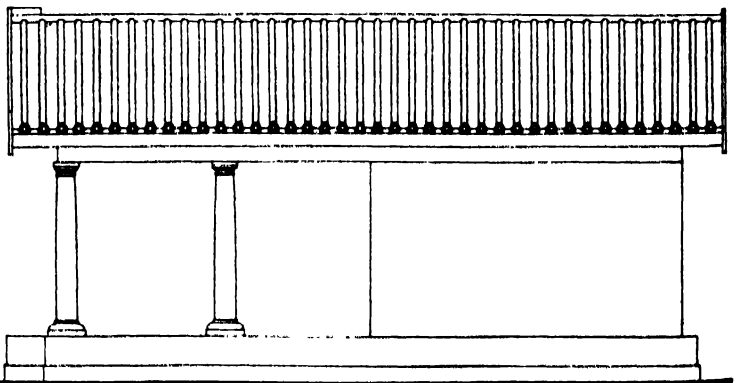
figured frieze disappeared from the large cornices, which began to be made of light-colored clay. It was during this last period that the monumental acroteria in the shape of groups of figures appeared, for example, the famous ones in the temple at Veii (PL. 39; I, PL. 359). Other important groups have been found in Caere (Cerveteri), in Falerii (Civita Castellana), and in Satricum in Latium. To the end of the archaic period belongs the large figured relief, perhaps originally part of a pediment, from Pyrgi (PL. 39). On the whole, the "archaic" decorative scheme dominated Etruscan and Latin art up to the Hellenistic age, with the addition of pediment sculpture (third, or so-called "Hellenistic," phase). The interiors of the buildings, perhaps civic as well as religious edifices, were decorated with painting. Evidence is found both in written sources (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 6, 17-18; 45, 154) and in the painted terra-cotta slabs which have been brought to light in Caere (PL. 31) and in the Temple of Portonaccio at Veii.

The only structures made of durable material were fortifications and tombs. The latter fall into two general categories — tumuli (occasionally of gigantic proportions, hewn out of bed-rock, like those at Caere) and constructed (like the group at Populonia). The various interiors, featuring revetments with false vaults or false dome structures, followed an ancient Mediterranean tradition, especially common throughout northern Etruria. A typical example is the tomb from Casale Marittimo (PL. 26). In southern cities underground tombs prevailed. These were hewn out of rock and fashioned after the plan of a house. Mural painting, applied directly to the wall or to plaster, appeared first in the Orientalizing period at Caere and Veii and reached its climax during the 6th and the 5th centuries at Tarquinia (PLS. 32, 41, 42; I, PLS. 363, 364, 374) and, to a lesser degree, at Clusium (Chiusi). Since Greek original painting is lost to us, these works are of paramount importance and provide precious material for the study of archaic painting.

Etruscan funerary art has left a wealth of material — sculptured cippi, steles (of which the ones in Fiesole are particularly famous), stone urns decorated with low relief (PL. 37), sarcophagi and small terra-cotta urns with figures on the lids from Caere (PL. 37), and statues from Vulci and Clusium. Later, during



b



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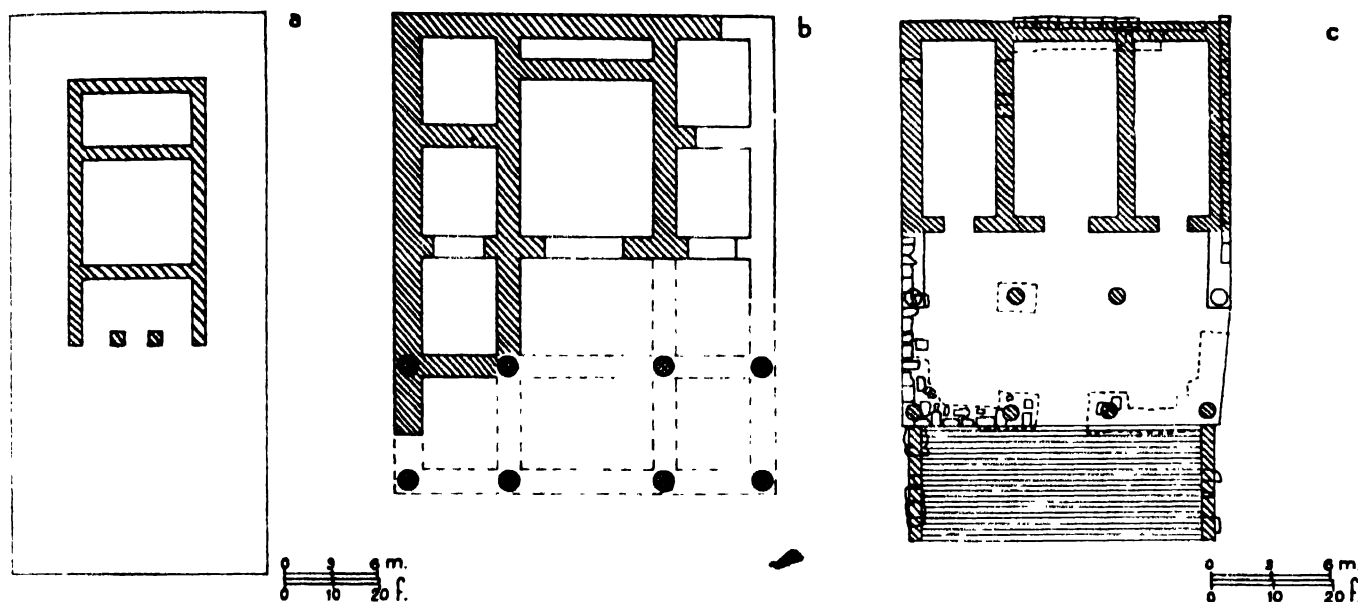
Reconstruction of Etruscan temple with three cellae: (a) plan; (b) front elevation; (c) side elevation.

the 5th and 4th centuries, steles, or gravestones, became common throughout the northern part of Etruria in the Po Valley region (PL. 43).

The rest of Etruscan art during the archaic period was devoted to sacred objects (particularly small votive statues); furnishings and decorative adjuncts (tripods, candelabra, chariots, braziers, terra-cotta and bronze ware); weapons; and jewelry. The variety of these objects, the richness of the themes and decorations, and the complete mastery of the various techniques — all show that they belong to a highly complex and advanced civilization; a civilization, however, whose whole attention was centered on the material aspects of life, rather than, like Greek civilization, on great universal and collective

well defined. It has a character of its own that distinguishes it from that of other areas and currents of the same civilization (so that, for instance, an Etruscan bronze statuette can usually be identified as such if compared with similar Peloponnesian, Attic, or even Ionic pieces). The average quality is high, undoubtedly the highest to be met with in any one period in all pre-Roman Italy. Furthermore, among the extant works of this period there are several real masterpieces of ancient art; for example, the Apollo and the other statues from the temple at Veii (I, PL. 359) and the paintings in the Tomb of the Baron in Tarquinia (I, PL. 364).

In the Orientalizing period, during the 7th and at the beginning of the 6th century, Peloponnesian and chiefly Corinthian



Ground plans of Etrusco-Italic temples: (a) Minturno, Temple of Dea Marica (from *MALinc*, XXXVII, s. pls. XLIV-XLV); (b) Marzabotto temple C, partial reconstruction (from *Ducati*); (c) Orvieto, "Belvedere" temple (from *NSc*, 1925, p. 159, fig. 26).

ideals. This explains why it is impossible to distinguish in the Etruscan production between "great art" and the "minor arts," and it justifies a search for more striking esthetic qualities in a small bronze statue or ivory intaglio than in a piece of monumental sculpture. It also explains both the lively, creative quality of Etruscan products during this period and the lack of a real internal development like that of Greek art.

On the whole, Etruscan art reflects the stylistic changes of Greek art to such a degree that it can be studied, as it usually is, by following the Greek scheme and adopting the Greek names for the different phases. This is especially true for the archaic period, when Etruria (and Tyrrhenian Italy in general) came strongly under the influence of Greek civilization.

There were, however, conditions and specific factors that complicate the picture. First of all, Etruria had a closer relationship with some Greek cities than with others. (For example, contacts with the cities of Asian Ionia and the western colonies were very frequent and direct; with Attica, they were only occasional.) Other complications are: the presence, hard to document but still certain, of foreign artists and the contemporary activity of their local imitators; a mixture of influences of different origins and different periods; the importance of local traditions and ideologies; and finally, the fact that each city, school, or workshop specialized in one particular form of art, thus giving rise to many parallel traditions. These specializations included the terra-cotta architectural sculpture of Veii, the painted clay slabs, sarcophagi, and figured terra-cotta urns of Caere, the painting of Tarquinia, the bronze tripods of Vulci, the cippi and urns in low relief of Clusium (Chiusi), and the steles of Fiesole.

The artistic phenomenon of archaic Etruria, at least as a regional aspect of Greek archaic art, is, however, sufficiently

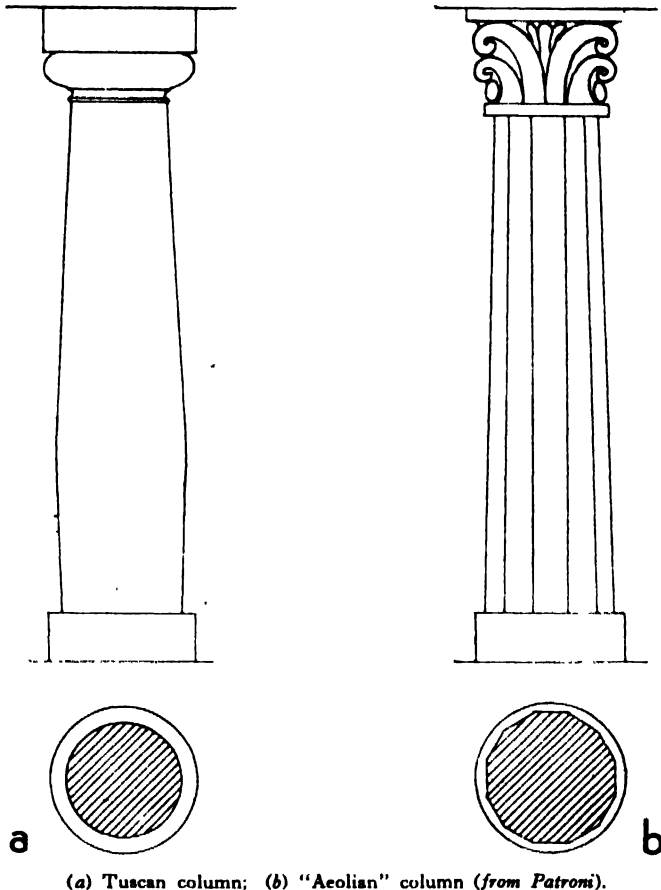
artistic trends were diffused throughout Etruria — as allegorized in the legend of the artisans who immigrated with Damarratus. Even apart from the wholesale importation and local imitation of Corinthian painted pottery, this influence blatantly manifests itself in the architectural severity, in the massive structure of sculpture in the round. Also a current of direct Cretan influence is clearly discernible in the paintings in the Campana Tomb in Veii and in the lively bronze figurines, with a Daedalic touch, from the votive stipe of Brolio near Chiusi (PL. 29). Even in funerary art, in the canopic urns and bucchero vessels closely bound to local traditions, we can discern traces of the Daedalic and Peloponnesian style, mingled with indigenous and Orientalizing motifs (PL. 28).

The early contacts of Etruria with the civilizations of the Near East, including Asia Minor, were renewed toward the middle of the 6th century. A powerful current spread westward from the Aeolian and Ionian centers of Asia Minor. The taste for free composition, for movement, for characterization, and for soft, fleshy figures with rounded contours was perhaps directly introduced to Etruria by Ionic draftsmen. The so-called "Caeretan hydriae" and other products from ceramic workshops seem to indicate this. The influence is especially evident in the tomb paintings of Tarquinia, executed during the last years of the century. Several manners, which illustrate different aspects of this style, often in a highly individualistic fashion, are in evidence here. They range from the crude, heavy violence of the scenes in the Tomb of the Augurs to the impetuous liveliness of the scenes in the Tomb of the Lionesses (I, PL. 363); from the daring effects of landscape and the charming details of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (PL. 32) to the abstract color and design and the elegant rhythm of the compositions



in the Tomb of the Baron (I, PL. 364). The laminated bronze-work, for example, the pieces from Castel San Mariano (PL. 36; I, PL. 360); the stone bas-reliefs; the ivories; the large and small works of sculpture, particularly the delicate bronze figures often used as supports — all show the same characteristics that are typical of eastern Greek art. In these pieces they were brought to an exaggerated degree of dynamic and curvilinear stylization.

Monumental architectural sculpture reached its height during this period. The terra cottas found in Veii prove that a famous school was active at this time. This school was mentioned by ancient sources, and to it belonged the only Etruscan



(a) Tuscan column; (b) "Aeolian" column (from *Patroni*).

artist whose name has come down to us: Vulca (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXV, 45, 157). These terra cottas express the personality of a great artist — regardless of whether he can be identified with the Vulca the sources mention — who about the year 500 B.C. modeled the huge statues for the Temple of Portonaccio with his unmistakable, vigorous, incisive style, so different from the soft lines dear to Ionic taste, from which, however, he drew part of his inspiration (I, PL. 359). The decoration of the entire building is imbued with his personality.

The Ionic phase was followed at the beginning of the 5th century by a late-archaic phase. During this period innovations developed in Greece, especially in Athens and in the western Peloponnesos during the preceding decades, made their appearance. There was an increasingly close adherence in this period to the Greek model in composition, in iconography, in design, and in technique. The human figure took on special significance. Increasing attention was paid to the study of the anatomy of the male nude; movement and foreshortening were given a more naturalistic treatment. These new features, already evident in the athletes of the small frieze in the Tomb of the Chariots at Tarquinia, appeared in all the painting of Tarquinia and Clusium (Chiusi), the funerary bas-reliefs in Clusium, as well as in designs incised on mirrors, toreutic work, goldwork, precious stones, and other decorated objects. The clear evidence

of the influence of Attic design as it appears in red-figured ware and in Etruscan sepulchral painting of the first half of the 5th century did not eradicate from the latter a taste for delicate movements, softly curving contours, and mellowness of color, reminiscent of Ionian-Etruscan style. The best examples are in the Tomb of the Triclinium in Tarquinia (I, PL. 374).

In sculpture also a change from smooth, graceful forms to the vigorous structures and serious expressions of contemporary Greek sculpture took place rather slowly in the years immediately preceding and immediately following 490 B.C. This was true of bronze and stone sculpture (PL. 40) and of the terra cottas in the temples at Falerii, Satricum, and Pyrgi (PLS. 38, 39, 47). It should be remembered that Greek artists were summoned to Rome to decorate the Temple of Ceres, and that Varro (according to the passage from Pliny quoted above) set their style against the Tuscan style of the artists from Veii who had worked on the Capitol a few years earlier. Late-archaic art, therefore, was, to ancient critics, an innovation in Etrusco-Latin art with a new Greek attitude. On the other hand, as we shall see, Etruria missed the subsequent phase of general and consistent transition from archaic to proto-classic forms that took place in Greece between 490 and 470 B.C., so that the late-archaic conception of style remained unchanged during the greater part of the 5th century. Its persistence, which could be termed "subarchaic," was similar to that in other areas on the periphery of the Greek world, for example, Cyprus (see CYPRIOTE ART, ANCIENT). This archaicism is particularly obvious in funerary painting, which produced works not devoid of a certain technical accomplishment and originality of composition. Examples are the scenes in the Tomb of the Funeral Couch and the Tomb of the Ship in Tarquinia, which date from about the middle and the last half on the 5th century respectively. During the period when classic art was in full flower in Greece, the archaic tradition was still important in Etruria, even in ambitious works such as the large animal-shaped bronzes, for example, the Capitoline Wolf, the Chimera from Arretium (Arezzo; PL. 40), and in that extraordinary example of decorative exuberance, the bronze canelabrum of Cortona.

The cultural and artistic preeminence of Etruria during the archaic age can be measured both by the intrinsic worth of her art and by the effect it had on the other regions of Italy. In Campanian and Latin art it is not easy to establish just what was due to Greek influence and what to a process of Etruscanization. The chief artistic product of Campania consisted of architectural terra cottas, primarily antefixes of Daedalic-Peloponnesian and Ionic influence with heads and figures in low relief (PL. 38), and bronzework. Examples of the latter include a strainer in the shape of a male head, linked to the Attic and northern Greek style of the middle of the 6th century. On the other hand, a series of bronze cinerary urns with small figures adorning their lids, although unique, are much closer to the small late 6th- and early 5th-century Etruscan bronzes. On the whole, however, Campania does not seem to have been drawn into the Etruscan artistic sphere, even though the region was partially under Etruscan rule. Campania assumed, in a way, the characteristics of a Greco-Italic province, its art quite distinct from the Etruscan (and its developments, obviously, much more limited).

In Latium, on the contrary, Etruscan influence was noticeable during the 6th century, when it imposed itself on the native style, especially in the clay temple decorations. (Historical tradition explicitly mentions, as has been stated above, the presence in Rome of artists from Veii.) There is no evidence that funerary painting or sculpture in any way comparable to that of Etruria existed during the archaic period. The antefixes used in Latium, at Satricum for instance, show the double influence of Etruscan and Campanian art. (Antefixes of the kind developed in Campania can be found as far north as Caere.)

Bronzework found in Picenum (handles from Pesaro, disks from Rapagnano, etc.) proves that Greco-Italic archaic art flourished in this region also. This art drew its fundamental inspiration from the art of central Greece of the first half of



the 6th century. The possibility that an Etruscan influence existed simultaneously cannot be ruled out. A magnificent chariot with bronze sheeting decorated with figures in repoussé (PL. 36) was found at Monteleone di Spoleto in Umbria, though we cannot take for granted that it was manufactured there.

The influence of Etruscan art, although it had actually penetrated during an earlier period, made itself felt on the other side of the Apennines only after the Etruscan conquest of Aemilia at the end of the 6th century. In the beginning it was still an archaic influence, remarkable above all for the bronzework found at Bologna and Spina. It was an imported art, like the contemporary art of Attic pottery. In an indirect way, however, local art drew its inspiration from Etruria, which left its mark upon the forms and motifs of the sepulchral steles. Realistic scenes of war, everyday life, funerals, and games appear on that singular relic, the Certosa situla from Bologna (PL. 34). These, in turn, were imitated both locally and in the Venetic and Alpine regions. The art of the Po Valley belongs, however, to a later chapter.

*d. Classic and Hellenistic influences.* During the 5th century there was a profound crisis in the relationship between the Italic world and the Greek world. We have already discussed the fact that the archaic civilization had established a common ground of Greco-Tyrrhenian experience, whereby its components were at the same ideological and technical level, notwithstanding differences in language, tradition, and religious concepts. After the Persian wars the situation was completely changed. While Greece reached the height of her development with the beginning of the classic civilization, the power of Etruria began to decline. The sources of her ancient prosperity dissolved, her contacts with the Hellenic world (both with the Greek colonies and the mother country) decreased until they almost ceased to exist. This is clearly shown by the fact that importation of Attic pottery almost ceased. New semibarbarous peoples from the interior of the peninsula began to make inroads into the Tyrrhenian area, hastening its decline. It is easy to understand how, under the circumstances, there was not only no longer a possibility for common development or close understanding, but also no equilibrium or basis of comparison between the two worlds. One, the Greek, was launched toward the future with all the energy of its creative genius, the assurance of its physical power, the knowledge of its own superiority over other civilizations. (The Hellenes now contrasted themselves to the *barbaroi*.) The other, the Etrusco-Italic world, was irredeemably closed in upon itself, territorially insignificant, removed from the great currents of history and progress, bound to an archaic mentality, without one real political or cultural tradition to unite it. This world was able to accept and use single motifs and formulas from classical Greek art, but as external factors only; it was never able to absorb them. We can speak of the art of this period as belonging to a phase contemporary to the classic phase; we cannot speak of it as "classic art."

There was, however, a moment at the very beginning of the classic period, that of the so-called "severe style," when Etruria still had sufficient contacts with the Greek world, as well as the intrinsic ability, to absorb new concepts and new forms. This was especially true of the production of objects of a certain material value, more subject than others to changes in fashion and not ruled by the traditions then governing funerary art: bronzes, precious stones, goldwork, and silverwork. The best of the mirrors — for example, the one from Vulci showing Hercules and Atlas, now in the Vatican Museums (III, PL. 487) — reflect the style of the great Polygnotean compositions. Sculpture in the round willingly accepted the graceful movement, the synthetic treatment of anatomy, and the massed drapery that characterized Greek sculpture of 470–60 B.C. It is very likely that the cultural centers of southern Italy and Sicily materially helped to spread these innovations throughout Etruria. The austere economy of protoclassic art penetrated the Etruscan tradition. It became so deeply rooted that works of local art belonging to a later period were still marked by it, and therefore appear to be much earlier than they really are.

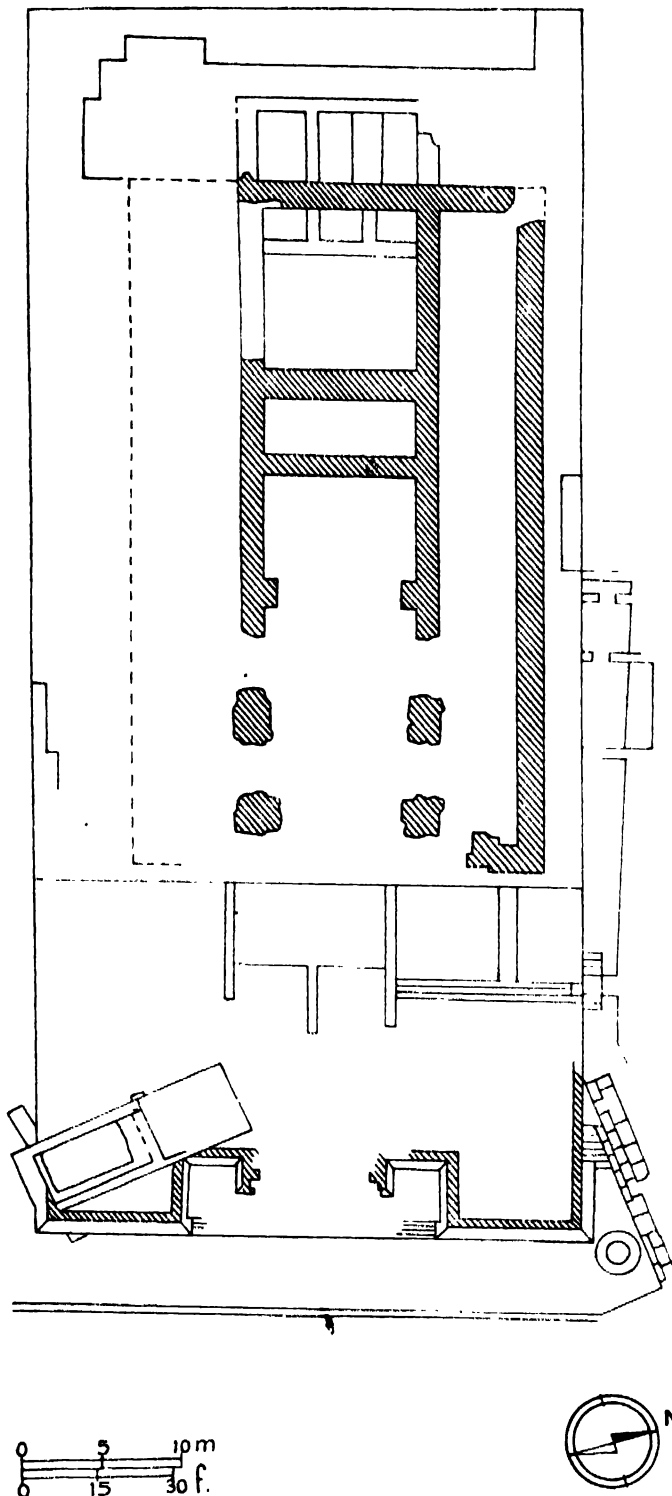
Classic influence affected funerary painting and sculpture very slowly and intermittently. A group of stone statues and cinerary urns from the vicinity of Clusium (Chiusi), dating from the third quarter of the 5th century to the beginning of the 4th century B.C., portray the deceased on couches, sometimes accompanied by one or more supernatural beings from the afterworld (PL. 47), or, in the case of that noble female figure from Chianciano (PL. 43), seated on a throne with a child in her arms. In this whole group there are elements drawn from contemporary Greek sculpture, but they have made little headway against the survivals from the archaic age, especially obvious in the details, and the severity of structure of protoclassic origin. The general effect is awkward and shows that the local artists resisted the influence of and were almost repelled by the whole spirit of the new art. The same is true of the earliest stone sarcophagi of southern Etruria.

The paintings in the 5th-century tombs in Tarquinia, with their slavishly transmitted schemata of archaic times, sometimes suggest that a figure had been inspired by a classic composition. Occasionally in the perspective a slight innovation was introduced. In Clusium (Chiusi) the painting seems more daring, though at the same time more provincial. There was a gradual development in the style of the terra cottas, in votive figures, and in decorative art in general during the second half of the 5th century. An increasing number of Greek forms and compositional schemes were adopted, sometimes resulting in a faithful imitation of the original model, as in the head of a statue of a god, commonly known as Zeus, from Falterii (PL. 47). This adoption also sometimes resulted in a display of sensitivity on the part of the local artist, as in the small Malavolta head from Veii (PL. 47), or in the jarring intrusion of local folk art into a classic conception, as in a male figure in relief from Orvieto.

Outside the Tyrrhenian area Greek influences began to appear more frequently during the 5th and 4th centuries, reaching the more backward regions that had been barely touched by the archaic Greek-colonial or Etruscan world and were still tied to the traditions of the Iron Age. The new region of Etruria in the Po Valley, unlike Tyrrhenian Etruria, had its greatest development during the classic period. Attic pottery was imported on a large scale through the coastal town of Spina; Attic iconography and style were reflected in the modest local relief work on funerary steles, typical products of the Bologna area (PL. 43). It is quite remarkable to think that in the small mountain center of Marzabotto there are traces of that particular kind of city planning that came from Greece and became widely spread throughout Italy during the 5th century. (It can be seen in the colonial cities in the south and the cities of Campania.)

Umbria during this period began to produce bronze pieces that show classical inspiration, for instance, the votive stipe from Cagli, and, more remarkable, the life-size "Mars of Todi" (PL. 44). A contrast in this statue between the careful quality of the technique and the lack of attention to the underlying structure of the body shows a mixture of old and new trends, regardless of whether or not it was produced by a local or Etruscan workshop. In much the same way, the primitive traditions of the Italic people began to change under Greek influence, as evidenced by small votive bronzes and the first relics of funerary painting, for example, the frieze with dancing women from Ruvo in Apulia (III, PL. 299).

Classic style, however, became really established throughout Italy, from Magna Graecia to the Po, only about 350 B.C. The characteristics of this style reveal the close relationship that existed between the Hellenic colonial area and the non-Greek regions. Specific developments in composition, as well as innovations in the field of technique (perspective, chiaroscuro, etc.), as they appear in the monumental painting of the times of Parrhasios, Apollodoros, and Euphranor, are reflected in Campanian and Faliscan vase painting, which also shows various Etruscan derivations of the 4th and early 3d centuries. Delicate echoes of the classic style can be found in the incisions on the bronze cists of Praeneste (Palestrina). The best known of these, the Ficoroni cist, bears the signature of the artist, Novios



Tarquinia, "Ara della Regina" temple, ground plan (from *B.Arte*, XXXIII 1948, p. 55, fig. 3).

Plautios (PL. 50). A classic influence is also seen in Etruscan mirrors (PL. 50). The classic style indirectly influenced decorative art, architectural terra cottas, furnishings, goldwork and silverwork, and the mythological friezes on Etruscan sarcophagi of the 4th and 3d centuries. The paintings on the sarcophagus of the Amazons in Tarquinia are either the work of an Italiote artist or are directly inspired by Italiote art.

Tomb painting in Etruria (Tarquinia, Orvieto), like tomb painting in Campania and Lucania (Capua, Poseidonia) adapted in a conservative way and with a certain simplification of design

classic motifs and classic forms to subjects drawn from real life or from the underworld. Most remarkable was the iconographical development of demon figures in the shape of monsters (IV, PL. 169). Greek sculpture of the 4th century also had a decisive influence on the development of the various forms of sculpture — in the round, ornamental (figures applied to candelabra, cists, etc.), votive, and funerary. It also had a profound effect on Etrusco-Italic portraiture (see below).

Beginning with this period Greek models seem to have been followed, especially in ornamental details. Transplanted into Italic surroundings, these Greek features lost the major part of their original significance, becoming merely embellishments for buildings and objects (PL. 51). They were destined for this minor role by the local taste of this period, which had an inclination for ostentatiousness and superfluous decoration, qualities that contrasted strongly with the intrinsic sobriety of classic taste. Allusions and symbols abound, as can be seen in the extensive use in Etruscan funerary art of certain mythological subjects (the sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroclus, Circe, etc.). On the other hand, all the art connected with the religious and social interests of the Etrusco-Italic society — votive offerings, funerary art, portraits — was much less dependent on Greek sources and models. This type of art adopted the Greek idiom to express its own ideas, and, as we shall see, attempted wholly new formal experiences.

After the 4th century the influence of Greek art on the Italic centers continued without interruption and increased throughout the Hellenistic period until Roman imperial times. This development was favored by the establishment of the Roman hegemony, by the political unification of the Greek and non-Greek regions of the peninsula (which finally resolved the old fundamental historical dualism of the Italic world), and by the Roman conquest of Greece and the East. Architecture underwent a profound change and a general reawakening with the imitation of Greek military construction, with the development of an atrium and a peristyle in domestic buildings, and with the introduction of the use of stone in temples. Greek elements — Corinthian capitals, Doric friezes, denticulated cornices, and others — appeared in buildings, altars, and sarcophagi, but only as ornamental accessories, incoherent, and often confused and enriched by the addition of figures. Molded decorations for the outer structures of temples remained predominant and were used over a large part of the peninsula. The great pediment reliefs of mythological subjects of the so-called "third phase" [Falerii, "Scasato" temple; Talamone; Luni; Civitalba in the Marche (PL. 54); and Rome, Museo Nuovo dei Conservatori (VII, PL. 202)] are significant examples of the way local art imitated and re-elaborated features of Hellenistic art. Similarly, the delicate fragments from Falerii — especially the Apollo-like figure that recalls the style of Lysippos (PL. 54) — directly reflect the features of the first phase of Hellenistic art, still under the influence of the works and style of the great masters of the 4th century. But in some small heads in Arezzo (PL. 54) we can recognize the pathos and the strong contrast between light and shade of Asiatic Greek sculpture.

The compositions of the great 4th-century school of painting and of the Hellenistic school provided inexhaustible source material for the reliefs on the Etruscan sarcophagi and urns of the 3d and 2d centuries, as well as for the contemporary engravings on mirrors, both Etruscan and Praenestian. Hellenistic art with its wealth of ideas, forms, and motifs inspired, directly or indirectly and in an infinite number of ways, the painted motifs and the decorations in relief of all pottery from Apulia (vases from Gnathia), Campania, Latium (*poecula*), Etruria, and the northern Adriatic region, as well as the figured bronzework, the goldwork and silverwork, the gems and coins.

An "impressionistic" or luministic technique made its appearance in the vase and funerary painting of this period (Tomb of the Cardinal, Tarquinia), as well as in the painting of the Campanian cities. Painted on the central pier of the late Tomb of the Typhon in Tarquinia, probably belonging to the 1st century B.C., are snakelike giants of Pergamene inspiration; the female figure beside them, terminating in volutes, is drawn in monochrome in a linear style and is of obvious classicistic inspiration.

*e. Characteristic features of Italic art.* We shall now discuss Italic art of the 4th to 1st centuries B.C. from another point of view. It is obvious that Hellenism prevailed, at least judging from outward appearances, throughout the peninsula. But it was not, however, the only element, nor was it, on the whole, the most significant one. Along with the desire to imitate as faithfully as possible the Greek model there seems to have existed a whole series of expressive currents more or less purposely bent upon differing from the spirit and forms of Greek art.

This phenomenon should undoubtedly be seen in its proper relationship with the traditions and conditions then prevailing in Italic society. A great part of Italy had remained up to that time essentially cut off from direct contact with Greece and was still more or less following the dictates of its own primitive native traditions. Even in the regions that had completely succumbed to the influence of Greek art, native elements continued to show through in the themes chosen for religious and funerary compositions and in a certain conservatism of style, spontaneity of expression, and awkwardness of technique. All these factors point to an essential desire on the part of the Italic world — still structurally a protohistoric unit — to resist or retard the growing infiltration of the Hellenic world. As such, they can only be considered negative factors, for the positive elements among them came to life only under the constructive influence of Greek forms.

As a result, however, of the break which occurred during the 5th century between the Italic artistic tradition and the classic tradition, as well as of other events, such as the political and cultural isolation of the western Greek world and the expansion of the "eastern Italic" peoples over a great section of the peninsula, including many centers which had long been part of the Greco-Tyrrhenian civilization, the situation underwent a drastic change. It was as though the Italic world, cut off from the live source of Greek creativity, was, at least in part, thrown back upon its own resources. Atavistic propensities toward nonfigural expression and toward the reduction of a figure to its barest essentials, undercurrents of a primitive intensity, repertoires of fantastic animals, decorations of Oriental origin, and other local elements had a chance to come to the surface. They mixed with the various legacies left by the Greek styles that had succeeded one another throughout the peninsula — first the structurally geometric quality of Daedalic-Peloponnesian art, then the style of the mid- and late-archaic periods with its decorative grace and analytical tendencies, and finally the severe style with its feeling for mass. That very lack of intrinsic will power, that inability to develop independently, that lack of all sense of time — all these characteristics that, as we have already seen, belonged even to the Hellenized societies of non-Hellenic Italy — seem to have come to the surface in a strong, widespread reaction against classic and Hellenistic art. They were essential in bringing about a new kind of art, which was both alive and constructive and through which an Italic frame of mind found expression for its own characteristics and traditions, especially in the field of religious and funerary art.

When we speak of Etruscan or Italo-Etruscan inventions of architectural motifs — which were later widely used by the Romans, and which are, moreover, the very features which distinguish Roman architecture from Greek architecture — such as the arch and the vault, we must go back to the developments described above. It is a well-known fact that use of a rounded covering, both as a technique and as a formal motif, is an ancient heritage from preclassic civilizations and well known throughout archaic Italy (as the Etruscan tombs prove). There it remained dormant, and archaic and classic Greece rejected it. Its reappearance as a monumental theme, however, as in the city gates of Volterra or Perugia (PL. 48), and its incorporation of Greco-Italic decorative motifs (pilasters, cornices, Doric friezes, etc.) as well as decorations in the shape of figures, were all due to a new Italic interpretation that was both original and late. The tendency to combine functional and decorative elements brought about some absolutely new solutions in the field of stone architecture, solutions destined to have a long life. One example is the use of capitals with volutes, adorned with heads, commonly employed from Vulci

to the Italic temple of Paestum. The Etruscan sarcophagi, urns, and cippi, into which architectural elements were incorporated, forming various combinations with figurative motifs, are other examples of the current taste for the composite. The portrayal of the deceased on the lid of his own stone coffin, reclining as though at a banquet, is a typically Etruscan idea (PL. 49).

In local stone sculpture the workmanship was rough and unfinished. There was a tendency to flatten the figure until it formed a linear pattern, to alter the natural proportions, and to avoid the difficult passages, oversimplifying the parts in relief. If we compare these works with original pieces or faithful imitations of Greek sculpture, we can see evidence of the lack of training of the local Italic craftsmen, who were working with a rough material to produce in wholesale fashion at popular prices objects in great demand. The same is true of many inferior small cinerary urns found in Perugia. The part of the Italic world that remained on the periphery of Greek influence showed a tendency (from the end of the archaic age) to allow the Greek forms to deteriorate and to dissolve. This process was accomplished through a return to the spontaneous qualities of primitive folk art; however, obvious echoes of the archaic, Orientalizing, and even proto-Hellenic styles remained, such as geometrical forms, frontality of pose, round-edged eyelids, pouting lips, linear decorative patterns formed by the hair and drapery, and paratactic compositions. These phenomena were especially common in southern Italy, as, for instance, in antefixes that — increasingly altering and deforming the figures — imitated antefixes both of Capua and Tarentum (Taranto). It is very likely that they became common throughout the south as a direct result of the influx of the Umbro-Sabellian tribes, which had barely, if at all, freed themselves from their primitive cultural traditions. After the 5th century the whole Tyrrhenian civilization, including Etruria, suffered from the general deterioration in both style and technique. Even parts of the Greek colonial world were affected by the lower standards.

But not all aspects of provincial Italic art were handicapped by the lack of skill of the local artisan. In some cases, especially in advanced localities such as Etruria, Latium, and Campania, new experiments in form were more or less conscious and successful. For example, blocklike forms of remote eastern origin inspired the stylized volumes, surprisingly pure in their cubic composition, of the seated statues of the mother goddess from the Sanctuary of the Fondo Patturelli in Capua (IV, PL. 207). Similarly, the image of the deceased on the lids of sarcophagi from southern Etruria tended to dissolve into a series of spheroidal projections. This abstract, geometric understanding of volume — as it has been anachronistically called, this "cubism" — is in direct contrast to the naturalistic approach, and it left its mark on works of the greatest significance. One of these, for instance, is the so-called Capitoline "Brutus," which inspired discussions on this subject. Indifference toward the natural proportions of a figure became, sometimes, an effective means of expression, especially when the whole interest of the artist was concentrated on the head in order to emphasize the personality and spiritual qualities of the subject, whereas the body was simply blocked out, as in Etruscan urns and sarcophagi. This abridgment, this sketch can rise to the heights of an "unfinished" motif, stylistically successful, as, for example, in the strangely lyrical statue of the seated maiden from Clusium (Chiusi) in the Vatican Museums (PL. 49). Obviously, skilled workshops and talented artists — in other words, a milieu of developed art — turned these innovations into a real artistic tradition. The whole meaning of Etruscan sculpture during the Hellenistic period is summarized in a work such as the figure on the large sarcophagus from the Tomb of the Partunu in Tarquinia (PL. 49). All that is concrete, typical, and at the same time transient in the physical individuality of the deceased, in his decadent and restless solemnity, is expressed with dramatic immediacy and with disregard for the actual shape of his body. This was achieved by emphasizing the volumes and by a realistic handling of the material, from the soft corpulence of the naked flesh to the delicate vibrations of the rumpled drapery.

Even in votive statues, particularly those made of bronze, both in the Tyrrhenian region and central and southern Italy,

the Italic interpretation of Greek forms arrived at some new and positive effects, though they developed through phases of awkwardness and deformation, essentially similar to the lines followed by monumental sculpture. There are some curious abstractions in the form of elongated figures, threadlike or pillar-shaped, sometimes showing a remarkable control of style (PL. 55). At other times the form is massive, with a peasant vigor (similar to that of the figures on the lids of the Praeneste cists). The lack of balance, the disassociation of the anatomic volumes, the careless way in which the faces are hewn resulted in baroque-like effects of violence, movement, and dramatic expression. Thus, here and there examples of greater worth emerge from the huge mass of small votive bronze statues representing Mars or Hercules, dispersed throughout Italy, but found principally in the original territories of the Umbro-Sabellians — a production, therefore, Italic par excellence. In the same way, in the field of terra-cotta work the imitation of the Greek model gave way to the most varied series of deformations of the human face. Particularly significant examples are the heads found in the sanctuaries of Capua and Carsoli (PL. 55).

It was in portraiture, however, that Italic pre-Roman art made its most important and original contribution. This is not surprising if we remember the ancient Etruscan beliefs and the Etruscan practice from the early archaic age of making individualized images of their dead. (The early masks and the canopic urns from Clusium showed an attempt at a faithful reproduction of features.) Similarly, the Latin world followed the tradition of preserving and displaying the portraits of their ancestors (*imagines maiorum*) in funeral processions. To these examples can be added the funerary statues and the anthropomorphic steles common throughout Italy. To a lesser degree in the votive figures, particularly the clay heads, we find a tendency toward characterization, similar to that of the contemporary funerary art. The custom of erecting commemorative and honorary statues is more recent, and furthermore our only record of it comes from literary sources (for instance, for Republican Rome, Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XXXIV, 11, 20 ff.). It would be a mistake to give Etruria and Italy the credit for originating and developing the portrait; it had already appeared as an autonomous art form in Greek sculpture of the 4th century B.C. The late-archaic and the Hellenistic portrait laid the formal ground for Italic portraiture and for the later Roman development, both of which echo the late-classic and Hellenistic tendencies toward idealization, pathos, or crude realism. But what really sets the Etrusco-Italic portrait apart from the Greek is the disregard of the former for harmony and its distortion of reality in order to capture salient characteristics and individualize and exaggerate expression. This process, in the last analysis, was in keeping with those tendencies that we have already found in local sculpture. The portrait was a fertile ground for the portrayal of character and for the study of individual personality.

Some of these Etrusco-Latin portraits attain the greatest perfection of style. We may note again the Capitoline "Brutus," a product of the 3d century B.C., when Roman expansion was at its height, and the representation of a flamen in the British Museum, whose concentrated expression is attained through a sapient interplay among the volumes. The Etruscan world continued with renewed exuberance to pursue the most varied effects of senility, subtle and choleric, as in the figures of the Laris Pulena sarcophagus and on the small clay urn from Volterra (PL. 49); or solid vitality, as in a bronze head from Fiesole in the Louvre; or marked stupidity and obtuseness, as in some terra cottas from Caere. Painting reflects the same interest in portraiture and caricature, as in the solemn "portrait galleries" in the Tomb of the Shields in Tarquinia (PL. 46). In the François Tomb in Vulci the unforgettable figure of Vel Saties with his marked features and absorbed look, wrapped in the magnificence of his embroidered *toga picta*, preceded by his dwarfish bird-catcher, advances with stately step toward the portal of the beyond (PL. 52).

In the last phase of the Hellenistic age, however, during the Romanization of Italy, the various currents of the Italic portrait, which had spread throughout the peninsula, began to

minge and merge with a renewed wave of Greek influence. The face and stance of the large votive bronze statue of Aule Meteli known as the "Arringatore" (PL. 53), discovered near Lake Trasimeno, seems to foretell that synthesis of naturalism and expressionism, of individualism and public spirit, that were to be the distinguishing characteristics of Roman portraiture.

All we have discussed so far proves beyond a doubt that ancient Italy in the last phases of its pre-Roman history — or perhaps in the last phases of its ethnic-cultural individuality — developed autonomous artistic traditions that were gradually consolidated into a more unified tradition. Hellenism was an important factor and constant inspiration; but it was not strong enough to destroy or to attract all Italic artistic experience into its sphere. Rather, it was a "fashion" which imposed itself with increasing prestige from the outside.

With the conquest of Greece (*Graecia capta*), Roman Italy of the 2d and 1st centuries B.C. immediately surrendered herself unconditionally to the Greek influence. The ancient break between the Italian world and classicism could be healed by the cosmopolitanism of the Hellenistic civilization, of which Rome, and with her, Italy, became the bearer, the preserver, and, in a certain sense, from the beginning of the imperial age, the protagonist. But the Italic personality that had developed during the preceding centuries did not, for this reason, disappear. It continued to exist with its archaisms, abstractions, and exaggerated portrayal of character, though taking a secondary position; it was a kind of tradition living alongside the official art. It was active in private funerary and religious art, in the sculpture and painting of the smaller centers, in folk art, and in other spheres. Carried outside Italy through military conquest, emigration, and colonization, it influenced the formation of provincial Roman art, especially in Europe. This same cradle of traditions and tendencies finally reemerged in the second half of the 2d century of our era and furnished new material for official Roman art, employed in reliefs and in the "expressionistic" portraits. It can thus be said that Italic art had a part in the formation of late-antique art. See DANUBIAN-ROMAN ART; GALLO-ROMAN ART; HELLENISTIC ART; HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART; ITALO-ROMAN FOLK ART; LATE-ANTIQUE PERIOD; PROVINCIAL STYLES; ROMAN IMPERIAL ART.

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Illustrations: pls. 24-55; 1 map and 10 figs. in text.

**EUPHRONIOS** (Εὐφρόνιος). An Athenian ceramist whose versatility brought him distinction as both a painter and a master potter. His early career, as an exceptionally talented painter, seems to have come to an end sometime in the last two decades of the 6th century B.C. There is proof, however, that his activity as a master potter continued during the first 30 years of the 5th century. Such a change of profession was not unusual in the world of Attic ceramics, and in the case of Euphro-

nios there seems to have been a particular reason: his gradual loss of vision with age. There can be little doubt that, in his double function as painter and potter, Euphronios is one of the most outstanding examples of the well-rounded artist of antiquity. Through his genius he has transmitted a clear image of the colorful world in which he lived. He was a painter of incomparable expressive power, and his authority as a ceramist is evident in his influence on the work of his contemporaries as well as that of later disciples.

There are even monumental works of art which document Euphronios' extraordinary fame and prosperity in Athens at the end of the 6th century. The base of a statue from the Acropolis bears a dedication which reads "Εὐφρόνιος . . . κεραμεύς" ("Euphronios . . . potter"). In another sculpture from the Acropolis, however, a connection with Euphronios is less certain. This is the famous relief depicting a potter holding two cups of peculiar form in his hands. The work is signed by the well-known sculptor Endoios, and the traces of the name of the dedicator of the relief have been interpreted by A. Raubitschek (*Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, Cambridge, 1949, no. 70) as "[...] aios," indicating that the person depicted is more probably Pamphaios than Euphronios.

More varied and vital testimony of the importance of Euphronios is to be gleaned directly from his own work and from that of the artists who were his contemporaries. Five vases signed by him as the painter are in existence; among them is a monumental calyx-crater (Louvre, G. 103) decorated with a scene depicting the fight between Herakles and Antaios (PL. 57), which for approximately a century was the basis of direct knowledge concerning the artist. Subsequently, he also signed, as the master potter, vases painted by at least ten of the most famous vase painters of the first three decades of the 5th century. His contacts with some of these artists were apparently limited — for example, his work with Makron and on a single cup with Douris, since these painters collaborated almost exclusively with the potters Hieron and Pythos. In the work of others, particularly that of the Panaitios Painter, it is possible to detect a clear artistic lineage in which the vigorous and explosive temperament of the younger artist evolved from the serenity and formal discipline of the older master. Other great artists who worked with Euphronios were the Colmar Painter, the Triptolemos Painter, and — quite unexpectedly — the Foundry Painter. The last-named painter was in turn connected with the Brygos Painter and, consequently, was probably linked with the master potters who collaborated with this painter. The Pistoxenos Painter decorated the last known work signed by Euphronios, a superb white-ground cup (Berlin, Staat. Mus., no. 2282) that cannot be dated prior to 470 B.C.

The study of the tectonic forms of the cups undertaken by H. Bloesch (*Formen attischer Schalen*, Bern, 1940) has helped to classify and identify the work of various artists. In fact, Sir John Beazley formulated a theory according to which two of the five groups into which the decorators of cups can be classified — specifically, that of the Panaitios Painter and Onesimos and that of the Antiphon Painter — can be directly connected to Euphronios; and this theory is confirmed by a technical comparison of the forms employed by these artists, which are all obviously the products of the master potter.

On the basis of the studies of Beazley, the works that may definitely be attributed to Euphronios as a painter are not numerous; this small body of works is corroboration of the extreme selectivity of the artist and of the inflexibility of his esthetic criteria. Beazley (ARV) listed sixteen works that are unquestionably from the hand of the artist. Large vases make up the greater part of these certain attributions, but there are also a group of three cups and a few minor pieces. At a later date, more pieces were added to this list from the admirable restorations of the Campana fragments in the Louvre, outstanding among which is a signed calyx-crater that is comparable in quality to the Herakles-Antaios calyx-crater mentioned above. The battle of the hero with the Nemean lion is also depicted on this reclaimed work (PL. 57). To these, the following pieces must be added: an elegant plate with a decoration by Hylakynthos of Brauron; a cup in the Louvre on which an Amazon



is depicted (D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, pl. LXXII, 7); and a revealing fragment of a large vase from Milan that also bears the figures of Herakles. Finally, there is a fragment of a Panathenaic amphora, with a painting of the head of Athena, that Peters (*Studien zu den panathenaischen Preisamphoren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 56) attributes to Euphronios; this would be the only known example of his use of the black-figured style.

Euphronios handled the newer red-figured technique with unusual ease and authority. He was equally successful with this style both in his large vases and in the more restricted space of the smaller cups. It would be an oversimplification to credit this great painter, who began by decorating the large surfaces of calyx-craters, with resolving singlehandedly the problem of arranging larger group scenes on cup exteriors and thereby abruptly supplanting the customary balanced but mechanical scheme of isolated figures dispersed between the handles and the palmettes; but a progressive liberation from these rigid conventions may also be traced in the work of Oltes and Epiktetos, who were almost exclusively cup painters. Consequently, the broad compositions and crowded narratives of Euphronios appear not as independent experiments but as the ultimate solution, the unique and only possible expression, for a theme already widely essayed within the limits of the cup.

Extending over little more than ten years, the painted works of Euphronios constitute a distinct artistic whole and consistently display such maturity — even in the early examples — that it is impossible to establish a chronological development. The only clue, and without question the most unusual aspect of the art of this potter, is the fact that he began by painting large vases and later concentrated solely on the decoration of cups. Indeed, all the works which are now linked with the master and which most likely represent the last phase in his development are cups, and his followers are exclusively cup painters as well. At the beginning of his career, aside from the relationship with the Andokides Painter and Oltes that is noted by Beazley, Euphronios was probably more closely associated with his contemporaries Phintias and Euthymides. The definite parallelism of the development of Euphronios, Phintias, and Euthymides is evident not only in their draftsmanship but also in purely technical devices such as the subtle variation of their pigment — diluted to suggest bodily details and thickly applied to represent locks of curly hair, for example.

The relationship of these three artists seems also to be confirmed by a curious inscription on an amphora of Euthymides (Munich, Antikensamml., no. 2307): *Ἡοῦρουδποτε Εὐφρόνιος* ("Euphronios never did the like"), which Beazley regards as a playful challenge from one artist to another. Although the works of Euphronios surpass those of his two associates in expressive power and formal freedom, his superiority in this respect does not necessarily imply that he was active at a later date; rather, it is simply an indication of the extraordinary creativity of a highly original and gifted artist. The works of Phintias and Euthymides furnish an excellent basis for appraising the greater individuality and expressive intensity apparent in the art of Euphronios. While his contemporaries continued to restrict themselves to a world of bulky monumental forms, with solemn and static figures, the master potter profited from the experiments of the cup painters and created images possessing the vitality and incisiveness of figures by Oltes, as well as the linear and lyrical qualities of Epiktetos.

Euphronios succeeded in uniting in himself, to an extraordinary degree, qualities that were invaluable yet apparently contradictory: expressive power and delicacy of line. The dexterous shifts in tone and background are astonishing in an artist of such deliberate seriousness who also has a keen sense of the dramatic. The tense and concentrated struggle between Herakles and Geryon on the sides of the Munich cup (no. 2620; PL. 56) is in strong contrast to the dreamlike suspension of the interior scene: the light-footed caracole executed by the horseman Leagros, in which a highly controlled and elegant rhythm evokes an aura of magic and fable (I, PL. 366). Similarly, on the large calyx-craters in the Louvre, tranquil group scenes of musical or sporting events are alternated with the mortal

encounters of Herakles and the giant Antaios or the Nemean lion. The monumental and measured style of the Andokides Painter, Phintias, and Euthymides was inappropriate for convincing expression of struggle or other dramatic incidents. The abduction scenes by Phintias (Louvre, G. 42) and Euthymides (Munich, Antikensamml., no. 2509) are reduced to diffuse and empty gestures; the attitudes of the participants are mechanical and superficial. On the other hand, the perceptiveness and supreme tragic sense of Exekias (q.v.) also pervade the deadly combats of Euphronios. Moreover, as if driven by an inexorable need for artistic honesty, Euphronios seems to achieve his effects, his most lofty suggestions of drama, heroism, and terror, by following the most difficult and vulnerable path. He does not confront situations with the boldness and impetuosity of artists such as the Panaitios or Brygos Painters; his finest effects are achieved only after he has minutely delineated fingernails and eyelashes and has modeled well-rounded limbs and tense muscles with scrupulous objectivity. Nevertheless, this detailed preliminary work does not generate dispersion or confusion, because such peripheral elements are clearly ordered and are subordinated to the central elements of the composition. The action is embodied in forms having an epic grandeur and a clarity of organization that somehow seems to have been created extemporaneously and with the felicity of improvisation.

It is exceptional to find involved in pottery decoration an artist such as Euphronios who is completely free of the ordinary limitations of vase painters. In fact, in his large scenes of the struggles of Herakles, there is all the subtle perception, the sense of order, the moral import, and even the monumental quality to be observed in the mutilated limestone pediments from the Acropolis, particularly in the so-called "Bluebeard Pediment." The same qualities are also true of the sporting scenes of Euphronios — as illustrated by a calyx-crater in Berlin (Staat. Mus., no. 2180) — which bring to mind such other works as the bases reused in the wall of Themistokles. This comparison is not based upon any patent similarity in the attitude or disposition of figures, nor even upon a particular affinity in subject matter and pictorial elements; it arises simply because the images of Euphronios are also delineated in the fresh and evocative manner found in such great sculptures.

Although the known pictorial efforts of Euphronios seem to comprise a closely related and consistently mature body of work that was executed within a very brief time, it is undeniable that at both limits of his career there remain periods of obscurity and uncertainty. The general tendencies and continuity of the style are readily perceptible; and it is also clear, as stated earlier, that this development followed closely the traditions of the master cup painters. Yet, even within these narrow limits, it is difficult to ascribe a definite order to a body of works that apparently breaks down into smaller groups which give no hint of progression. Because they evidence a striking originality and grandeur of composition not found in transitional stages, however, certain works — particularly the fragmentary Ilioupersis (Troy Sacked) cups in Berlin and the Vatican — should most likely be included among the latest pictorial contributions of this great master.

As a peripheral comment on the problem of establishing a chronology for the work of Euphronios, it might be added that it is now evident that the style of the Panaitios Painter did not evolve as simply and logically as had once been maintained. As a result of his studies, Beazley found it necessary to divide the complex material attributed to the Panaitios Painter into two groups, reassigning some works to the Eleusis Painter and others to the so-called "proto-Panaitian" group. This forced separation is indicative of the vagueness and confusion to be expected in an area of insufficient documentation, such as that found at the bounds of the career of Euphronios.

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Illustrations: pls. 56-57.

**EUROPE, BARBARIAN.** In the era of the barbarian migrations (*Völkerwanderungen*) that accompanied and followed the collapse of the Roman Empire in the west, European art production was dominated by the culture characteristic of the Germanic peoples who were moving from their territories in the northwest of the continent toward their new homes in the south and west. Almost exclusively, the artistic activities of these folk were confined to goldsmith's work and the production of a series of carved stone monuments; painting and architecture were practiced only by the local subject populations and remained alien to the migratory peoples until after they had definitely settled in an area (see *PRE-ROMANESQUE MEDIEVAL ART*). The heyday of barbarian art began in the 4th century and lasted to the 8th century, when the various ideas gathered from the east through the Scytho-Sarmatian populations and the Huns and from the west through the Latin peoples (see *LATE-ANTIQUE PERIOD*) fused with elements that were probably of Scandinavian derivation (see *SCANDINAVIAN ART*) to give rise to a style with well-defined characteristics, known as "Germanic."

In contrast to the art of the classical world, this Germanic art all but banished the human figure from its repertory. Anthropomorphic forms appear occasionally, especially in the Scandinavian territories (bracteates and picture stones, 6th cent.) but are soon broken up into their component parts and transformed into decorative elements. What gives Germanic art its fundamental and definitive character is the zoomorphic ornament, in which Bernhard Salin, the pioneer scholar in this field, distinguished (1904) a first and a second, and, in a later phase, a third style. Some Scandinavian archaeologists divide the material comprised in Salin's second and third styles into five successive groups.

In the course of the 8th century the Germanic populations, now largely converted to Christianity, become increasingly subject to the influence of Mediterranean culture. The traditional themes are transformed and are amalgamated with motifs drawn directly from the Mediterranean world; with the appearance of the Carolingian empire (see *CAROLINGIAN PERIOD*) the life cycle of the barbarian world may be considered to have ended.

Only in certain regions of eastern Europe that were isolated and without contact with the center of the continent did there remain original manifestations of barbarian art. For example, the work of the Magyars (9th cent.), like that of the Avars before them (6th cent.), was imbued with influences emanating from the east which were not reflected to any notable extent in other parts of Europe.

**SUMMARY.** Historical background (col. 145). The polychrome style (col. 146). Filigree (col. 156). Figural compositions (col. 159). The first zoomorphic style (col. 163). The second zoomorphic style (col. 166). Variants of the second zoomorphic style (col. 170). Regional development of barbarian art (col. 172).

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.** In order to understand the art of the barbarians it is necessary to know something of the historical situation of Europe in the early Middle Ages and of the relations of the Germanic peoples to the peoples of adjoining regions. To the west were the Celts, whose unity had been shattered in the first half of the 1st century B.C. by the Roman conquest of Gaul. This had been followed by the stationing of Roman troops in the British Isles (where, however, Scotland and the western parts of England remained, like Ireland, unsubjected). In the artistic field the Celtic element became

fused with the Roman, resulting in expressions of notable importance which spread to the Germanic peoples. Toward the middle of the 5th century the British Isles were invaded by Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, coming most probably from the northwestern part of what is now Germany and from southern Denmark. As a result contacts among the regions bordering upon the North Sea were intensified, and barbarian art received one of its most important contributions. To the west and south, along the limes of the Roman Empire, the intercourse between Romans and Germans was particularly active, and trade relations furthered the dissemination of Mediterranean art products among the Germanic peoples.

To the east the Goths, established in the first half of the 3d century in the Black Sea area, dominating the whole of the northern coast and occupying the former Roman province of Dacia, assimilated not only Roman art as practiced in the Pontic region but also elements from inner Asia. The Hunnic invasion (ca. 375) intensified the eastern influences, manifested particularly in the predilection for gold and for polychrome works incrustated with precious stones and paste, a taste which was contemporaneously shared by the Alamanni, the Franks, and the Burgundians and which, through the Visigoths, reached the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.

In the first half of the 6th century the Ostrogoths spread to Italy the taste for polychrome goldsmith's work. To this type of decoration the Lombards, beginning in the late 6th century, appeared to prefer zoomorphic motifs of Scandinavian origin, which had been accepted by the Germanic tribes in the north and west (Burgundians, Alamanni, Thuringians, Anglo-Saxons, etc.); there is no evidence of this preference, however, in the southern parts of France or in Visigothic Spain.

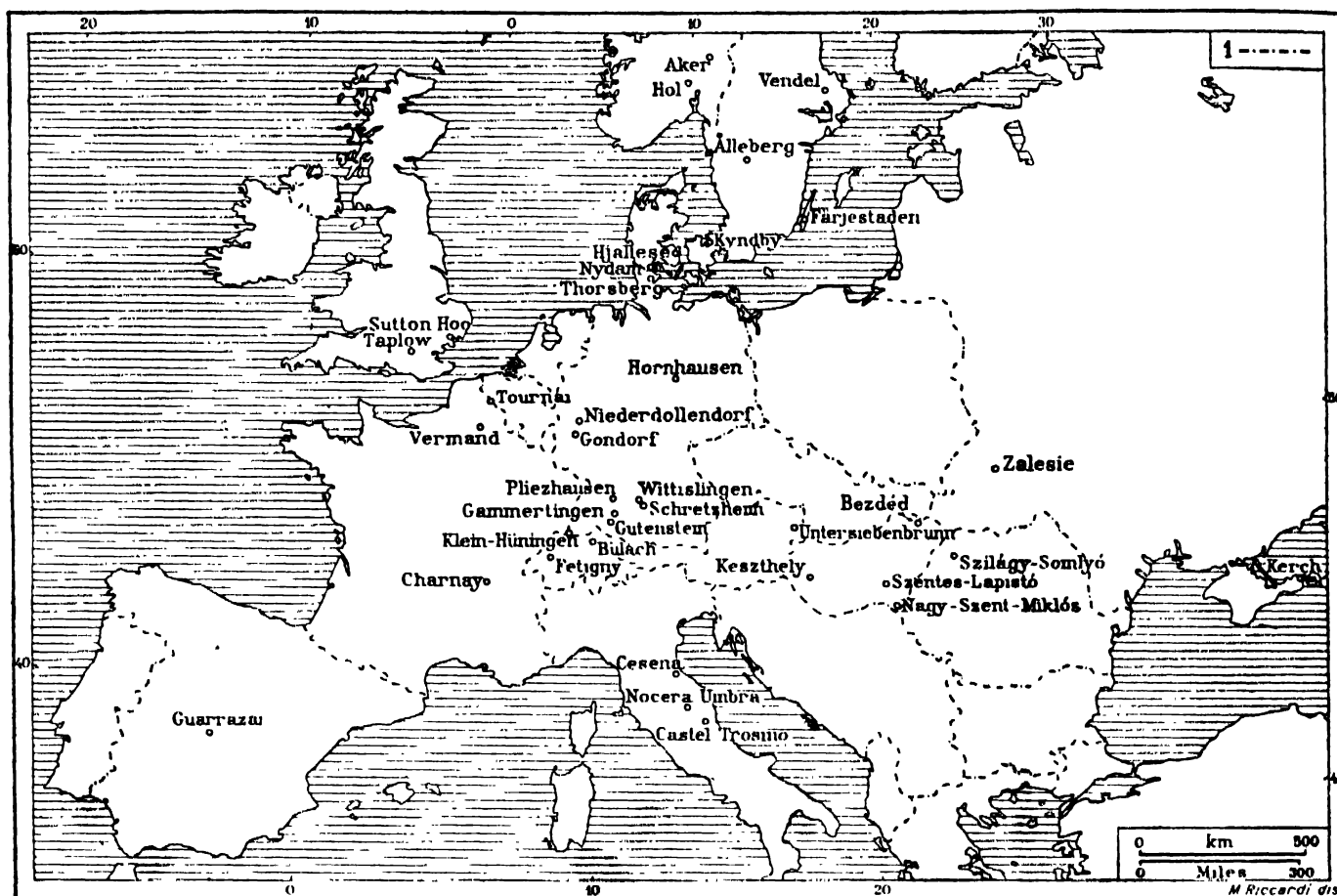
In the 7th and 8th centuries the Church became the principal carrier and mediator of Mediterranean culture among the barbarian populations, both in the regions that were converted to Christianity and in those that remained pagan. During this period barbarian art oscillates between extremes and presents frequent instances of a mixture of styles. In the 8th and 9th centuries the Hiberno-Saxon art of the British Isles, the result of a fusion of Anglo-Celtic, Germanic, and Christian elements (6th cent.) came to exercise a noticeable influence, through the Irish missions, on the rest of Europe; but the Christian milieu in which it was manifested modified its character, removing it further and further from the barbarian world.

In eastern Europe a steady infiltration of Oriental motifs is observable. Typical of this process is the art developed by the Avars, who dominated the Danube Basin in the 6th century, and the Magyars, who supplanted them in the 9th century. Both peoples derived much from the East that was not passed on to the European environment.

An account of Germanic art that aimed at dealing separately with the individual barbarian populations would be an extremely difficult undertaking, chiefly because that art developed from different sources. Moreover, it would be needlessly repetitive, because the techniques used in different parts of Europe were so similar. It therefore seems preferable to examine collectively and in chronological order some of the more significant phenomena, such as the polychrome style and zoomorphic ornament, proceeding on the basis of common features rather than of the boundaries dividing territories and populations. However, a concluding section takes those boundaries as its starting point and gives a retrospective summary of the internal development of each region.

**THE POLYCHROME STYLE.** The taste for coloristic effects in goldsmith's work began to spread among the barbarian populations of Europe in the course of the 2d century, mainly through the Roman troops stationed on the eastern confines of the Empire. In that period we find many examples of objects of rather crude workmanship, executed in gold inlaid with precious stones or vitreous paste. The origin of this type of jewelry, however, cannot be traced to the Romans, and it is not fully known how and through what channels it came to be diffused in Europe. Scholars have with reason turned their attention to the East, to Persia and India, where the making





Principal sites where finds of barbarian art have been made. Key: (1) Modern political boundaries.

of gold polychrome objects had been practiced for many centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Scythian art, for example, offers numerous and significant works in the genre, evidencing its establishment on the shores of the Black Sea. The Sarmatians were still adorning their jewelry with colored stones during the centuries immediately following the birth of Christ, and although the Sarmatian material, always of high quality, is still quantitatively insignificant, there exist parallels with the Roman and Germanic work, which is of rather more simple workmanship. Despite the lack of concrete links, it can be stated with some assurance that the first, modest appearance of the polychrome style in Europe took place in Roman and Sarmatian workshops on the Black Sea, which confirms its Oriental origin. It is highly probable that the art was diffused by Asiatic nomads, who, swarming over the territories of southern Russia on their way to the center of the European continent, carried with them from their Asian homeland new impulses favoring polychrome goldsmith's work. Afterward, the Goths settled in those territories aided and accelerated the diffusion of this art. From the 3d century onward the workmanship becomes more complex, and stones and vitreous pastes are inlaid in works of gold and silver such as rings, brooches, pendants, belt mounts. In the 4th century the polychrome style is clearly well-established in Europe.

The polychrome gold diadems, which in all probability belonged to the trousseaux of the womenfolk of the Hunnish aristocracy — as is evidenced, among other things, by their diffusion from Kazakhstan to Hungary by way of the Black Sea territories — constitute a characteristic group of this genre of goldsmith's work. These diadems, which in turn go back to older Sarmatian and Scythian traditions, are generally made of broad bands of gold with three or four regular rows of stones — either round or oval in shape and polished *en cabochon* or

irregular in shape and polished flat — virtually covering the surface. Especially noteworthy is the diadem of Novoherkassk on the Don, with its Hellenistic cameo, its cabochon stones, its "tree of life," and its figures of deer. This type of diadem penetrated into Germanic territory at the same time as other gold polychrome works of Hunnish manufacture, such as jewels, buckles, and belt mounts. The most remarkable of these works are comprised in the gold treasure of Petrossa, Romania, discovered in 1837, which belongs to the second half of the 4th century; it demonstrates that the polychrome style had by this period been brought close to perfection. Numerous significant references to the past, whether in technique or in form, with a prevalence of Sarmatian and Scythian elements — and in a broader sense elements of ancient Near Eastern goldsmith's art — are also to be found in this treasure, in which the polychrome style is in evidence as never before. The splendor of the truly wonderful colors displayed in the Petrossa jewels was to set a standard in European art for centuries to come. The treasure offers examples both of the *cloisonné* technique, in which flat-polished stones are set in low cells, covering a whole surface, and of the style with isolated rounded stones set in raised sockets with more or less space between.

A typical example of the former technique is a gold collar in which the surface is entirely covered with flat-polished red stones, rectangular or heart- or leaf-shaped, in cells arranged so as to form a regularly repeated pattern (PL. 59). The surface is flat, and the walls of the cells show up as a golden network against the glittering red ground. A frequent use of *cloisonné* is also found on the "eagle fibulas" from Petrossa (PL. 58), in which the coloristic effect is further enhanced by polished stones *en cabochon* or otherwise projecting above the surface but almost always arranged so compactly that the work appears massive and overloaded with color. This characteristic differentiates the Petrossa jewels not only from older Near Eastern examples

but also from the more graceful works of a slightly later epoch. In the progress of European art, particularly that of the Germanic peoples, this superabundance of polychrome decoration is a phase that soon dies away, as can be observed from the objects in another celebrated treasure (PL. 59), the one from Szilágy-Somlyó, Hungary (now Silmeul-Silvaniei, Romania), which dates from the early 5th century, and from all material related thereto. Generally speaking, the artists responsible for these works contented themselves with the coloristic effect obtained by inlaying isolated stones. While many stones are used (*en cabochon* or flat-polished; round, oval, oblong, or triangular in shape), they are almost always so arranged as to allow the golden surface of the base to appear between them, enlivened by the addition of some grains of gold. In some cases the artist has allowed the decoration with plain and granulated filigree to dominate at the expense of the inlaid stones, as in one of the pairs of fibulas from Szilágy-Somlyó and in a brooch from Hammersdorf, East Prussia.

The cloisonné technique is also represented in the Szilágy-Somlyó treasure — for instance, by the pair of fibulas just mentioned, an onyx fibula, and a fibula with a zoomorphic border — but according to Fettich these works belong to a later period than those having cabochon stones; this is confirmed by more recent finds at the site, in which it is the cloisonné technique that predominates.

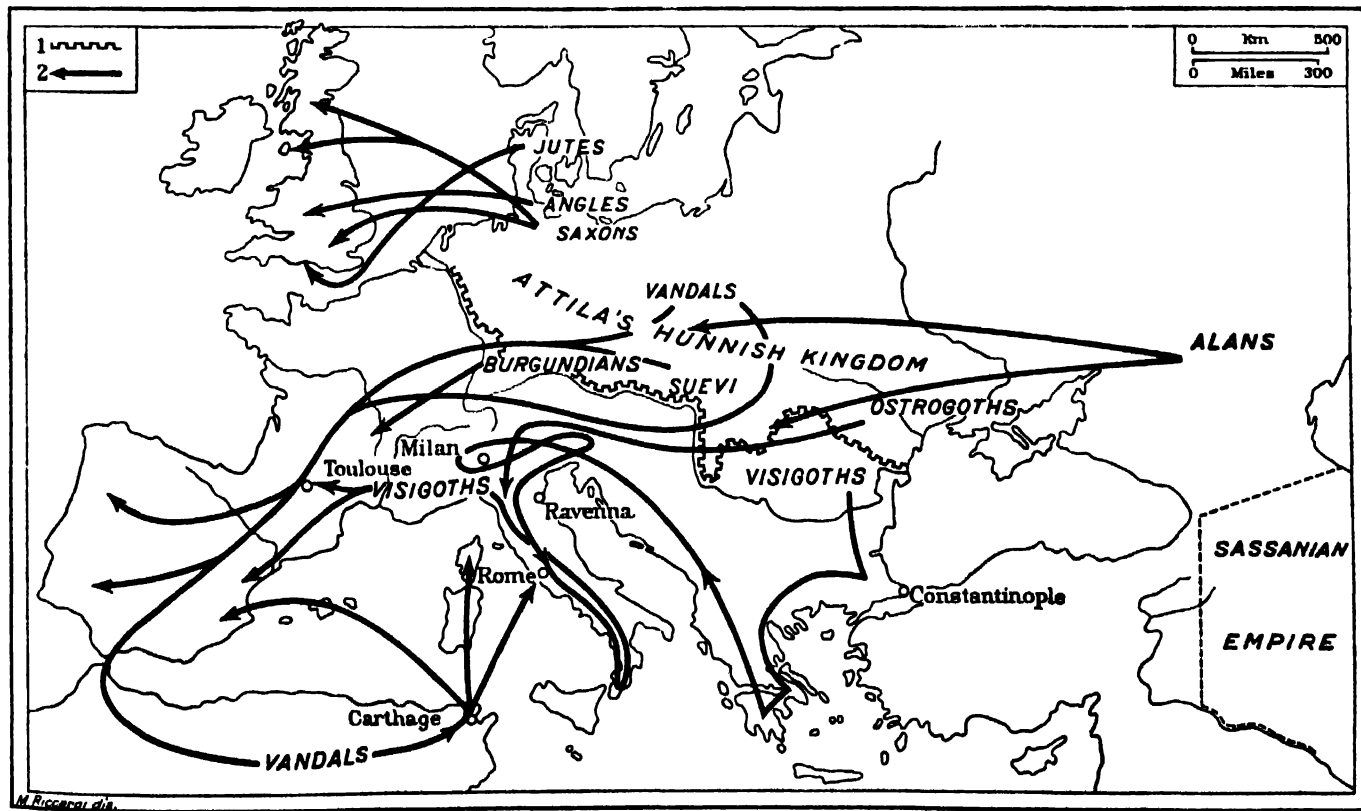
As to the populations to whom we owe the treasures of Petrossa and Szilágy-Somlyó, opinions differ; however, the choice must be limited to those peoples who were settled in eastern Europe during the first phase of the Hun invasion and of the great migrations. But it is an established fact that the polychrome style spread from southern Russia and the lower Danube region to the Germanic populations in the south and west and, though with less intensity, in the north too — and the carriers were probably the Goths.

Evidence of the early diffusion of the art of cloisonné from southern Russia toward the west, into Germanic territory, is offered by a sword hilt from Altlussheim (near Mannheim, Germany; PL. 59). The broad cross guard is in gold cloisonné with stones that are heart-shaped like some of those in the Petrossa collar. Related to this sword are a whole series of weap-

ons with polychrome decorations, the ornamentation of which is evidently influenced by the style of the arms of the Hun period in the Black Sea region. Typical examples are two magnificent sword mounts from the tomb of Childeric I at Tournai, Belgium, probably the work of an immigrant goldsmith from southern Russia or the lower Danube region, who was able to exert wide influence through his work at the Frankish court.

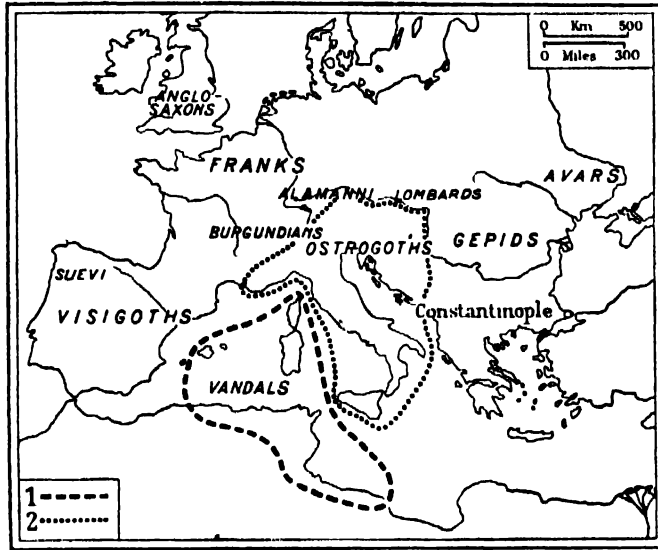
In Italy, gold polychrome objects are numerous; their origin can be attributed with certainty to the presence of barbarian peoples — the Ostrogoths from 489 to 553, the Lombards from 568 to 774. The Visigoths must be ruled out in this connection, as they were in Italy only briefly, at the beginning of the 5th century. The predilection of the Ostrogoths and the Lombards for polychrome goldsmith's art is well known; the difficulty is to distinguish between the works of the two peoples. Three of the supreme masterpieces of the art, in the cloisonné technique, are customarily attributed to the Ostrogothic period, namely, the so-called "cuirass of Theodoric the Great" (whereabouts unknown) and the two eagle fibulas from Cesena (PL. 60). For the cuirass — which is marked by the use of extremely small stones, inset with great delicacy and arranged according to a strict geometrical pattern, and by exceptionally thin cell walls — it is difficult to find any direct precedents in material emanating from southern Russia and from the Danubian territories, though there are certain links with the cloisonné works from the tomb of Childeric. On the other hand, the eagle fibulas from Cesena, while exhibiting a close affinity with the cuirass, are not without features (chief among them the shape) linking them to the corresponding objects in the Petrossa hoard, which are linked in turn to other specimens of barbarian jewelry found in Italy (especially at Cesena) that recall analogous works emanating from the lower Danube and Black Sea region. Obvious connections with the cloisonné work of the Danubian territories are to be found in the cloisonné buckles with projecting birds' heads and the gold buckles in the form of animals' heads with polychrome decoration. These objects have affinities with finds from Apahida (PL. 62), Bakodpuszta, and elsewhere that lead back to original Scythian and Oriental types.

In their pursuit of polychrome art the Goths in Italy



Migratory movements of the principal barbarian populations in the 5th cent. Key: (1) Boundaries of the Roman Empire; (2) direction of the migrations.

worked mainly with square stones of very small size, arranging them side by side in straight lines, arches, or circles. In some works the stones are set in a right-angled pattern, doubtless following the inspiration of such outstanding works as the cui-



Location of the principal barbarian populations in Europe at the beginning of the 6th cent. Key: (1) Kingdom of the Vandals; (2) Theodoric's kingdom.

ness of Theodoric. The Goths in Italy were also responsible for a number of simpler objects of the type with isolated stones placed in cells or in high settings.

This type was continued by the Lombards, but they also produced elaborate work in the cloisonné technique showing a complete divergence from the cloisonné objects both of the Goths and of the Danubian peoples. The new style can best be studied in the Lombardic disk fibulas (PL. 60). Their surface is divided into concentric zones in such a way that the composition assumes the form of an inscribed Greek cross. The cell walls may be folded or step-shaped, and curved lines are far more common than earlier. Arched, semicircular, and mushroom-shaped cells largely replace the older rectangular ones. A theory which has received considerable support holds that this type of cloisonné art, somewhat improperly called "close cell work," is a Lombardic invention that spread from Italy to the Germanic peoples north of the Alps and thence to England and to Scandinavia; the question is unsettled.

In Lombardic art, as has been said, there are also examples with single stones in high settings, representing the second main type of polychrome goldsmith's work. Among these are the numerous disk brooches ornamented with filigree found in the graves of Castel Trosino (PL. 74). However, the style of these is such that they can hardly be of direct Germanic origin; in view of the extreme sobriety with which they are executed, and of the fact that the rich filigree decoration follows a geometrical scheme having closer associations with late antiquity than with Germanic conceptions, it is more likely that they are the work of Roman and Byzantine goldsmiths in the service of the Lombards.

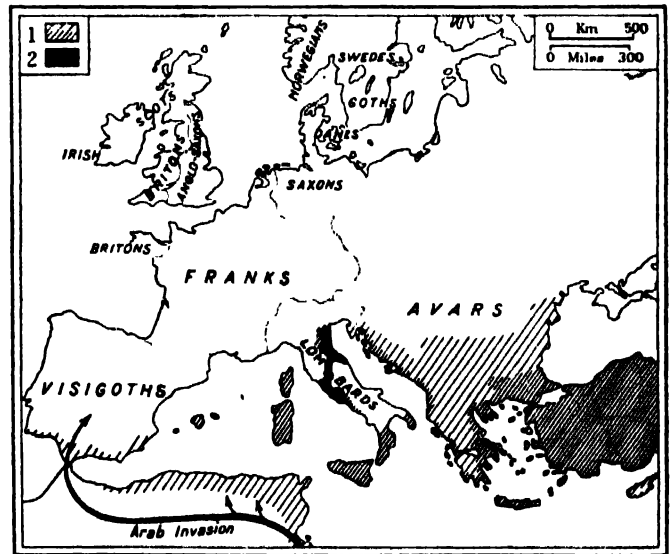
The polychrome art of the Germanic peoples to the north of the Alps shows a relation to that of the Visigoths in Spain. In fact, the polychrome jewelry of the 5th and 6th centuries which is to be found all along the route that leads from southern Russia as far west as Spain—crossing Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, and France—bears witness to the triumphal progress of the art among the Germanic peoples. As might be expected, in most of these regions the work shows traces of local influence.

In the Visigothic goldsmith's work of Spain and France an important group comprises fibulas in the form of eagles (PL. 60). These show affinities with corresponding works of the

Ostrogoths but differ in having a coarser cell system and in the freer use of varicolored stones, which enliven the composition. Also abundant among the Visigoths are large buckles with rectangular plaques; examples have been found both in the Black Sea territories and in Italy, but the type seems to have achieved real popularity only among the Visigoths in France and Spain. Frequently the artist contents himself with the effect produced by single inlaid stones surrounded by a patterned metal foil but even more often the whole surface is covered with cloisonné gems. In these objects, as in the Visigothic disk brooches, the workmanship is somewhat primitive. But the deficiencies in quality are to some degree compensated for by the large quantities in which these works have been discovered, especially in Spain.

That these examples of the polychrome style, with their modest artistic pretensions, were by no means the best that the Visigoths could achieve is clearly shown by the great hoard discovered at Guarrazar, near Toledo, Spain. The numerous pendent crowns (PL. 61; now on exhibition in the Mus. Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid) in this treasure are excellent specimens of the two polychrome styles, the cloisonné and the type with stones set individually. These works show affinities with the diadems of the Huns and with the jewels of the Ostrogoths in Italy; there are also features of Christian Byzantine origin that are particularly interesting in view of the small number of works of that kind which have come down to us.

A group of cloisonné objects north of the Alps which may be said to be precocious, since most of them probably date from the 5th century, has connections with the sword hilt from Altusheim (PL. 59) and the sword mounts from Childeric's tomb. To this group belong a considerable number of swords from France, Germany, and Switzerland which have distinct affinities with forms in southern Russia. A large number of other works, such as buckles with kidney-shaped or circular plaques, as well as fibulas of various kinds, mainly of Frankish, Alamannian, and Burgundian derivation, also show techniques found in corresponding objects in the east—in the Urals (Muzlyumova), in the Caucasus (Londinetov), on the Black Sea (Kerch), and in many parts of Hungary and Transylvania, including Apahida (PL. 62), Mezöberény, Moigrad, and Rakodpuszta. There can thus be hardly any doubt that it is as by-products of the Hun invasion that we must regard the similar



Location of the principal barbarian populations in Europe in the 7th and 8th cents. Key: (1) Territory of the Byzantine Empire; (2) Patrimony of St. Peter.

cloisonné objects from France (Arcy-Sainte-Restitue, Marchélepot, Beauvais, etc.), Germany (Wolfsheim, Rüdern, Flonheim, Planig, Gültigen, etc.), and Switzerland (Klein-Hünigen, Gotterbarmweg, Bülach, Saint-Sulpice, etc.); examples could

be multiplied. All these objects are distinguished by extreme restraint in execution and by the predominance of gold. The cell system is simple in design and the inlaid stones, garnets and almandines, are not particularly small.

In the 6th century there is a departure from this traditional scheme, in two main directions. In one variation there is a reversion to the method of distributing single stones on the surface in order to introduce an element of contrast; in the other the system of cells becomes more complicated. The so-called "close cell" variation of the polychrome style, described above in connection with the works executed in Italy, appears both north and south of the Alps. The analogies are so marked and so numerous that attempts have naturally been made to determine the precise place of origin of this variation. The theory that the more complicated cell system was derived from the Lombards in Italy would explain the affinities, extending to details, between, for example, the disk brooches of southern Germany and those of the Lombardic graves in Italy. But, as has been mentioned, the same complicated cell system appears in Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon finds — and in chronological connections that further weaken the case for a Lombardic origin.

The complexity that makes it so difficult to form a conclusion is well illustrated by referring to another genre of polychrome works — one that constitutes a transition toward the second main type, that in which single stones are distributed on a gold base, in such a way as to produce an effective contrast; this is the group in which cloisonné is used in combination with chip carving and filigree. A tendency to use this technique is already apparent in the material from southern Russia and from Hungary (for example, in some of the brooches from Szilágy-Somlyó). Thus it dates back to the decades immediately before and after the year 400. However, the bulk of the goldsmith's work of this type belongs to a much later period and for the very finest specimens we have to go well into the 7th century (e. g., some of the cloisonné pieces in the celebrated treasure from Sutton Hoo, England; see I, PLS. 286, 288).

The picture is much the same north and south of the Alps, except that the material in Italy is somewhat less abundant. There, the combination of cloisonné with chip carving and filigree is mainly found in the large group of S-shaped brooches, which are held by some to be of Lombardic origin but which probably go back to the period of the Gothic domination in Italy. The more plentiful material to the north of the Alps includes the disk brooches, with almandines and filigree work, of Alzey, Schwarz-Rheindorf, Worms, Wiesbaden, Eichloch, Oberolm, etc., and the sumptuous examples of the same type at Schretzheim (PL. 62), Wittislingen (PL. 79), Niederflorstadt, and other places in southern and western Germany. In France similar objects have been found at Charnay, Marchépot, Villey, etc. Comparable phenomena in England will be dealt with below.

Thus there seems to be no doubt that we are here confronted with a stylistic movement whose origins can be traced to southern Russia and the Danubian basin, whose first success was in the period prior to the Lombardic invasion of Italy, in 568, and whose center of gravity, so to speak, lay north of the Alps. The fact that the style continued to be vigorously developed by the Lombards as well as by the Franks, the Alamanni, the Anglo-Saxons, etc., does not alter the case.

By far the largest group of gold polychrome works on the Continent consists of those in which the artist uses single inlaid stones sparsely and allows the surrounding metal surface, with or without extra decoration, to provide an effective contrast. Here the foremost place is occupied by the Frankish gold disk brooches which are to be found in enormous numbers, chiefly in 6th- and 7th-century graves, in southern and western Germany and in France. These brooches generally have a single stone *en cabochon* in the center, and four stones in an inner zone and a larger number in an outer zone, all in high settings rising above the base level and either *en cabochon* or polished flat. In a few cases cloisonné, diamond-polished stones, pearls, or mother-of-pearl or other inlay work appears; as a rule the gold is decorated with roundels, arches, volutes, etc., in filigree. Though

their effect is scintillating and colorful, these works are in many cases of rather poor quality from the point of view of craftsmanship. They give the impression, on the whole, of having been mass-produced, with little care and with a certain lack of taste; there are, of course, some exceptional examples of a high order.

The origin of these Frankish gold disk brooches may also be sought in eastern territories. The goldsmith's technique using cabochon or flat-polished stones in high settings, with a gold ground visible between, has well-known antecedents in material from the Black Sea and Danubian regions, among them the fibulas from Nagy Mihály (PL. 80), Szilágy-Somlyó (PL. 59), and Untersiebenbrunn (PL. 80). It is not easy to trace in detail the connections between these works and the Frankish products in the same technique, since the eastern examples mentioned date from about 400 and the heyday of Frankish goldsmith's art is some 200 years later. Fortunately, the development can be followed easily in the Hunnish relics, so-called, found in a broad belt extending over Europe from the Black Sea area to the Rhine, which can be assigned to the 5th century, and in eastern polychrome work of the 6th century such as the necklace from Zalesie (PL. 80) with its round ornaments in filigree and inlaid stones. It is not a long step from the Zalesie ornaments to the Frankish gold disk brooches, the transition to the more richly developed forms being supplied by the simpler type of gold disk brooch found especially in Belgium and France.

On the basis of certain affinities, some scholars derive the Frankish disk brooches from the Lombardic. Since the appearance of these similarities is extremely sporadic, however, it does not seem warranted to conclude that the Lombardic designs exerted any considerable influence on the Frankish. Rather, this is a case of parallel phenomena with a common origin. Regarding the group of Lombardic disk brooches it has been mentioned that the makers may have been Roman or Byzantine goldsmiths in the service of the Lombards. Inasmuch as similar filigree decoration is found on the Frankish gold disk brooches, it is certainly justifiable to speak of influences from the eastern Mediterranean on this group; in other words, these fibulas have absorbed stylistic features from several different quarters — from the Black Sea region by way of southern Russia, Hungary, Austria, etc.; from Italy across the Alps; and from the eastern Mediterranean, that is, from Black Sea, Syrian, and Alexandrian workshops, by way of Marseilles.

In addition to the works mentioned above, Continental Germanic art can, of course, show a great quantity of others in which the role of polychrome art is secondary. In these only a few stones, with rounded surface, are used, usually so arranged as to accentuate details of the ornament or to enliven a figure (for example, to represent the eyes or beak of a bird).

This technique — widely diffused particularly among the Franks, the Burgundians, the Alamanni, etc., but apparently less well represented south of the Alps — is certainly of eastern origin, to judge from the existing material. Especially noteworthy in this connection are the sumptuous Hungarian buckles with chip carving punctuated with stones, birds' heads, etc., which, with variations, also appear in Frankish and other Germanic goldsmith's work. The relation is obvious when a buckle from Kerch with a polychrome animal's head is compared with a similar polychrome work from Apahida (PL. 62), when the armlets from Bakodpuszta are compared with an armlet in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (probably from Bingen) and a buckle from Cesena, etc. The grasshopper brooch from Childeric's tomb, which has direct associations with eastern prototypes, is another of the innumerable examples of this type of polychrome work that could be mentioned.

Among the Franks the polychrome style finds its latest expression in such works as the crozier of St. Germanus at Delaube and the reliquary of Theodorik at Saint-Maurice-d'Agaune, both probably from well into the 7th century.

The polychrome style underwent a period of particularly rich development in England, where the products show clear connections both with the Continent and with the Scandinavian countries (see ANGLO-SAXON AND IRISH ART). There are few traces in England of the Continental style of the 5th century, as represented by the objects from Childeric's tomb. Instead

there are cautious, tentative essays at using simple polychrome motifs: single flat-polished stones are placed in the corners of the headplate or in the middle of the bow of a fibula; a stone is set in the center of the plaque of a buckle; or a few stones are grouped around the center of a disk brooch. All this reveals a Frankish influence, as does the presence of forms which in certain cases seem to have been taken directly from Continental models. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the Anglo-Saxon goldsmith's work has a character of its own and the polychrome objects show the imprint of an individual style. The earliest examples, decorated with zoomorphic ornament, form a first stylistic group, which may be assigned in the main to the 6th century. From the middle of that century onward the style develops rapidly along the same lines as Germanic art on the Continent. For a long time to come, artists continue to make use of the effect produced by the scintillation of isolated stones, but meanwhile they make increasing use of cloisonné, soon reaching a mastery of the art that has never been surpassed. The skill of the artists appears in the effective and richly varied compositions, in the contrast achieved between surface and base, between gems and gold filigree. In quality their products are far superior to most of those produced on the Continent, so much so that one hesitates to accept the theory that the impulses leading to this rich development came from that direction. It is equally possible that the work of the Continental artists reflected the ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxons.

Fine examples of Anglo-Saxon goldsmith's work are the filigree and cloisonné brooches from Sarre and Kingston and, especially, the brooches and other objects from the Sutton Hoo ship burial (second half of the 7th cent.; I, PLS. 286, 288). In their extraordinary technical perfection these may be compared to such Continental masterworks as the cuirass of Theodoric the Great. For counterparts — leaving aside some isolated specimens in the Scandinavian countries — it is necessary to turn to the Far East, for example, to the turquoise inlaid jewelry of the T'ang period in China. In particular, the round scabbard-bosses of Sutton Hoo and the pyramid-shaped objects identified as sword-knot decorations are little masterpieces of their kind, as are also the animal borders on the clasps. The flat-polished garnets in these borders are not cloisonné in the usual sense: they were sunk into the metal surface instead of being encased in thin-walled cells (I, PL. 286).

Thus while Anglo-Saxon cloisonné doubtless has its roots in the form of the art practiced across the English Channel, in the later stages of its development there are no marked traces of Continental influence. In fact, it is conceivable, as indicated, that insular impulses were transmitted to the Continent.

The close connections that existed between England and the Scandinavian countries are well established. There have come to light in Sweden a number of sword sheaths with cloisonné that have an unmistakable affinity with the Sutton Hoo sword and, in one of the large mounds at Uppsala, a pyramid-shaped object of exactly the same kind as those found at Sutton Hoo. In Denmark a cloisonné brooch from Reinstrup (PL. 62) shows considerable similarity in composition and technique to the Sutton Hoo objects; also of great interest are two gold brooches, from Elsehoved and Skodborg, respectively. Thus there is clear testimony to the existence of a lively intercourse between the two areas; moreover, it is evident from other polychrome works that the position occupied by the Scandinavian countries in this field was by no means always a secondary one. Nor is it possible to affirm that this technique was derived from the corresponding art of the Lombards in Italy, for other material of this kind, which can be assigned to the early part of the 6th century (some of it perhaps even to the 5th), is to be found in relative abundance in the Scandinavian countries. It includes some gold pendants and a large number of brooches with animal reliefs and with the headplate and bow decorated with filigree leaves, inset stones, etc., reflecting the first phase of Germanic zoomorphic decoration. Without doubt these works are directly linked with the goldsmith's art of southeastern Europe: it is sufficient to point to the polychrome fibulas of about 400 from Szilágy-Somlyó (PL. 59) and Untersiebenbrunn (PL. 80) and the necklace of about a century later from Zalesie

(PL. 80). This particular goldsmith's technique, with inlaid stones surrounded by a gold-filigree ground, is better represented in the Scandinavian than in the Continental material, at any rate as regards the latter part of the 5th century and the 6th century. However, in all likelihood fresh discoveries will in time fill the existing gap; it will then be possible to submit the question of polychrome goldsmith's work in Germanic circles to a fuller and more fruitful examination.

**FILIGREE.** The subject of gold filigree art in barbarian Europe bristles with uncertainties, even as regards its main outlines. During the Hellenistic period gold filigree art had flourished to an extent that has never, perhaps, been exceeded; the Roman goldsmiths, on the other hand, were obviously lukewarm toward this particular form of art, and therefore when fine gold objects with filigree begin to appear among the Germanic peoples, during the first two centuries of our era, it is difficult to find really satisfactory associations. The material comprises mainly biconical beads and pear-shaped breloques, the latter in many cases covered by a web of fine filigree threads, single or plaited, and with a group of gold grains forming a termination in the shape of a bunch of grapes at the base. Earlier traditions in the north Germanic region seem to offer no precedents for the skillful workmanship and elegance of these jewels: for prototypes one must go back to the Hellenistic and Roman gold filigree works with breloques in the form of vases or amphoras. That the prototypes are classical is confirmed not only by the Roman vase-shaped breloques but also by the fact that the equally Roman bucranium is adopted as a decorative feature on some of the biconical beads with filigree. Although the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum offer little comparative material in this field, there is enough to warrant the expectation that in the course of time more objects from the Roman period will appear, supplying the link between these earlier gold filigree works and the Germanic ones. It is perhaps not inapposite to seek the main impulses for this branch of the goldsmith's art in the eastern regions of the Empire. At any rate, in the first centuries of the present era filigree art seems to have followed eastern roads, and one is led to think of the Marcomanni in Bohemia as mediators between Roman and Germanic art.

It might be expected that following the introductory phase, during which such exquisite works had been created, Germanic filigree art would have enjoyed a more general success. This is not the case; on the contrary, during the 3d and 4th centuries it seems to have suffered a relative eclipse. However, it was not entirely abandoned: filigree works from Sackrau, in Silesia, and Hassleben, near Weimar, show that the goldsmiths preserved the old traditions, adding a polychrome element in the form of inset stones. Toward the end of the 4th century and during the 5th century the polychrome tendency became much more apparent. But despite the vivid polychrome effect, there is in the gold brooches from Szilágy-Somlyó (PL. 59), Untersiebenbrunn (PL. 80), Hammersdorf, etc., considerable emphasis on the filigree decoration, which makes use of both single and plaited threads and granulation. The base as a rule consists of gold foil.

That filigree was also introduced at an early date in western Europe is shown by, among others, the decoration on a sword mount from Childeric's tomb. Its continued use during the first half of the 6th century is evidenced by such works as the Gothic-Frankish brooch from Jouy-le-Comte, France, which, in addition to point polychrome decorations and Gothic birds' heads, has its headplate, footplate, and bow inlaid with gold foil decorated with filigree. This brooch is akin to the Scandinavian ones from Skodborg and Elsehoved referred to toward the end of the section on the polychrome style; there can be scarcely any doubt of the affinity of all these objects with the polychrome works with filigree from Hungary, Austria, etc., described, above.

It is fitting that the study of gold filigree art in barbarian Europe during the early Middle Ages should start with the Scandinavian material, not only because this material is of excellent quality, but because its center of gravity, temporally speaking, would seem to lie within a slightly earlier period as

compared with analogous phenomena in England and on the Continent. In the Scandinavian countries, then, the art seems to have been established and developed during the period 450-550. Gold foils with inlaid stones and filigree are found both in the earlier and in the more recent series of the large group of relief brooches. To the first series belongs a brooch from Stiernede, Denmark, which can hardly be later than about 500, and the 6th century shows numerous examples. They appear in a well-defined artistic context, namely, that of the first phase of zoomorphic decoration in German art, Style I in Salin's grouping. It is important to remember this when making comparisons with developments in Continental Europe, since similar phenomena appear there, particularly in company with the second phase (Salin's Style II).

Scandinavian artists — especially during the 6th century — were responsible for the finest gold filigree works in Germanic art. First place belongs to the collar from Alleberg (PLS. 63-65), which not only is superlative in technique but is unique in the richness and variety of its motifs. It consists of three circular tubular elements, each having one end open and the other pointed. The collar is closed in front by the insertion of the pointed ends into the open ones; it is hinged at the back. Strung on the tubes are small molded rings decorated with filigree; these are rhythmically arranged, groups of three small rings alternating with single, slightly larger ones. Plaited gold threads with granulation separate one ring from another. Between the tubes and superimposed on the larger molded rings are figural motifs — animals, a creature with a human head, human figures, and masks — carved in a fairly thick gold plate; these are also decorated with filigree. A certain plasticity has been achieved, this being especially evident in the masks. The artist has been successful in creating a pleasing interplay of light and shade, which produces a glowing surface effect. The Alleberg collar can be regarded as one of the first brilliant examples of a Germanic art released at last from the taste and spirit of antiquity.

The five-tubed collar from Färjestaden (PLS. 66, 67) is constructed in the same way as the Alleberg example but is simpler in execution. The total effect is one of extreme sobriety despite the exuberance of the decoration. Completely different is the effect produced by the seven-tubed collar from Möne (PL. 68): the whole surface shimmers ethereally as if it were covered with spun glass instead of gold threads. The figures between one tube and another, though larger, are narrower, more serpentine, and less realistic. The carving is sharp, and the granulated filigree generally consists of one slightly thicker thread between two thinner ones; a certain irregularity in the execution only adds to an effect of considerable verve.

There are three other gold collars which come from the North. A Swedish one, a gigantic fragment, is from Köinge, in Halland, and there are two Danish single-tubed examples, from Hjallesø, in Fyn, and Hannev, in Falster, respectively. The collar from Hjallesø has very little filigree; the one from Hannev (PL. 69) resembles the Swedish examples more closely. So far no counterparts of these jewels have been found outside Scandinavia; it is therefore necessary to be extremely cautious about attributing foreign influences. The dating, too, is uncertain, opinions ranging from the first half of the 5th century to the second half of the 6th.

Animal figures analogous to those on the collars are found on a number of sword fittings, for example, a scabbard mount from Tureholm (PL. 70); here the figures are analogous in technique with those on the collars, being adorned with granulation and filigree. In general, however, the composition on the sword fittings follows a different rhythm.

The skill of the Scandinavian craftsmen does not end here: there is a group of sword sheaths and sword hilts in which the decoration actually surpasses that of the Alleberg collar. A considerable proportion of the objects have extremely elegant granulated filigree work; granulation of the gold base occurs more rarely. A sword pommel from Skurup, in Skåne, Sweden, has on the upper side two affronted lizardlike animals, viewed from above, resembling those on the collars but marked by a greater sobriety of design.

What first strikes the eye in the Nordic artists' manner of interpreting animal forms is undoubtedly the apparent abhorrence of a vacuum: the whole surface is filled to overflowing with ornament. Yet the exuberance is under firm control. The decoration is made up of human and animal figures which — and this is the essential point — are disintegrated and ornamentalized. The effect produced by these elements, sometimes no more than the leg or head of an animal, is an inner balance of a kind peculiar to these Nordic works. The Nordic artists work as if living creatures were made of steel wire capable of being bent and twisted and manipulated at will; the vivid satceto rhythm of their compositions arises from their more or less abstract treatment of the actual elements of real bodies. Ruthlessly breaking with the realistic approach to human and animal forms, and determined to use them ornamentally, they achieve compositions that are infused with a new, Germanic spirit.

This filigree art must be regarded as typically Scandinavian; there is nothing in the rest of the Germanic world that can even remotely be compared with it, and there are no direct associations with the non-Germanic world. This is not to say that Scandinavian filigree art is generically altogether isolated. Among other works, the two brooches from Skodborg and Elsehoved in Denmark serve, as has been indicated, to connect it with Continental material, albeit of an earlier epoch. The Elsehoved brooch, in addition to being ornamented with small figural motifs in filigree of the same type as those on the gold collars, shows geometrical motifs in filigree. In the case of the Skodborg brooch the link to the Continent is even more evident: the gold base is in chip carving and, as on the collars, the granulated filigree threads accentuate the design of the animal figures.

From these jewels it is an easy step to objects of the type represented by the fine brooch from Hammersdorf, which, like the Skodborg jewel, constitutes a worthy example of the polychrome goldsmith's work that forms the subject of the previous section. Especially in the small animal figures on the headplate, which, together with the granulation and the inset tones, give the Hammersdorf brooch its resplendent and festive appearance, there is apparent the same spirit that animated the master of the Skodborg jewel. Nor is this all: the two artists must actually have derived their inspiration from the same sources, as regards both technique and motifs. In this connection a pair of brooches from Szilágy-Somlyó, with strange animal figures on the headplate, should be pointed out. Undoubtedly we are here on the track of one of the circles that figure in the origins of Scandinavian filigree art; perhaps the Hammersdorf brooch is but one of the connecting links. Filigree art not only is richer in Scandinavia but also reaches its peak earlier there than in the other Germanic territories; this emerges with particular force from a comparison with Anglo-Saxon gold filigree work. Just as Style I is typical of the Scandinavian goldsmith's work, Style II is typical of the English objects. Nevertheless, there are many affinities, sometimes extremely close, between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian examples. This is admirably illustrated by a gold filigree buckle from Taplow (PL. 70) decorated with the same intertwined and granulated threads and the same ornament of zoomorphic type that are to be found on the Scandinavian sword mounts. There is, however, a technical difference of great importance. Practically all the Anglo-Saxon works of this kind have a gold-foil base with repoussé decoration, the motif presented in relief being accentuated customarily by the use of granulated filigree, whereas in the Scandinavian works the base pattern is usually incised in a massive gold plate, either plastically or in sharp chip carving, or in both ways. (The technical procedure used in the Anglo-Saxon works achieves a softer tone.) However, works of the Scandinavian type are not lacking in England (e.g., the back of the Kingston brooch), and, conversely, repoussé and filigree-decorated objects similar to the Anglo-Saxon ones are to be found in the Nordic countries.

Good examples of typical Anglo-Saxon gold filigree are, among others, a buckle from Faversham and a round brooch from Sarre, England; on the latter appears the simpler type of filigree, with granulated threads arranged in rings and



volute and soldered directly on to a gold-foil base (PL. 86). Richer is the decoration of the magnificent brooch from Kingston, whose filigree animals are related, not very distantly, to those of the collar from Möne (PL. 68) — as are those of the clasp from Sutton Hoo (I, PL. 286). With this we reach a period of decline for this type of work, occurring in the middle or during the second half of the 7th century: chronologically this is of great importance, not least from the point of view of Nordic art.

The situation on the Continent is roughly parallel with that in England. The filigree works fall mainly within the ambit of Style II, with a few exceptions such as the brooch from Jouy-le-Comte mentioned above. Filigree is much used in the gold disk brooches of Frankish origin, where, however, it is usually extremely simple, consisting principally of rings, volutes, arcs, etc., laid on a flat gold base. In rare cases there are efforts at animal figures in filigree, as, for example, on the cloisonné jewels in the Wittislingen grave (PL. 79), but they are far from reaching the perfection of the Anglo-Saxon, still less of the Scandinavian, zoomorphic decorations.

In Italy, it is chiefly among the Lombards that we find examples of gold filigree work, and there, as in England and among the Franks, such work belongs to Style II. The filigree is used mainly to decorate gold dish brooches, with or without polychrome work. The repertory of motifs is limited, consisting as in the case of the Frankish gold disk brooches mainly of rings, volutes, and arcs. On the other hand, the quality is often relatively high, and one seems to detect in these works echoes of Roman and Byzantine goldsmith's art (PL. 74).

The filigree of barbarian Europe extends over the period from the Szilágy-Somlyó treasure to the Sutton Hoo ship burial, that is, from about 400 to about 650. Within this span it is not yet possible to establish with precision the chronology of the various artistic phenomena. If the heyday of the Scandinavian artists in this genre precedes that of their Anglo-Saxon and Continental colleagues, it follows that the Nordic countries, while affected by impulses from other areas, radiated artistic influences to a considerably greater extent than has hitherto been conceded.

**FIGURAL COMPOSITIONS.** As has been said, in the art of barbarian Europe beyond the confines of the Roman Empire, interest in anthropomorphic forms does not appear until the 6th century, and then it is probably due mainly to influences from late-antique Roman and Early Christian sources.

Copies of Roman medallions on gold with busts and equestrian portraits of emperors, produced in barbarian environments, are found as early as 400 along the route (e.g., at Szilágy-Somlyó) from Hungary to the Scandinavian countries. Most of these are poor imitations, the equestrian figures being particularly clumsy. In a few cases, however, the models have been more skillfully followed, as on the medallion from Lilla Jored (PL. 71), where the emperor's head and his hand raised in the *gestus* are competently reproduced, even if the modeling is a little sharp. In view of the rich and numerous corpus of gold bracteates found in the Scandinavian region, there is no reason to doubt that these copies of Roman medallions were made there. The Scandinavian bracteates have been classified as belonging to three types, designated as A, B, and C. Type A includes those representing a head in profile, such as the one from Ramdala (PL. 71). This example exactly reproduces the image of the emperor on the Lilla Jored medallion except for the *gestus*; the head, depicted in profile, the diadem, and the round fibula holding the mantle at the shoulder are the same. But with all its elegance, the imperial figure on the Ramdala bracteate is even farther from the Roman model than is that on the Lilla Jored medallion. The soft relief of the prototype has been transformed into a hard and angular style that is well on the way to being transformed into a purely linear rendering. Another step is taken in the bracteate from Gerete (PL. 72), which belongs to type C. Here the diadem has become a simple ornamental motif, the mantle is abandoned, and the profiled human head appears gigantic in comparison with the fabulous four-footed animal below it.

In the attempt to interpret this composition, some scholars have adduced Roman contorniates of the 4th century as possible models. These represent a man leading a horse by the bridle, and the composition is close to that of the group of the type C bracteates to which the Gerete object belongs. The motif also occurs on some imperial medallions, such as a gold medallion of Numerianus of 284 and a silver one of Constantine the Great (4th cent.). The plumed helmet on the latter, an imperial insignium, recurs in the Gerete bracteate.

It can scarcely be doubted that both the type A Scandinavian bracteates representing just a profiled head and the type C bracteates, with a profiled head above a four-footed animal, go back to Roman models. (The latter type in particular also illustrates the contrast between classical and Germanic conceptions.) It is more difficult to trace the origin of the type B bracteates, which while exhibiting some elements of classical derivation (the head in profile, the diadem, and the *gestus*) seem to be more genuinely Germanic than the other two groups. The combination of human and animal figures on a bracteate of this type from Skrydstrup, Denmark, and on another from Trollhättan, in Sweden (PL. 73), seems, in fact, to illustrate a theme from a Nordic saga. The dancing figure on certain other type B bracteates seems to be derived from the religious cult and to depict a "dancing dervish" in a Nordic milieu.

It must be acknowledged that the Scandinavian figural bracteates have a certain elegance, and the composition cannot be called anything but masterly. A bracteate from Söderby (Uppland, Sweden; PL. 73) may be taken as an example. In this masterpiece the tension, the rhythm, and the stylization of the forms bear witness to the consummate ability of the artist. Though these bracteates form a large group, the genre does not seem to have spread to the rest of the Germanic sphere, for stray examples are found only in England and the north-western parts of the Continent. Their chronological position is not yet clear, but the bulk of them can probably be placed in the period between 450 and 550, or perhaps slightly later. They thus constitute the earliest examples of a figural art which — practically nonexistent on the Continent before the 6th century, if the almost complete lack of material is correctly interpreted — was to prove extraordinarily fruitful in barbarian Europe, especially in the north.

The second great source that influenced Continental Germanic figural art — Christianity — is much more extensively reflected. This is not surprising in view of the facts that in the 6th century the Christian religion was diffused more or less widely among the Gothic populations of Italy, among the Franks in France, etc., and that Christian pictorial art had a considerable success even in cultures otherwise entirely unaffected by the new religion.

This influence can be seen at work in the very large group of *Spangenhelme* (banded helms, see I, FIG. 737) found, as part of the furniture of Germanic tombs, not only in Frankish territory, including western Germany and Switzerland, but also in Italy and Dalmatia. All these helmets have a decorative border at the base in repoussé work. In the majority of cases the borders show birds pecking at bunches of grapes, but some have figural motifs, for example, the helmet from Chalon-sur-Saône (PL. 73), where men armed with spears are fighting wild beasts. The men are modeled in accordance with the traditions of late antiquity, with flowing chlamys; some are mounted and are followed by dogs. That these figural representations were the work of an artist who had been trained in a Christian milieu is established by the exact parallels found in the late-antique art of the Mediterranean region. This is confirmed by several other circumstances. Thus among other figures represented on a helmet from Stora Vid is that of a man riding on an ass, a motif obviously derived from the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. On a helmet from Giulianova we find the same kind of battle scene as on the Chalon-sur-Saône helmet, with the addition of a number of Christian symbols such as crosses and fishes; these are also found on other *Spangenhelme*.

The majority of these works may be dated with some certainty in the 6th century; it is more difficult to indicate their place of manufacture. The suggestion has been made that the helmets were fabricated in a workshop in Italy during the Ostro-



gothic period, but there is just as much likelihood that they were the work of Frankish artisans.

Germanic figural art of the Continent reveals influences from late antiquity and the Early Christian era in a variety of ways. The rich contents of a tomb at Göltingen, Germany, include a silver phalera ornamented with a rider bearing a cross, a concrete symbol of the struggle of good against evil. The representation is wholly realistic and shows a lively feeling for plasticity; this, together with the surrounding leaf decoration, makes it probable that the phalera, like some of the other objects in the tomb, is the work of a non-Germanic artist or one trained in a Christian milieu. There is no doubt, however, that Germanic art adopted the motif of the cross-bearing horseman. On a disk brooch (unfortunately badly damaged) from Oron, Switzerland, also found in a Germanic tomb, the horseman is depicted in a style more linear and more ornamental than that of the Göltingen object; and it seems clear that this is a Germanic rendering.

A repoussé gold foil from Cividale, in Italy, represents a further development: the horseman, armed with spear and shield, is surrounded by a broad border of zoomorphic decoration of Germanic type. The old motif seems to have acquired new content. This impression is given even more strongly by the gold disk from Pliezhausen, Germany, which like the preceding works can probably be dated between 550 and 650. The motif is the same, but ornamental stylization has given the horseman exceptional force and vitality, which are accentuated by the figure of the fallen adversary, who plunges his sword into the horse's body. The effect is augmented by the intersecting lines and limbs, by plastic and planar details, in a way that is entirely in accord with contemporaneous Germanic animal ornament.

Related to these works are some representations of horsemen on openwork disks (PL. 75) which were used as purse mounts. Sometimes the horsemen carry spears and sometimes they are weaponless and their arms are raised. In these images the links to the Christian world are obvious — the figure of the saint on horseback is, in fact, fused with that of the mounted orant — but the style, especially in the case of the spear-bearing riders, is genuinely Germanic. As much cannot be said, however, of certain other works: the Burgundian and Frankish "prophet buckles," on which are depicted such scenes as Daniel, arms upraised in prayer, with the lions licking his feet (PL. 75); a Visigothic disk from Catalonia depicting the adoration of the shepherds; a Burgundian buckle from La Balme, France, showing the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. Such inferior works, artistically speaking, exemplify the poverty and the incapacity that characterize Germanic art when forced by cultural pressure to borrow both its motifs and its content from an alien ideology. These comments apply as well to some of the Frankish tombstones with relief figures, such as those from Gondorf (PL. 76), Leutersdorf, and Niederdollendorf (PL. 77), but the tombstones are examples of Christian rather than barbarian art and are thus outside the scope of this article.

The gold disk from Pliezhausen, which shows affinities with many other works, can also be regarded as a typical manifestation of Germanic art, but in a sense different from the works so referred to above. Its equestrian motif, closely akin to those which appear on the helmet (I, PL. 288) from the Sutton Hoo ship burial and on a helmet from Valsgärde, in Uppland, Sweden, no longer has anything in common with the equestrian figures of late-antique or Christian art: their dress is purely Germanic, and the composition as a whole is directly related to the religion and the culture of the Germanic peoples. By applying purely ornamental principles, the artist achieves a scheme of movement whose dynamic energy in no way obscures the essential content of the scene. The suggestive effect of the whole is heightened by such touches as exaggerating the size of the head of the mounted god, to emphasize his superhuman strength, and reducing the warrior to pygmylike proportions.

There are also on the Sutton Hoo helmet scenes depicting dancers who carry spears and wear helmets adorned with horns (I, PL. 288); the attitudes and the costumes are those of a ritual dance. Like the equestrian motif, the scene is purely Germanic

both in form and in content. Plaques with similar figures have been found at Torulunda (PL. 89) and at Uppsala. (At Torulunda the bronze matrices for making such objects were also discovered.) One of these figures represents a spear-bearing dancer of much the same type as the dancers on the Sutton Hoo helmet, the chief difference being that here the counterfigure wears a demonic mask. The figure occurs elsewhere, for example, on the scabbard of the well-known sword from Gutenstein and on a foil from Obrighheim, Germany. These various examples seem to indicate that this type of work was originally widely diffused in the Germanic world.

The works just described, though closely related, present sufficient variation to warrant the conclusion that they were made in different workshops. The Pliezhausen disk and the Sutton Hoo helmet clearly have a common origin, but another workshop was evidently responsible for the Valsgärde figures. The figures from Torulunda — which do not exhibit the graceful elegance and almost ascetically elongated countenances of the other works but are rotund, almost clumsy, and marked by a coarse plasticity and a softly curved line — must have been produced in a third workshop; the same circle was probably responsible for a number of pictures on the helmets from Vendel, Sweden, which represent horsemen, battle scenes, and warriors on foot. Finally, the Gutenstein sword scabbard appears to have come from a fourth workshop.

The genuinely Germanic character of these representations is revealed by the costumes and equipment of the figures and by the subjects illustrated. At first sight a procession of warriors on one of the Vendel helmets might be interpreted as an echo of a Byzantine scene (e.g., from the Ravenna mosaics), but closer study shows that it is a wholly Nordic representation; it portrays a procession of the vanquished surrendering their swords to the victor. Here again the elements are so transfigured that, despite influences from the Byzantine world and from late antiquity, one can only regard the scene as a true expression of Germanic art.

The same can certainly be said of the figures on a large number of gold foils, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. across, in most cases depicting lovers embracing, which have been found in several places in Scandinavia. The individual formulation of this constantly recurring love scene shows clearly that the German artists could be resourceful in their depiction of the human figure and that in this respect their work easily bears comparison with that of the craftsmen in the Mediterranean area.

It is difficult to know whether or not it is due to mere chance that the pictorial art of the barbarians is so poorly represented in the Continental material so far brought to light. It is not impossible that the art never really flourished on the Continent: the manifold consequences of the folk migrations and of the rapid spreading of Christianity obviously were not conducive to the peaceful development of a pagan figural art. In the Nordic territories the conditions were more favorable, and, especially from the North Sea region, powerful influences seem to have spread to the other Germanic peoples.

It is, then, not surprising that precisely in these Scandinavian territories there is to be found a large group of representational works of art, of a relatively monumental character, scarcely any counterparts of which exist elsewhere. These are the picture stones, so termed, particularly well represented in Gotland. Some of these slabs are as much as 18 or 20 ft. high. In the earliest group, dating from the 5th and 6th centuries, there is in most cases a very apparent dependence on late Roman art (which, as we have seen, is also true of the Scandinavian gold bracteates). The influence is clear in the equestrian scene on a runestone from Möjbro (PL. 78) and in the figures of horsemen on a picture stone from Martebo, Gotland, in which the Roman element predominates. But the specifically Germanic — or, as in this case it is more correct to say, the Nordic element — rapidly gains ground; this is shown by picture stones from Vallstena (PL. 90), Häblingbo, in Gotland, and Hågeby (PL. 82). On one of the old picture stones we find the same figure of a dragon killer armed with an ax that occurs on one of the plaques from Torulunda. Fascinating, and indeed unique, collectively, are the representations on these picture stones

of ships with many rowers and with high works amidships; they bring to mind the Nordic funeral ceremonies, in which the boat containing the corpse was buried or burned. It is probable that these scenes are derived from the same orbit of motifs and ideas that inspired the helmet pictures and the figural plaques; but whereas the latter, at least those found so far, present figural scenes with only a very few actors, the picture stones present a much larger cast.

A later group of picture stones — the earliest ones from the 7th century, but the best examples from the following century — is characterized by figure sequences that, band upon band, cover the surface of the stone. Usually the composition follows the same basic scheme: at the bottom there is a well-manned ship, its square sail hoisted, riding the foaming wave crests; above this there are other transverse bands with figures; at the top of the slab is a freer field, also banded and filled with figures (PL. 81). The meaning of some of these scenes is not yet understood, partly because many of the monuments are badly weather-worn, partly because in the majority of cases there is at present an insufficient amount of study material (i.e., photographs, etc.); however, all scholars are agreed that the scenes depict episodes from the Nordic sagas. With the modern means at our disposal it should soon be possible significantly to enlarge our knowledge in this field.

**THE FIRST ZOOMORPHIC STYLE.** In the early medieval art of barbarian Europe the Germanic zoomorphic ornament is undoubtedly one of the most interesting phenomena. Following Salin, three phases of animal ornament are recognized: Styles I–III. The first style made its appearance in the course of the 5th century, becoming established in the wake of the victorious Germanic hordes. It held its own against the art of late antiquity and of the Early Christians and for a time undoubtedly occupied a dominant position.

Germanic animal ornament reflects the influence of the East at least as much as it does that of the Celtic West, but the contribution of the Orient was perhaps of less importance than is usually maintained. The dependence on late Roman art is unquestionable: it is only necessary to compare the works from the Roman provinces with the Germanic works in which the technique of chip carving is employed. The finer Roman products of this kind are executed in precious metals, particularly silver, and are of the same type as those found in the well-known grave of a warrior at Vermand, France, which on valid grounds has been dated about 400 or slightly earlier. Among other notable items there is a silver mount richly decorated with chip carving and niello (PL. 83); it has two pairs of opposing animals, the upper pair being four-footed beasts with heads turned back and the lower pair resembling hippocampi. All these figures are abundantly ornamented with semicircular designs, points, etc. There can be little doubt that this work was executed by a provincial Roman master; it is possible that one of his pupils made the silver buckle with chip carving and niello ornament found in the same grave.

The Germanic works that come closest to these West Roman objects are the Anglo-Saxon equal-armed brooches (PL. 83). Mainly on historical grounds, these can be assigned to the years immediately before and after 450. For it was in the middle of the 5th century that the great Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain took place, and it is precisely in the northwestern parts of the Continent, from which the invasion originated, that we find the preparatory stages as well as some of the fully developed forms of the equal-armed brooches. With their palmettes and borders in chip carving and with their marginal beasts and projecting animal heads, these works are, given the time in which they appear, more Roman than Germanic.

The Roman influence can also be traced to some extent in the finds at Nydam, though obviously we are here further from the Roman sphere of influence: in the large mount (PL. 84) found there, with its highly original openwork decoration, can be noted the imperial head in profile and the hand raised in the *gestus*, as well as the bird with a grain in its beak that is so frequently found in late Roman art. All the figures are decorated with geometrical designs (circular and semicircular

stamps, triangles, and zigzag lines). The animal figures are strongly reminiscent, in their plasticity and other characteristics, of those on the mount from Vermand, which is also recalled by the semicircular designs, etc. Accordingly it seems logical to suggest a dating not much later than the middle of the 5th century. The Nydam finds bring us into contact with several other Germanic works of art and thus into the ambit of Germanic animal ornament, the most important centers of which are situated in the northern parts of the Continent. The composition of a beautiful silver brooch from Møllebacken, Bornholm, recalls in many respects the openwork mount from Nydam, with its birds arranged in pairs and its zigzag lines. Still closer to Nydam is a brooch from Hol, near Trondheim, Norway, ornamented with a human head in profile and arms bent in the *gestus*. The reciprocal relations connecting all these objects strongly suggest direct contact between their makers; this is strikingly confirmed by another brooch from the Hol treasure, which has the same kind of decoration as the brooch with the profiled head — tendrils, etc., in chip carving, animal and human figures. The correspondences of these three objects with the chip-carving ornamentation of the Nydam finds and also with the Vermand mount (PL. 83) — the stamped animal figures of which are comparable to those of the rectangular headplate of the Hol brooch (PL. 83) — are very close. The compact arrangement of the stamped annular decorations is another characteristic, rarely found in the north, that is shared by all these objects.

Mention should also be made of the magnificent silver brooch from Stiernede, Denmark, with chip-carving decoration that shows considerable similarity to that on the objects just discussed. The double zigzag lines and the annular decorations on the marginal animal figures are particularly close to those on the Nydam and Hol brooches.

The material in the first zoomorphic style is usually subdivided chronologically by adopting the criterion, generally valid, that the most realistically decorated objects are closest to the Roman originals and consequently also the oldest. A characteristic example of the coexistence of old and new stylistic elements in a single piece is a magnificent silver brooch from Gummersmark (PL. 84). Much of the area of the headplate and the bow is occupied by running spirals in chip carving, with unmistakable classical reminiscences. On either side of the footplate, next to the bow, there creeps a small four-footed animal, rather plastically and realistically formed and wholly in the style of the marginal animals in the works of provincial Roman craftsmen.

At the bottom of the headplate there is on each side of the bow a human figure which, while grotesque, is nevertheless relatively realistic and can therefore also be regarded as in the classical tradition. However, on the lower part of the footplate are two opposed four-footed animals in which, though they are strongly stylized, one can still clearly distinguish the head, the body, the front and back legs (decorated, to be sure, with armlets), the tail, and even the eyes, the ears, and the long spiral tongue.

In the middle of the headplate there is another pair of animals, or perhaps it is a single animal decapitated by a heavy frame. Over this is an animal's head depicted from above. The stylization has here reached a further stage, to which also belong the two affronted animals' heads in the middle of the footplate, which are bisected by a broad band. Even more stylized are the detached animal limbs beneath these heads and the human figure above, consisting of a head, arms, and legs rhythmically disposed but without organic connection. In view of the high artistic level of the Gummersmark brooch, this disintegration cannot be explained by any lack of skill on the part of its creator. The impression is rather of a composition permeated by a conscious and refined taste — an original work in the Germanic style characteristic of the time. It must also be admitted that this piece has a much more vital and virile strength and intensity than is shown by even the finest of the Roman chip-carved bronzes. The dating of such an object presents difficulties. It is clear that it is not possible to fix the date of goldsmith's work of the period of the migrations solely on the basis of style, since, as we have seen, various phases of evolution can be reflected in a single object.

In speaking of Germanic animal ornament or specifically of Scandinavian Style I, that is to say the first zoomorphic style, it must be remembered that these include anthropomorphic elements derived from an earlier stylistic phase, which in certain contexts are of considerable prominence. Examples are the facial masks on the well-known brooch from Galsted in Schleswig (PL. 176) and, more especially, the motif with the head in profile and the *gestus* noted above on the mount from Nydam (PL. 84). On a sword hilt from Snartemo, Norway, this motif, can be seen in a version that brings it close to the brooch from Hol with profiled head and *gestus*. The motif appears similarly transformed on a pair of drinking horns from Söderby-Karl, Uppland, Sweden. Sometimes the artist confines himself to repeating the motif of arms and legs, as for example on a pair of exquisitely beautiful sword pommels from Grimeton, in Halland, Sweden, and on a still more intricately treated equal-armed brooch from Ekeby (PL. 85). Human heads in profile, as well as arms and legs, often appear in the ornament, as in the brooch from Grönby, Skåne. It is interesting, however, that the head is often placed on a four-footed animal, which thus takes on a demonic appearance; examples can be seen on the Gallehus drinking horn and the gold collar from Älleberg (PLS. 63-65). On a sword hilt from Sydermanland the sphinxlike figure is seen with its body contorted; on some repoussé mounts from Grimestad, Norway, the motif reappears in several variations. A pair of these "sphinxes" decorate the headplate of a brooch from the Hardenberg hoard in Denmark and, as has been shown, some gold terminal mounts have four-footed animals with human faces.

In contradistinction to the material so far considered — which retains throughout a more or less organic, or realistic, aspect — there exists within the limits of the first zoomorphic style a category of objects which have entirely lost contact with reality: the art has become surrealist, if one may use the term.

Critics taking as their point of reference the animal figures of the provincial Roman artists have often called this art degenerate and decadent. But there are grounds for maintaining exactly the contrary opinion: that in this surrealist animal world the Germanic artist has found something aptly suited to his ethos.

On the subject of the evolution of Nordic art during the period of the migrations there has been a tendency in some quarters to minimize the influence of Rome and to assign the dominant role to southeastern Europe, in this case the Black Sea area, Hungary, and other Danubian territories. Supporters of this view maintain that the art of these regions, impregnated with Eastern influences, was the main source of the zoomorphic motifs and the various technical procedures that the Germanic craftsmen used. While the existence of such influences, particularly from Hungary, should not be denied, to regard Nordic art as being largely dependent on southeastern Europe is unreasonable. However, the whole problem is immensely complex, and cannot be further pursued here. Instead we must turn to the development in other parts of the Germanic world, starting with England.

It is generally held that the objects which the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes brought with them to England when they invaded in 451 must have differed widely from the products of the indigenous population, and this fact has been useful in dating the North Germanic material. But in many respects Anglo-Saxon art has from the very beginning an individual character. This is shown, for example, by the equal-armed brooches, which, after the Continental phase, pursue a course of development of their own. The sumptuous round silver brooches, with animal friezes, engraved with shallow chip carving (PLS. 86; I, 288), have no counterparts on the Continent but can be said to correspond to the Scandinavian Sösdala style. The buckles in chip carving belong to this group, which can be assigned to the period immediately after the invasion. Although there are frequent points of contact with the chip-carved works of the late Roman period, there are also certainly associations with the art of the Scandinavian territories. The animal border on the brooch from Hol (PL. 83) is an example of this.

It is difficult to establish how long this phase of more or

less realistic rendering of animal figures persisted in Anglo-Saxon art. The so-called "saucer brooches" enable us to follow it up to the chaotic decadence of the 6th century; the development is thus analogous with that in the Scandinavian territories.

A flourishing period of Anglo-Saxon art is that of the so-designated "hand-and-helmet style," admirably illustrated by some drinking-horn mounts from a grave at Taplow (PL. 87). Here once more is the motif of the profiled head and hand raised in the *gestus* seen in Scandinavian art. Stylistic connections are also evident, though again the specifically Anglo-Saxon character is unmistakable. The same motif, recomposed in a masterly way, is to be found on a brooch from Chessel Down and, simplified to a mere hint, on a number of other Anglo-Saxon brooches.

Anglo-Saxon animal ornament is very rich and varied. Linked stylistically with the rest of the Germanic world, English art is here distinguished by accents of its own, just as it is in the spheres of filigree work and polychrome art.

Passing from England to the Continent, we find that in the field of zoomorphic ornament the situation is entirely different. It is only with hesitation and at a late stage that the artists there submit to the new influences coming from the north, chiefly, according to the majority of scholars, from the Anglo-Saxon territories.

The well-known bow brooch from Tübingen, Württemberg, is a characteristic example of the animal ornament as it first became established on the Continent. Other examples of this genre are the brooches from Nordendorf and Starckenburg in Germany, as well as the brooches with opposing animal figures from Cividale, Nocera Umbra, and Castel Trosino in Italy. But these and the many other examples that could be mentioned are but mediocre Continental variations of Nordic and Anglo-Saxon models. This phenomenon may be a reflection of the fact that during the disturbed 5th and 6th centuries Germanic art was not able to develop so peacefully on the Continent as in England and Scandinavia. On the Continent the tide of battle flowed back and forth, and owing to the great migrations, artists and craftsmen frequently changed their milieu. In the Mediterranean countries, on the other hand, the Roman Empire not yet having been dissolved, there was a rich culture far superior to that of the Germanic peoples, the artists there were able to create their works both in the classical spirit and in accordance with more up-to-date principles issuing from the east. Above all, the Church in its great expansion was spreading this culture among the Germanic peoples, the more widely and deeply as time passed.

**THE SECOND ZOOMORPHIC STYLE.** In the foregoing section we have seen that the first zoomorphic style became firmly established in Scandinavia and in England, whereas on the Continent it achieved, broadly speaking, only echoes and imitations. The second stylistic phase of Germanic ornamental art, on the other hand, became a dominant factor and flourished as abundantly on the Continent as it did in England and the Scandinavian countries.

In all discussions of Style II and its origins the question of interlace motifs has played a prominent part. The predominant opinion is that the style was of Mediterranean derivation, and some proponents of this view assume that the Lombards adopted it following their invasion of Italy, in 568, subsequently transmitting it to the other Germanic peoples. Other theories lay stress on the fact that the serpentine ribbon ornament, the diagonal and mirror symmetries, and the plain ribbon ornament which make up the body of the repertory of compositional motifs in the earliest phase of Style II are not traceable to Mediterranean interlace.

Careful study of the evidence effectively establishes the existence in the earliest phase of Style II of interlace forms of a special type. This jagged and irregular interlace, with apparently unmotivated interruptions, convexities, loops, loose fragments of band, etc., can scarcely be compared with Mediterranean interlace. Nor can it be attributed to clumsy and abortive attempts to imitate a foreign style, since the works concerned are often among the finest creations of Germanic art. The

artists obviously knew what they were about and chose these forms as the best means of expressing their tastes and intentions.

Compositions with this irregular rhythm are extremely common even in Style I, and so it is hardly an exaggeration to assert that it is this very stylistic element that distinguishes Germanic ornamental art from the contemporaneous art of late antiquity. Corroboration of this is afforded by the numerous Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon relief brooches. The basic forms of those works may be perfectly symmetrical, even ornamentally speaking, but in the details we glimpse an indefinable quality, an uninhibited rhythm, which arises not as a mere *jeu d'esprit* on the part of the artist but as the expression of a conscious principle and a serious artistic intention. In the zoomorphic ornament this rhythm is explicit in the geometrical motifs, particularly in the interlace. In the Germanic brooches it is precisely the animal figures that constitute the basis of the composition; this is in marked contrast to the Mediterranean interlace, which is based on entirely different artistic ideas. The Germanic interlace ornament, whether of the ribbon or the zoomorphic type, is always characterized by an irregular and "atonal" rhythm; thus it is justifiable to speak of "Germanic interlace" as a variety distinct from the Mediterranean form. This atonal rhythm is not, of course, confined to interlace; as has already been said, it is part of a much wider stylistic phenomenon characteristic of the Nordic world.

The first manifestations of Style II are in fact accompanied by a rich flora of Germanic interlace, which, undoubtedly originating in the North Sea region, continues to develop in various forms in the ensuing period. The terminal mounts of a drinking horn from Taplow (PL. 87) demonstrate succinctly the process by which composition with Germanic interlace arose. We observe the elegantly undulating, ribbonlike bodies of the animals, the peculiar overlapping of the ribbons, the lively alternation of plastic details and more superficial elements. This is decoration typical of English Style I, yet all these are stylistic features to which we shall often refer in what follows. Animal interlace also often appears on Anglo-Saxon bow brooches in Style I; on an example from Northampton, interlace of highly individual character is formed from the animals on the headplate and footplate.

To the same stylistic orbit belong a pendant from Gilton and a brooch from Market Overton. In these two works, the ribbonlike bodies of the two animals form loops that are linked together. This compositional form is so firmly anchored in the Nordic Style I milieu that there is no question of seeking its origin elsewhere. In the Scandinavian territories the zoomorphic loop motif already appears in the drinking-horn mounts from Söderby-Karl, in Uppland, Sweden, together with several ornamental details noted above in the Anglo-Saxon works. As in the Taplow drinking horn, anthropomorphic details such as arms and hands occur, and there is the same alteration of plastic and superficial elements. In the Scandinavian type D bracteates the ribbon-shaped animals frequently form loops and overlappings very similar to those on the Market Overton brooch. It is significant that the majority of these bracteates have been found in the North Sea area — in Denmark, in Holland, in northwestern Germany, and in England. Thus the loop motif undoubtedly belongs to these regions and had its origin in the earlier phase of the Germanic style. The fact that the animal ornament of the Gilton and Market Overton pieces is already partly associated with Style II cannot be taken to imply Mediterranean influences; the latter piece in fact belongs to a type had that already appeared before the Lombard invasion of Italy.

The close connection between the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian works is also made evident by a study of the Nordic relief brooches and their animal interlace. In the magnificent brooch from Fonnås (PL. 91), as in the Anglo-Saxon works, appear the characteristic alternation of plastic and superficial elements and the irregular animal interlace — achieving a particularly lively and complicated effect on the footplate. Brooches from Indre Arna, Isesjoen, Engellöen, Sana-set, and elsewhere also demonstrate the originality of Germanic animal interlace.

Thus it is safe to conclude that, like simple animal ornament, interlace of zoomorphic character first developed in the Scandinavian countries and in England, reaching the Continent at a relatively late period. This is borne out by innumerable examples, including the bow brooch from Tübingen, Germany, which exhibits exactly the stylistic features noted in the works adduced above. If in the case of this object it might be argued that it was imported from England — a premise which does not seem well founded — there can be no doubt about the Lombardic origin of the brooch from Lingotto (PL. 91). This is decorated in the same style that we have already found abundantly represented in Scandinavia and England. The oval field on the footplate, for example, is surrounded by an irregular and disintegrated ribbon ornamentation composed of abruptly truncated bands having visible cohesion only at the extreme edges. There is nothing to indicate that this characteristic form is derived from Mediterranean interlace, which as a rule follows a more rhythmical and harmonious system. It could have sprung only from the area in which the rest of the ornament is rooted, namely, the North Sea region.

Other examples found on Italian soil are a pair of brooches from grave 87 at Nocera Umbra, the headplates of which are ornamented with irregular interlace in which the basic zoomorphic element can again be distinguished, as it can in the brooches and related objects from grave 154 at Cividale, which have as their characteristic principal motif ribbonlike loops formed from animal figures. The ribbon interlace on the footplate of a brooch from grave 29 at Nocera Umbra is also undoubtedly based on zoomorphic forms. It is perfectly clear that such compositional forms as those on the sumptuous brooches from grave 162 at Nocera Umbra and from Tuscanus are founded on Germanic interlace, with its zoomorphic basis. In this connection the correspondence between the developments on Italian soil and in the North Sea region is very striking. It is natural that Germanic interlace should be widely established in Germany, the territory that constitutes the link between the North Sea region and Italy. Leaving aside the bow brooch from Tübingen, one can distinguish among the brooches assigned by Kühn to his Rommersheim and Müngersdorf types large numbers ornamented, especially on the headplate, with Germanic ribbon interlace, in which the fundamental zoomorphic element forming the basis of the interlace is usually discernible.

These Continental examples bring us well into the phase known as Style II. A dominant element in the formation of this style is the ribbon interlace derived from Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon Style I. In the latter, especially in the so-called "applied brooches," we find numerous transitional forms, and many of the elegant ribbon-shaped animal figures clearly foreshadow the second style.

It must not, of course, be assumed that Germanic animal ornament, with its characteristic interlace — whether in its earlier or in its later form — was simply exported from Scandinavia to the Continent in a one-way process; it was rather a case of mutual give-and-take. Indeed the find material shows that, corresponding to the powerful impression that this phenomenon made on the Continent, there must have been an equally profound cultural influence exercised by the Continental and Mediterranean regions on the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon peoples.

The tendency of Germanic zoomorphic ornament to fill every available space on a surface is a phenomenon that cannot be said to be paralleled in eastern Europe. Originally altogether unknown to the Goths of the Black Sea region, this trend of animal ornament was not assimilated by them later when, passing through Italy, they penetrated to France and Spain. Nor did other peoples of the Danubian basin show any marked penchant for it. There is material in these regions from the 6th century onward belonging to Continental Style I, but it does not present any telling peculiarities; the Hungarian chip-carved buckles should perhaps be classed with it. All these objects, however, like other Continental finds in Style I, are related to and derived from the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon style. Whether it was the Gepids or the Lombards who

adopted this kind of ornament in the Danubian basin it is difficult to say; it seems certain, however, that the Lombards took it with them when they invaded Italy. The Avars, who succeeded the Lombards in the Danubian basin, had a zoomorphic style of their own, devoid of connection with the Germanic variety; among the Slavic peoples in the rest of eastern Europe, Germanic animal ornament never gained a foothold.

Thus the possibilities narrow down to western Europe as the diffusion area of zoomorphic ornament, and England and Scandinavia as the main centers. It is significant that this style never succeeded in penetrating into Spain; the Mediterranean civilization, profoundly different in its inward spiritual structure from the Germanic world, was not fertile soil for the northern influences. And if, thanks to the Lombards, Germanic animal ornament did become implanted in Italy, it was probably because of the particular vicissitudes through which that country had passed. From the beginning of the 4th century the larger part of Italy was in fact the scene of violent struggles between Romans and Germans, culminating in the victory of the latter, who, destroying many of the ancient cultural institutions, more or less succeeded in Germanizing the country. However, the Germanic style had to live in Italy side by side with styles of Mediterranean origin (by which, as the finds show, it was ultimately dominated). It is difficult to imagine how the Lombards' settling in a country permeated by the classical atmosphere, could have been in a position to set Germanic animal ornament on new paths — the view predominantly held by European archaeologists. It seems more in accordance with the historical evidence, as outlined above, to search for the origins of this art in the north.

The diffusion of the second zoomorphic style among the various Germanic peoples of the Continent must be seen against the background of the emergence of the Frankish empire as a great power. Among the Germanic peoples the Franks alone remained independent; unlike the uprooted Alans, Lombards, and Burgundians, they never had to leave their native soil, from which they constantly drew fresh strength and nourishment.

There is now abundant and convincing evidence of the intimate cultural relations that the Frankish empire maintained both with Scandinavia and with England by way of the North Sea; it is by this route that the second zoomorphic style must have passed to the Continent. A number of factors combined to make this the means by which Germanic art penetrated into Europe. The presence of Mediterranean forms of interlace, chiefly of the Constantinian type, side by side with the Germanic ribbon interlace of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian origin, which contributed largely to the formation of the phase of Germanic art known as Style II, seems to be traceable not so much to the Lombards as to the mediation of the Franks and the Burgundians.

As to the chronological problem, much light is thrown upon this by the Hungarian material. This includes, among other things, brooches with chip-carved ornamentation in Style I analogous to objects found in Italy in the two Lombardic cemeteries of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino; it follows that the Hungarian graves belonged to the Lombardic settlement. In these graves, however, the traces of Style II are very slight, whereas in the Italian graves the second style is abundantly represented, alongside objects in the first style. If, as this indicates, the two styles were virtually contemporaneous in Italy, it is reasonable to argue that Style II was in the course of formation during the second half of the 6th century. Hence it is clear that both the first and the second phase of the zoomorphic style, with Germanic ribbon interlace and the variations derived therefrom, must belong to an earlier era in the country of origin (that is to say, England, or, to be more exact, the North Sea region) than in Lombardic Italy. By 568, the year that marks the invasion of Italy by the Lombards, we can assume that the zoomorphic style was already fully evolved; the date therefore offers a useful starting point for the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian chronology as well. Thus the Taplow grave, in the finds from which are mingled Style I (the hand-and-helmet style), Germanic ribbon interlace, and Style II, may be convincingly dated in the second half of the 6th century.

**VARIANTS OF THE SECOND ZOOMORPHIC STYLE.** Style II presents many varieties of form and solution — so much so that, on the basis of the abundant material recently brought to light, Scandinavian archaeologists have subdivided Salin's Style II into variants A, B, C, and D, and designate his Style III as variant E.

Good examples of Scandinavian Style II are the decorations on the harness mounts from grave 12 at Vendel (PL. 94) and from Vallstena (PL. 94). The animal ornament is now much more sober than in Style I; it flows over the surface in a smooth rhythm eschewing loops and deviations and intricate convolutions of line in favor of symmetrical compositions.

The symmetrical compositions of various kinds with balanced rhythm frequently encountered in Style I form the prelude to the still more balanced rhythms of Style II, in which the presence of motifs recalling plant tendrils points to contacts with Mediterranean art and to its lessons of composure and harmony. But the Germanic artists replace the southern plant motifs by the biting jaws of animals. Even in Style II, however, the most well-balanced and symmetrical composition could change character through the way in which the metallic surface was treated. In a deep chip carving with sharp ridges the basic composition melts away, the animals lose their consistency, and the whole dissolves into a glittering play of lines and vibrant luminous reflections.

Toward the middle of the 7th century, animal ornament presents a further variant: it again renounces harmony and tranquillity and returns to interlace and to ornament similar to that of Style I. Examples of this new tendency are to be found in Italy and Germany as well as England and the Scandinavian countries. Among the objects worthy of note is a sword pommel from Imola, Italy, decorated on both sides with two opposing animal figures, between which there is what appears to be a stunted tree of life: these figures, which are unlike any normally encountered in Germanic art, reappear on a sword pommel from Herbrechtingen. On the narrow sides of the latter, however, there is a somewhat confused interlace decoration with narrow ribbons and with an animal's head thrown in apparently at random.

The pyramid-shaped objects from Altenstadt (PL. 93) and two ring-sword pommels from Endre (PL. 93) may also be assigned to this group, to which likewise belongs the pommel of another ring sword, also from Gotland, which has on one side two opposing animal figures with crossing jaws and with haunches that rise and intertwine to form a palmette-like motif. One of the narrow sides is decorated with an animal figure of exactly the same kind as that on the Imola sword; the other narrow side has an ornament of the kind that occurs typically in the milieu of the Imola sword — that is, in Lombardic art and the art influenced by it — but is alien to Scandinavia.

A third sword pommel from Gotland has on one side two facing animals almost identical with the opposing pair on the pommel mentioned above; on the narrow sides there are slightly zoomorphized thin ribbon loops which recall the Altenstadt objects and one of the Endre pommels; finally, on the other broad side we have a typical animal in variant C.

In a buckle from Gotland — which Werner rightly associates with the sword pommel from Endre (PL. 93) and which was probably executed in the same workshop — a dominant role is played by the thin ribbon loops, together with animals' bodies which are also ribbonlike. The style, both as a whole and in detail, accords so closely with that of the Endre pommel that the connection is indisputable. However, the buckle differs from the rest of the Gotland material in ways that serve to relate it to some of the Anglo-Saxon buckles — for example, the one from Faversham and the magnificent gold specimen from Sutton Hoo, the frame of which reproduces almost exactly the thin interlacing bands on one of the Endre sword pommels.

Finally we may recall the two pairs of interlocked animals on the Sutton Hoo purse (I, PL. 286), which Haseloff has with reason associated with the beasts from Altenstadt, Imola, and Herbrechtingen just discussed.

It will shed further light on the problem to refer at this point to a reliquary from Beromünster, Switzerland, which is



very similar to reliquaries from Sion, also in Switzerland, from Namur in Belgium, and from Utrecht. On one side of the Beromünster reliquary there is ornament composed of ribbonlike animals of the kind found on the works from Endre, Altenstadt, Pappilanmäki (PL. 93), etc.; on the other there is profuse plant ornament such as occurs on objects from the Lombardic graves in Italy (PL. 92) and is seen in Byzantine medieval art. This decoration is definitely Mediterranean in character and is extremely rare north of the Alps. Apart from the objects just mentioned, it is found, for example, on mounts from France (Paris, Saint-Denis) and the Netherlands (Utrecht), on a mount from Mertloch, and on a gold cross from Stabio, Switzerland. What this represents is an artistic borrowing from the Mediterranean region. Werner maintains that the Beromünster and Utrecht reliquaries at least must have been executed in the same workshop and that the silver tongue-shaped mount from Utrecht was probably made there too. Moreover, he leans to the opinion that the zoomorphic and the phytomorphic ornament are from the same hand, for on the reverse of the Utrecht mount there is a narrow ribbon interlace terminating here and there in an animal's head, as on the Beromünster reliquary. Thus we are again in the presence of stylistic elements emanating in all probability from Lombardic Italy, as do those already noted on the sword pommels from Imola, Herbrechtingen, Endre, etc.; to these we may add other material also found on the Continent which has the same Mediterranean roots as the Nordic variant C (PL. 97). But while on the Continent the animal ornament gradually loses its vigor, the interlace becoming more and more impoverished, in the north it continually renews itself by its constant contacts with a vital and diversified tradition. The common basis is, however, fully evident, both on the Continent and in England and the Scandinavian countries, and all the evidence points to the middle of the 7th century, or possibly slightly earlier, as the most probable dating for these objects. It is at this time that a southern influence makes itself felt in Scandinavian and in English art, as is indicated by the theme of Daniel in the lions' den depicted on the Sutton Hoo purse (I, PL. 286).

It must now be asked whether the interlace ornament with thin ribbons in varying patterns that always accompanies Scandinavian variant C is not also of Continental origin and contemporaneous. It is known with certainty that it did not originate in England or in the Scandinavian countries. But it is found on the Continent. In the Mediterranean region, which is the home of the southern plant motifs referred to above, there also appears the complicated interlace decoration that is propagated along with the Scandinavian variant C.

The examples cited make it clear from what milieu the Nordic artists of the delicate and romantic variant C may have derived their most important impressions. But the fact that the ribbonlike animals and the ornament with knots, loops, etc., also occur in the Continental material — indeed, appear there together with typical Byzantine plant ornament — leads to the conclusion that in this particular case Continental Germanic art constituted a source of inspiration both for England and for Scandinavia. Once again history offers the explanation: In the course of the 7th century the Irish mission founded by St. Columba was established on the Continent, and it is certain that there was a lively intercourse between the monasteries in the British Isles and those founded on the Continent and that there were frequent journeys via Marseilles to Italy, to Rome, and to the holy places in the eastern Mediterranean. While the great advance of Islam which occurred in the thirties and forties of the 7th century put an end to visits to the holy places, it led, on the other hand, to a vast emigration of priests and monks from the eastern Mediterranean to the monasteries of the West.

It was, then, in the first half of the 7th century that there began the great tide of Continental influences, which in due course ebbed away and was replaced in the following century by a flow in the reverse direction. The most important material is that constituted by the treasure from the celebrated ship burial of Sutton Hoo, which on numismatic evidence can be firmly dated in the middle of the 7th century. The finds reveal,

side by side with the zoomorphic ornament typical of Style II, a variant style which is the counterpart of Scandinavian variant C. This variant, which we find not only on the gold buckle, clasp, and purse, etc., of Sutton Hoo (I, pls. 286, 288) but also on the sword and buckle from Crundale Down and on many other objects, clearly drew its inspiration from the Continent. This is demonstrated by the ribbonlike animals and the interlace with narrow bands and with knots, closely related to contemporaneous Frankish, Burgundian, and Alamannian art.

In the British Isles during the 7th century, apart from this funerary material, there appeared in ever-increasing numbers works of Christian inspiration. The most celebrated of these is the Book of Durrow (I, pls. 283, 284), a richly illustrated Anglo-Irish manuscript from the second half of the century, the sole surviving work of this epoch (see *ANGLO-SAXON AND IRISH ART*).

One page of the Book of Durrow contains animal ornament consisting partly of interlaced ribbonlike animals and partly of four-footed beasts arranged in rows. The first are typical Germanic animals of a kind found, among others, in variant C and moreover recall the ribbonlike beasts on the Sutton Hoo clasp; the second bear an unmistakable resemblance to the small four-footed animal on the gold buckle from the same source. Many parallels from 7th-century Anglo-Saxon material could be cited to support the view that this page in the Book of Durrow incorporates the artistic impulses prevalent in England during the 7th century. But the book also contains some purely Celtic elements, such as scrolls and trumpet motifs, decorations simulating enamels, etc., which differentiate it from Germanic works. Since such fusions of diverse stylistic elements are frequently encountered in the artistic production of Northumbria — and since the Book of Durrow is written in the Northumbrian dialect — it is probable that the work belongs to that region.

Of later date is the other great insular manuscript, the Lindisfarne Gospels (I, pls. 280, 282). Usually dated about 700, this is considered to be more markedly Irish in character than the Book of Durrow, with which, however, it presents undoubted points of similarity. It is perhaps most reasonable to regard the manuscript as belonging to the mixed Hiberno-Saxon culture of Northumbria and, if so, why not to Lindisfarne? The animal ornament is richer than that of the Book of Durrow and presents a plethora of Irish motifs, some apparently derived from contemporary metalwork. The origin of the realistic elements, such as the birds, is to be sought in the continual contact with the Mediterranean world. The Lindisfarne Gospels are among the most noteworthy examples of a further variant of Style II. Variant D, as this is termed, is typical of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries; it is diffused in the course of the 8th century and is characterized by the prevalence of zoomorphic ribbonlike motifs of uniform size that form figure eights and bifurcate into two hooked bands stemming from the haunches of the animal. Jewels and weapons decorated in this way, but with a lack of interlace in comparison with the preceding variant — C — are found in great numbers in the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon regions. In the Lindisfarne Gospels the ornament is often based on birds, and the hackles and tails form coils of narrow ribbon knots.

In the 8th century Germanic zoomorphic art, through Anglo-Saxon mediation, enjoyed wide diffusion on the Continent, traveling from the North Sea toward the south along the Rhine to Lake Constance, and along the Danube to Austria. Characteristic expressions of this important stylistic movement are the binding of the Book of Lindau (I, PL. 287), a goblet from Pettstadt, the Tassilo Chalice at Kremsmünster (I, PL. 287), and probably also the two candelabra from that monastery; reliquaries from Gandersheim, Enger, and Chur, as well as many illuminated manuscripts, are other significant examples.

**REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF BARBARIAN ART.** The salient stylistic characteristics of barbarian art in Europe having been put in relief, a rapid review of the development in individual territories is in order.

In the Black Sea region and in the Danube Basin there developed in the 4th century a flourishing goldsmith's art,

based mainly on polychrome effects obtained by means of inset stones (PL. 58). That this art originated in inner Asia is indicated by, among other things, its rapid diffusion toward the west in the second half of the 4th century, with the invasion of the Huns. In the Hunnish and Germanic finds of the 5th century in the Danubian countries and in Germany, France, etc., this polychrome art is abundantly represented; also represented, though in lesser numbers, is filigree art, which only in the initial stages exerted any influence on the rest of Europe. The treasure of Szilágy-Somlyó of about 400 (PL. 59) and that of Zalesie (PL. 80) of about a century later offer characteristic examples. Zoomorphic ornament is rather scarce in these regions in the 4th and 5th centuries and is confined to polychrome animal heads on armlets, etc., and birds and birds' heads forming decorative themes on various kinds of jewels.

In the course of the 6th century the situation changes: we find numerous examples of Germanic animal ornament, such as that on the Hungarian chip-carved buckles, which reveal vigorous artistic impulses emanating from the west and northwest. Along with this art there becomes established, above all in Hungary, another type of animal ornament of Oriental origin that remains distinct from the Germanic variety and never penetrates to the rest of Europe. The buckles, belt mounts, etc., decorated with griffins or fighting animals that represent this trend are undoubtedly based on traditions of inner Asia from the time of the Scythians and the Sarmatians. It would seem that it was not the Huns who first brought these zoomorphic motifs to Hungary, but the Avars. They used them together with another kind of ornament — composed of vine shoots and palmettes with broad, plaited leaves, usually bent to form a circle — often, like the animal figures, executed in openwork. The origin of this plant ornament is perhaps to be sought not in the Scytho-Hellenistic culture, as some scholars hold, but in Byzantine art, where, during the period in question, there was an efflorescence of phytomorphic decoration, enriched by Sassanid elements. Plant ornament continued to be employed in the 7th century despite the advance of Islam, as we know from the ruins of palaces in the Syrian desert. Numerous decorative elements and ornamental motifs of the genre are to be found in the Christian art of Europe in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries: in Ravenna during the period of Gothic domination, in northern Italy under the Lombards, in Visigothic Spain, in France, Switzerland, England, etc. It would be strange if this art had not also left its traces on the territories of the lower Danube. Typical examples of this Avarian plant ornament, which has many points of similarity with that of Lombardic Italy, are the magnificent finds from a grave at Keszthely (Zala); other characteristic material, with both plant and animal motifs, comes from Szentes (Csongrád). Of great importance is the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós (now Sni-colaul Mare), probably of Avarian origin and deposited during the 9th century; most of the 23 gold vessels in this find are richly decorated with figures, plant shoots, palmettes, etc. (PL. 96). We recognize the griffins, the shoots with large leaves bent to form a circle, and the annular interlace typical of Avarian art. Nor is there lacking, especially in the plant ornament, evidence of contact with Byzantine art and with the Persian world. The treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós is a splendid though barbaric fusion of the Byzantine and the Oriental in a cultural milieu that found itself on the threshold of a new era: medieval Christendom.

There is another series of works from eastern Europe, mostly rather unpretentious, revealing a mixture of influences: Oriental, Byzantine, Carolingian, Nordic. Among those deserving particular attention are the Magyar purses from the 9th and 10th centuries, adorned with pressed and punched metal foils, in which there are also visible analogies with Celtic art of the same or a slightly earlier period. Their decoration usually consists of palmettes (occasionally tendrils) linked together to form a pattern covering the whole surface.

The material from eastern Europe, though extraordinarily abundant, has not yet been sufficiently studied to permit of exhaustive treatment. It includes works that can be considered masterpieces of their kind, for example, the purse mount from

Szolnok-Strazsahalom (PL. 95), the so-called "sword of Charlemagne," and the sword from Geszteréd.

In Italy, under the Gothic domination, an abundance of works in the polychrome style were produced; notable examples are the gold cloisonné jewels of Cesena (PL. 60) and the famous cuirass of Theodoric the Great. It is not at all improbable that it was in northern Italy during this period that the figural *Spangenhelme* found in graves of Germanic princes were executed. It is less probable that the Goths introduced Germanic animal art into Italy; as has been shown, their successors, the Lombards, must for the present be regarded as responsible.

The Lombardic material found in Italy, often of high quality, is singularly rich and varied; it is closely related on the one hand to Christian Mediterranean art and on the other to the Germanic art north of the Alps. There are numerous fine works executed by the Lombards in gold filigree; especially notable are the disk brooches. The first two zoomorphic styles, arising one after the other in Germanic territories north of the Alps, clearly penetrated into Italy almost contemporaneously. Style I, introduced by the Lombards to Italy, is represented by a large number of bow brooches, with local variants; Style II appears in part on brooches of the same type. As has been said, Lombardic art in Italy has a Mediterranean side also, which is seen both in the rich plant ornament, with leaves patterned with lines or points, palmettes, and pairs of dolphins, and in the regular interlace decorations. The plant ornament, which is of Oriental, or rather Byzantine, origin, often contains a zoomorphic element in the form of small birds' heads with curved beaks. In the course of the 7th century this plant ornament spreads to the Avars in the east; it is also adopted, though to a lesser extent, in western Europe (e.g., in the reliquaries of Beromünster, Utrecht, and Sion mentioned earlier) through the mediation of the Lombards. A complete picture of the art of this population is presented by the finds from the great cemeteries of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino (PL. 74).

Among the Visigoths in Spain and in southern France it is particularly the polychrome works that catch the eye: the votive crowns of Guarrazar (PL. 61) occupy a prominent position in this group. No trace of Germanic animal ornament is to be found; on the other hand the Mediterranean flora and fauna are abundantly represented. Plant ornament of Byzantine origin is as common among the Visigoths as it is among the Lombards; however, the local variants found in Spain seldom reach a high artistic level.

In the territories of the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Alamanni (that is to say, in present-day France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands), the development follows, broadly speaking, the same course, although it is possible to distinguish pronounced local characteristics. The polychrome style of the Goths makes an early impact in, for example, Childeric's tomb at Tournai, and it is richly represented in the whole region during the period 450–550. From these beginnings there develop in the course of the 6th century the magnificent Frankish gold disk brooches with inlaid stones and filigree, which are characteristic also of the centuries immediately following. The period 450–550 is illuminated especially by finds from several cemeteries in Switzerland, Thuringia, and Belgium. In all these the polychrome style is richly represented; in Thuringia it appears, moreover, as a decorative element on silver-gilt jewels of small size but fine quality.

The Germanic animal ornament of Style I, emanating from the North Sea region, was adopted in Belgium and in France and gradually throughout the whole Rhine-Danube region. It did not prove to be a dominant stylistic factor but became rather featureless and mixed with various other stylistic elements, such as geometrical chip carving, interlace, etc. With Style II, however, animal ornament became firmly established, especially in the territories dominated by the Franks, where it flourished greatly; to this phase belong not only the silver-gilt mounts in chip carving and niello from Gammertingen and the jewels with cloisonné and filigree from Wittislingen (PL. 79) but perhaps most notably the silver inlay work with zoomorphic decorations. Among the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Alamanni the objects in this technique constitute in the 7th



century a dominant group with a number of stylistic variants. In eastern France and Burgundian Switzerland the technique appears in numerous brooches and belt mounts of exceptionally large dimensions, in which Germanic zoomorphic ornament is allied with Christian symbols such as the cross, plant shoots, etc. (PL. 97). In addition there is a certain predilection for interlace, of both the Germanic and the Mediterranean types.

The influence of the art of late antiquity is intensified in the territories of the Frankish empire, as is shown by a large series of presumably 7th-century objects, generally of little artistic merit, among them the Burgundian prophet buckles, so-called, including some depicting the prophet Daniel (PL. 75), openwork buckles with griffins, etc.

The Frankish tombstones with figural representations in crude and heavy relief must also be assigned to a Christian milieu. Also noteworthy in this connection are the round purse mounts with figures of horsemen carrying lances, the gravestone from Hornhausen (PL. 98), whose equestrian pictures show markedly Germanic stylistic features, the gold disk from Pliezhausen, and the sword scabbard from Gutenstein.

In England in the period 450-550 stylistic elements from southern Scandinavia are accompanied by others emanating from the northwestern parts of the Continent, giving rise to the emergence in the North Sea basin of the first great Germanic zoomorphic style, which flourished long and abundantly in England with many variants. One of these variants, the hand-and-helmet style, is connected directly with the second zoomorphic style, which, like the first, was formed in the North Sea basin and spread from there over the Continent. The period 550-650—in which were produced a richly varying zoomorphic ornamentation and products in filigree and polychrome that are undoubtedly among the finest of their kind—marks the culmination of Anglo-Saxon art. Of Anglo-Saxon figural art of this period little is known, but the stylized, typically Germanic representation of the prophet Daniel on the Sutton Hoo purse (I, PL. 286) and the figures on the helmet from the same treasure (I, PL. 288) show that the Anglo-Saxons participated fully in the developments then taking place in Germanic art.

In the 7th century Anglo-Saxon art shows a strong attachment to the Continent, whereas during the 8th century the influence is exerted in the opposite direction, as is evidenced by such works as the Tassilo Chalice (I, PL. 287).

In the Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland—the art during the periods under review follows analogous phases of development; it is always, however, characterized by local inflections.

Little interest in polychrome art is manifested in the Scandinavian countries until a comparatively late period, that is to say, after the middle of the 6th century. On the other hand a striking predilection for and mastery of filigree is shown at an early stage, and it may even be that Nordic works became models for both Anglo-Saxon and Continental artists, though these were certainly also influenced in part by goldsmith's work from the Pontic regions.

By far the richest in preserved figural works among the pagan territories of Europe are the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden, where the series commences with barbarian imitations of Roman coins and imperial medallions. After this follows the impressive group of gold bracteates with varied figural representations, the sequences of figures on bronze helmets, and, not least, the monumental scenes on a great number of picture stones.

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Illustrations: pls. 58-68; 4 figs. in text.

**EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS.** All the artistic movements that have developed in Europe since the middle of the 19th century are included under this title. They share a common tendency to react against prevailing academic tradition and its historical prototypes in order to comply with the exigencies of a society and culture that has, since the Industrial Revolution, been changing with exceptional rapidity, necessitating thereby a radical reassessment of the basic concepts of art

(see also ECLECTICISM; NEOCLASSIC STYLES; NEO-GOTHIC STYLES; ROMANTICISM). From this necessity arises the great corpus of philosophical writing about modern art (see PHILOSOPHIES OF ART). Thus the modern artistic consciousness might in one respect be characterized as manifesting itself in a resurgence of esthetic, critical, and historiographical thought.

This article deals principally with three major forms of modern art—painting, sculpture, and architecture—and their relation to other forms of modern thought; other aspects of modern artistic activity in Europe are discussed under CERAMICS; ENGRAVINGS AND OTHER PRINT MEDIA; GRAPHIC ARTS; INDUSTRIAL DESIGN; INTERIOR DECORATION AND DESIGN; STAINED GLASS; TAPESTRY AND CARPETS. Geographically, the article includes Turkey and Israel within the European movements; this has been done because of the direct relation of the modern art of these two countries to the concurrent development of western European art. For modern movements in other parts of the world, see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS; ORIENTAL MODERN MOVEMENTS.

**SUMMARY.** The concept of modern art (col. 178). Movements and artists (col. 182): *Impressionism*; *Neopressionism* (*pointillism* or *divisionism*); *Symbolism* and *synthetism*; *The Nabis* and *Art Nouveau*; *The Great Independents*; *Fauvism*; *Cubism*; *Futurism*; *Expressionism*; *Suprematism* and *constructivism*; *Vorticism*; *Purism*; *Dada*; *Surrealism*; *De Stijl*; *Bauhaus*; *Fantastic art*; *Neoprimativism*. Contemporary trends (col. 196): *France*; *England*; *Italy*; *Spain*; *Germany*; *Austria*; *Switzerland*, and *Luxembourg*; *Netherlands*; *Belgium*; *Scandinavia*; *Greece*; *Turkey*; *Israel*; *Eastern Europe*. Science and modern art (col. 210). Literature and modern art (col. 214). Political and modern art (col. 218). Architecture (col. 221): *First phase* (ca. 1890-1914); *Second phase* (ca. 1914-39); *From 1945 until the present*; *Aspects of the modern renewal of architecture and industrial design*.

**THE CONCEPT OF MODERN ART.** The term "modern" has a much broader connotation than "contemporary," which is often substituted for it in colloquial speech. Modern, according to the New English Dictionary, means "being at this time; now; existing of or pertaining to the present and recent times as distinguished from the remote past; pertaining to or originating in the current age or period." "Modernism" is defined as a "usage," a "mode of expression," or a "peculiarity of style or workmanship characteristic of modern times." "Contemporary," on the other hand, is more limited and implies reference to a particular generation, or simply to our own generation, which plainly does not encompass the whole history of modern art. From a conceptual point of view, "modern" signifies a particular attitude on the part of the artist—more precisely, his desire to express himself in terms of the thoughts and events of his own times rather than those of the past and of tradition. Thus the work of an artist of the past who clearly detached himself from tradition could be called modern, whereas that of a living academic artist can be called contemporary, not modern.

The word "modern," in relation to painting, was applied in the 17th century by Giovanni Bellori to those artists who dissociated themselves from mannerist tradition (see MODERNISM). Baudelaire used it in his critique of the Salon of 1859 in connection with painters who would no longer be considered modern. Huysmans, in his review of the Salon of 1879, characterized the attitude toward contemporary life of Manet, Degas, and the impressionists as modern. In the mid-20th century, the term has acquired a connotation different from that of 1900 (see ART NOUVEAU), a meaning so much broader that it is indeed doubtful whether its use will continue to be legitimate in the present sense. The word "modern" will be used here for that which is close to us in time, even if remote in ideas or taste. Used in this sense, it has no particular characteristics and no implication of a specific style. From the point of view of art history, the concept of "modern" is itself a negative one, for it suggests an arbitrary line between the most recent artistic epoch and those preceding it. Closer study of artistic phenomena shows that such arbitrary and simplified distinctions are nonexistent. Of course, it is readily apparent that modern art differs from that of the past four centuries, which was primarily dependent on one stylistic source—the Renaissance and its origins in the antique

world. The new movements are united by close ties with styles and formal trends generally unrelated to those of the High Renaissance, and they reserve the right to ally themselves historically with any tradition, no matter how remote temporally or geographically. Modern art, limited neither to one ideal nor to European tradition or the so-called "higher" civilizations, is universal in its pursuit of inspiration and has recourse to, among others, prehistoric, Oriental, and primitive arts.

Although we cannot accept a theoretical distinction between modern art and that of the past, it is nevertheless obvious that, in the last century, a profound transformation of attitudes, objectives, and techniques has taken place. Max Deri (*Die Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, I, Berlin, 1920) has established a significant break at the beginning of the 19th century, marking a historic cycle that led from the Renaissance to the baroque and rococo periods and ended with the neoclassicism of the Empire; the new line of development progressed from classicism (to 1825) to romanticism (to 1850), objective naturalism (to 1875), and subjective naturalism, plein-airism, and impressionism (to 1900).

Elie Faure (*History of Art*, IV, *Modern Art*, Paris, 1921) traces the beginnings of modern art to Rubens, Hals, and El Greco. His chapter on romanticism and materialism aptly delineates the main ideological forces — the former looking back, the latter facing life anew; and in the final chapter the name of Cézanne introduces the discussion of contemporary genius. Fritz Knapp, on the other hand, argues that there is no specific ideological or formal event which would justify the introduction of a terminal point distinguishing between classicism and expressionism. He does, however, enumerate the new factors of inventions, discoveries, triumphs of the natural sciences, and the pseudo wisdom of the archivist and chronicler in the science of history, by way of stating that the 19th century "at about the half-way mark, moved toward a new character of its very own, in a sharp break with all that is called Romanticism and poetry" (*Die künstlerische Kultur des Abendlandes*, vol. 3, Bonn, Leipzig, 1923). A conflicting point of view is that of Jakob Burckhardt, who said of the 19th century that "it had once more to recite the lesson of the past." Fritz Burger calls it "a sort of stopping for breath of mankind, after the great achievements of its genius," a "halt before the most triumphal achievements of its spirit" (*Einführung in die moderne Kunst*, Berlin, 1917).

Modern criticism is divided in the selection of specific personalities with whom the new movement was initiated. Under the heading of modern painters Lionello Venturi (1947) includes, among others, Goya, Constable, David, Ingres, and Delacroix, and justifies his choice as follows: "All have created work of absolute artistic excellence. Their common characteristic consists of their perfection as painters.... The painters who have been selected are not only perfect artists but modern artists. In qualifying them as 'modern' we do not mean to give only a chronological indication. It is absurd to detach the work of art from the spirit of its time.... In spite of the antiromantic inclinations of our century, in spite of certain pretensions to abstraction and a return to antiquity, our age has only one tradition, one foundation, one point of departure: the art of the nineteenth century." This emphasis on romanticism is reasonable when one considers the work of contemporary masters such as Marc Chagall or Giorgio de Chirico; but romanticism is not the sole source of modern art. Rather, modern art should be regarded as a continuing dialectical struggle between rationalism and intuition, or between the particular and the symbolic. The sometimes dramatic coexistence of contradictory tendencies — characteristic of the many "isms" of modern art to a degree surpassing all previous artistic epochs — is intelligible only if the mind can apprehend the possibility of a conjunction of opposites within a unified expression that is capable of embodying this theoretical conflict.

In his *L'art vivant* (1950–56), Florent Fels selects *fin de siècle* Paris for his point of departure. Others, such as Werner Haftmann (1957), who emphasize the more avant-garde trends, preface them with impressionism and then locate the major formal revolution in the first decades of the 20th century, with the exception of the *Maîtres Populaires de la Réalité*, Dada,

surrealism, and geometric abstraction, which Haftmann separates as the "Wege zur Ausdruckswelt" ("ways to the expressive world") that lead to some mysterious and unknown fulfillment.

It should be remembered at all times that the principal determinant of the rhythm and essence of modern life is technology, based upon the discoveries of modern science. Only with this overriding influence in mind can the alternative tendencies of art to emulate or repudiate modern science be understood. In this respect it is more objective to follow the reasoning of Paul Ferdinand Schmidt (*Geschichte der modernen Malerei*, Stuttgart, 1956) and René Huyghe in associating the birth of modern art with the emergence of realism. Huyghe not only points out the radical innovations of modern art but also alludes to the basically traditional character of naturalism and impressionism, in their adherence to optical truth of visual form and dissolution of this form through the impact of light (*Dialogue avec le visible*, Paris, 1955). The fluidity of the boundaries between older and modern art should be apparent from this survey; accordingly, a valid definition of the limits requires identification of some new property that is discernible in all the art of the last hundred years. This recurrent quality may be recognized in the influence of empirical-analytical science on art and life (see the ensuing discussion of science and modern art). Perhaps this conclusion will someday lead to a new and more exact designation for what is still so vaguely referred to as "modern" or "contemporary" art. Even a term as cumbersome as "the art of the age of technology" seems more revealing of its essential character than the present nondescript terms.

As has already been suggested, writers on art lack agreement on the decisive point at which the formal, technical, or ideological characteristics peculiar to modern art appeared. Some ascribe this to the year 1858, when Eugène Boudin guided the early efforts of Claude Monet at Le Havre; others select the year 1863, which witnessed the foundation of the *Salon des Refusés*, an exhibition that gave artists such as Monet and Pissarro the opportunity to show works rejected by the *Salon des Beaux-Arts*. Still others fasten upon the year 1895, when the young art dealer Ambroise Vollard installed Cézanne's first one-man exhibit in his gallery in the rue Lafitte in Paris.

The year 1889, however, seems a more decisive choice from an ideological point of view. In that year Henri Bergson published his *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*; *Mercur de France*, mouthpiece of the symbolists, was founded; the Eiffel Tower was built (PL. 99); and the generation of artists born between 1850 and 1870 produced their first representative works. Puvis de Chavannes, Odilon Redon, and Cézanne presented their new painting for the first time as a collective manifesto against the prevalent realism, which was so formidably represented in the Paris Exhibition Universelle of 1889. This painting signified the metaphysical revolt — the restoration of mysticism, religious consciousness, even of magic, the occult sciences, and Satanism (propounded by Huysmans, Claudel, Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Maeterlinck, Mallarmé, and Baudelaire) — against Comte's positivism and the current ascendancy of science and so-called "realism." (Nowadays, in science as well as in art, reality has been redefined and new insight gained into the creative faculty. An unexpected conclusion resulting from the impact of science on art is that realism and geometric abstraction stand on the same side of the question, even though all trends of abstract art generally tend to see themselves as antipodes of realism.) Bernard Dorival (vol. I, 1943–46) has noted that 1889 marked the rise of the oppositional tendencies so typical of the modern movement, the dialectic and often dramatic tensions between realism and irrationalism, transcendental or idealistic forms and naturalism.

Cézanne declared of Delacroix: "We painters all spring from him"; but there are equally strong arguments for Courbet as a starting point for the modern movement. Maurice Raynal (vol. I, 1949–50) said, "While readily admitting the influence of Ingres, Delacroix, Constable, and Corot... we have thought it best to place the name of Gustave Courbet in the forefront of this history, the reason being that of all the masters of form and color, Courbet is one as to whose supremacy all painters are in agreement.... His art opened up so many new vistas

that even artists with radically different temperaments, such as Matisse and Picasso, join in regarding his work with that slightly envious deference which is accorded only to what is permanent in the *métier*." In the same sense Delacroix is also modern, notably in his inclusion of hitherto unknown "abbreviations" and summary conception of form.

Sheldon Cheney and Hans Hildebrand were both impelled to survey modern creative activity against its background or antecedents. Goya betrays a decided spirit of unrest in his late works which is undeniably modern and which has found subsequent expression in surrealism, expressionism, and fantastic art. However, one might be equally justified in calling attention to El Greco's 'dramatic distortions of form and uncannily modern color taste, to Bosch's surrealism and almost prophetic tone of *Angst*, or to Hals's impressionistic technique, though to call these men "modern masters" would have the most bewildering consequences. It is impossible to designate a single painter as the herald of the present era because the romanticism of Delacroix and the naturalism of Courbet, as well as the myriad other, and even earlier, tendencies reflected in modern art, must be excluded. These diverse candidates serve to emphasize the assimilation of conflicting tendencies that is such an integral part of the modern movement. While certain scholars (Jung, Huizinga, Unamuno, Sorokin, and Toynbee), art historians (Hans Sedlmayr and Bernard Berenson), and artists (Giorgio de Chirico) have agreed with Oswald Spengler's condemnation of modern art as a degenerate phase that is the expression of a culture in decline, the established fact that technology and science constitute new and unique influences which do touch upon creative activity proves that these negative judgments must be supplanted. "If we want to preserve culture, we have to lead the way by creating culture," said Huizinga of the cultural crisis of our day. It is unreasonable to continue to maintain that modern art has been devoid of such creative leadership.

After a critical examination of all the factors discussed, our position is as follows: naturalism is the first example of the permeation of science into all forms of artistic expression. Since the central problem of present-day art is the negation of the 19th-century concept of realism (but not always of science) with abstraction, it seems most advisable to begin our observations with the realism, or naturalism, of Courbet. René Huyghe (*op. cit.*) attributes the essential character of the first half of the 20th century — what is new and "truly" modern — to the collapse of the two pillars of 19th-century thought that he calls the "notion of the real" and the "notion of reason." Realistic representation of external appearance is naturalism. In more recent usage, realism is posited as an artistic concept, for example, in cubism and abstract art.

It is understandable that the sudden and violent development of modern art should appear extremely confusing in the early literature. However, from René Huyghe's "the modern movement really starts with the Fauves" and Venturi's similar ideas, there emerges the germ of a more timely distinction. With this in view, one can isolate an early phase, a phase of radicalism, and a middle phase. The late phase has not yet been initiated. Christian Zervos would appear to subscribe to a similar order by regarding Cézanne, Renoir, Gauguin, Lautrec, Seurat, Van Gogh, and Rousseau as forerunners and selecting Fauvism and the recognition of the esthetic values of African art as his actual starting point. It would, on the contrary, appear more valid to start the first phase before Cézanne and to institute the second with cubism.

Two other aspects of contemporary art must be briefly mentioned. First, modern art constitutes a notable example of Westernization, a rejection of indigenous tendencies that succeeds in linking the Western cultures with other cultural heritages as diverse as those of Africa, China, Japan, and India. Second, hostile political reactions have confronted the modern movement in certain sectors. It was persecuted under the Nazi regime as "degenerate," condemned by Marxist communism as bourgeois and capitalistic, considered bolshevist and internationalist by the Fascists, and at times labeled profane or sacrilegious by the Catholic Church.

As has already been suggested, modern art is marked by accommodation or receptiveness to contradictions, which reflect the extremes inherent in contemporary society. While still in the midst of this headlong development, any attempt to resolve its disparate tendencies into a single dominant direction would be premature, for it would be ill-advised to formulate conclusions from our present, necessarily subjective point of view. An awareness of the vicissitudes of the concept of "art" is important in that it emphasizes the fact that every great period must forge this concept anew, or that every culture sees its social and spiritual ideals reflected in its art. Throughout history the concept of art has repeatedly undergone changes in meaning. Still, in the words of Max Beckmann, "Since Ur of the Chaldees, since Tell Halaf and Crete, all the essential things in art have always sprung from the deepest feeling for the mystery of our existence." Modern art is premised upon immediacy and primary cognition, the findings of which, often highly specialized and elaborated on an analytical basis, are organized into a new visual order. It is a many-faceted process moving toward a new unifying concept, a new artistic totality — in other words, a style.

**MOVEMENTS AND ARTISTS.** In the following classification of modern movements the work of only a few artists can be discussed in detail. Most artists will figure within a single category; but a number of influential masters, besides participating in the characteristic movements of their own day, provided the impetus or inspiration for distinctive trends that ensued. Cézanne and Picasso are the outstanding examples of these dominant figures, for they mark real turning points and exceed the bounds of the "isms" in which they were directly involved. Picasso has been a "romantic realist," a cubist, a classicist, and a surrealist. His restless and encyclopedic nature can be fully appreciated only in its ultimate natural unity, through his personality and relation to his times. Other artists are less versatile, and their lifework may justly be encompassed by the designation of a single movement — Juan Gris and cubism, for example. For the most part, the modern schools treated in the following discussion are readily discernible and commonly accepted classifications. Some retain only a historical interest, but in general they comprise indispensable links in the logical chain of artistic development and characterize our age as a period of transition and revolutionary ideas, as well as new and primary sources of inspiration. The artistic concepts of our century derived from these movements are primarily French in origin. The most influential activity was centered in Paris, where artists from every country have worked and are still working. The production of these various nationals, who constitute the "school of Paris" (*école de Paris*), remains especially significant to the over-all development of the modern movement but in general exercises little reciprocating influence over the art of their countries of origin.

A recurrent objective in various French movements of the 1800s was the liberation of painting from historical and philosophical content in order to concentrate upon pictorial values and purely visual effects. This tendency is found in the plein-airism of the Barbizon school in the forest of Fontainebleau, which had its direct antecedents in the work of early-19th-century British painters such as John Constable (1776-1837) and Richard Bonington (1801-28; qq.v.). The Barbizon school included Théodore Rousseau (1812-67), Jean-François Millet (1814-75), Charles-François Daubigny (1817-78; qq.v.), Narcisse Diaz (1808-73), and others (see REALISM). They devoted themselves to landscape not simply to reproduce a picturesque locale (see LANDSCAPE IN ART), but as a varied and less constrained subject for painting.

The "objective realism" of Gustave Courbet (1819-77; q.v.), set forth in his first manifesto in 1855 (written as preface to his own exhibition in the Pavillon du Réalisme), postulated a new type of painting that was freed not only from intellectual content but also from the lyricism and sentimentalism of the Barbizon school — a painting founded on pure perception, unencumbered by thought or emotion. Among the followers of Courbet and his school were Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900)

and Wilhelm Trübner (1851-1917) in Germany; Giovanni Segantini (1858-99) in Italy; Ignacio Zuloaga y Zabaleta (1870-1945) in Spain; Augustus John (b. 1878) in England; Anders Zorn (1860-1920) in Sweden; Jozef Israels (1824-1911) in Belgium; and P. S. Kroyer (1851-1909) in Denmark.

*Impressionism.* Impressionism (q.v.) also has antecedents in early-19th-century English painting, above all in the work of Joseph Turner (1775-1851; q.v.) and John Constable, and in two precursors of the movement who worked in France—Eugène Boudin (1824-98) and Johan Barthold Jongkind (1819-91). However, impressionism is more directly rooted in what can be called the "subjective realism" of Edouard Manet (1832-83; q.v.). Although not an avowed "impressionist" until late in life, Manet anticipated many of the coloristic, thematic, and formal choices of impressionism. In 1874, at the age of forty-two and already famous for innovations based on Spanish painting (PL. 120) and classical tradition, Manet was converted to Monet's theories. Although he declined to exhibit with the impressionists, his work thereafter was indisputably plein-airist.

Impressionist subject matter was taken from the objects and happenings of everyday life: still life of homely objects such as flowers, a few pieces of fruit, or a dead fish; and, most frequent, landscape and figure studies painted "sur le motif," or on the spot and directly from the subject rather than in the studio. In attempting to record the elusive effects of light on the subject, the impressionists applied the laws of optics and relied upon the principle of the "mélange optique," or optical mixture of color, in their interpretation of light and shadows composed of pure color rather than blacks. The scientific principles on which they based their depictions of pure perceptual reality had only recently been discovered, and their application was greeted with incomprehension and hostility by public and critics at all the impressionist group exhibitions.

The name "impressionist" was derisively given to a group of artists who called themselves the "Société Anonyme des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs..." by the journalist Louis Leroy in 1874. The designation was prompted by the title of a painting by Claude Monet (q.v.), *Impression—Sunrise* (VII, PL. 418), which aroused the indignation of most spectators. The following painters participated in this first impressionist exhibition, held in the former salon of the photographer Nadar: Monet, Boudin, Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), Pierre Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Alfred Sisley (1840-99), Edgar Degas (1834-1917; qq.v.), Armand Guillaumin (1841-1927), Berthe Morisot (1841-95), Henri Rouart (1833-1912), Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), and Giuseppe de Nittis (1846-84), among others.

In 1875 an auction sale and exhibition of the group at the Hôtel Druot provoked a near riot and enjoyed little success. In 1876 the second exhibition was held at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, still with little encouragement. The participants included Degas, Renoir, Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, Berthe Morisot, and Gustave Caillebotte (1848-94). The third exhibition in 1877, which for the first time used the official title "Exposition des Impressionistes," had only eighteen participants, among whom were Monet, Renoir, Caillebotte, Pissarro, Sisley, Guillaumin, Morisot, Cézanne, and Degas. The fourth occurred in 1879 and was slightly better received; it included Degas, Pissarro, Monet, Mary Cassatt (1855-1926; q.v.), and Jean Louis Forain (1852-1931).

A split in the impressionist ranks was already evident in the fifth exhibition in 1880, in which the following were represented: Pissarro, Caillebotte, Morisot, Cassatt, Forain, Degas, Bracquemond, Jean François Raffaelli (1850-1924), and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903; q.v.). In 1881 the sixth exhibition, again held at the salon of Nadar, included Monet, Gauguin, Guillaumin, Cassatt, Degas, Morisot, and others. The seventh, in 1882, showed further dissension within the group, and Degas and Cassatt did not participate. Among those who continued to exhibit were Renoir, Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, Guillaumin, Caillebotte, Morisot, and Gauguin.

In the eighth and final show, called simply "Eighth Exhibition of Paintings," the impressionists were still inciting public

consternation. Held in 1886, it included the work of Degas, Cassatt, Forain, Morisot, Gauguin, and Odilon Redon (1840-1916; q.v.), as well as the divisionist Georges Seurat (1859-91), Paul Signac (1863-1935; qq.v.), Emile Schuffenecker (1851-1934), and Pissarro. By this time the impressionists had lost their unity and purpose as a group, and their organized activity came to an end. Their work continued, however, to exert widespread influence as a technique, and its adherents included Max Liebermann (1847-1935) and Max Slevogt (1868-1932) in Germany, and Walter Richard Sickert (1860-1942) and the American James MacNeill Whistler (1834-1903; q.v.) in England. The "Macchiaioli" (q.v.), a Tuscan group that was greatly influenced by the work of Courbet, also evidenced limited affinities with the attitudes of the impressionists.

There were no impressionists who were exclusively sculptors; but Degas and Renoir translated their masterful painterly treatment of the impact of movement and light on form into the sculptural medium. Degas worked only in wax, and bronze casts of his models were made after his death. In Italy, the work of Medardo Rosso more nearly approached impressionist sculpture. Rosso also employed wax; his subjects were taken from daily life, and the manipulation of light by modeling was highly effective. Auguste Rodin (1840-1917; q.v.), on the other hand, has been called both impressionistic and expressionistic. His preoccupation with the transitory and fragmentary effect of light on surfaces was similar to the impressionist concern with broken color, while his active line and dramatic poses and gestures were definitely expressionistic. He referred to the medium of sculpture as "the hole and the lump," thus anticipating the 20th-century interpretation of space and use of the void as a positive element. These sculptors were "modelers" rather than "carvers," because of their reliance upon the effects of light on the small facets and indentations of the modeled surface.

*Neoimpressionism (pointillism or divisionism).* Neoimpressionism arose from within, and in opposition to, impressionism itself. Paul Signac, the theorist of divisionism, who also participated in the last impressionist exhibition, clarified his position as follows: "Neoimpressionism is the prismatic decomposition of colors, their fusion with the aid of the spectator's eye..." In noting the elements the two artistic movements have in common (light and color), he adds: "The technique employed by these painters has nothing to do with impressionism; to the degree that the technique of the latter is instinctive and instantaneous, that of the neoimpressionists is deliberate and constant. It is in this sense that the word neoimpressionism must be understood. The neoimpressionists, like the impressionists, have nothing but pure color on their palette, but they repudiate absolutely all mixture of colors" (*D'Eugène Delacroix au néoimpressionisme*, Paris, 1899). Thus divisionism was impressionism consolidated and systematized, so much so that the contemporary public could not tell the works of Seurat and Pissarro apart. By employing the color theories of Michel Chevreul (1786-1889) and refining the principle of optical mixture from brush strokes to tiny dots, the pointillists arrived at, as Signac expressed it, "the logical consequence of impressionism."

Georges Seurat (PL. 115), principal exponent and founder of the movement, was joined by Signac, Pissarro and his son Lucien Pissarro (1864-1944), Maximilien Luce (1858-1941), Charles Angrand (1854-1926), Henri Edmond Cross (1856-1910), Albert Dubois-Pillet (1854-90), Hippolyte Petitjean (1854-1929), Lucie Cousturier (1870-1925), and the Belgian Theo van Rysselberghe (1862-1926). Seurat founded the *Société des Artistes Indépendants* and *La Revue Indépendante* in 1884; the function of the group was to organize exhibitions that had neither juries nor prizes. The neoimpressionist group held a collective exhibition in 1892 and were frequent contributors to the weekly *La Vie Moderne*. Divisionism had followers throughout Europe, and scientific investigation of the nature and breakdown of light also served as the point of departure for futurist painting.

*Symbolism and synthetism.* In 1885, a movement known as symbolism developed simultaneously in the literature and visual



arts of France. Painters and poets, no longer aiming at faithful representation of the exterior world, were united in seeking to convey the uncommon perceptions of dreams and fantasies through symbolic allusion. The year 1886 (the date of Van Gogh's arrival in Paris and Gauguin's first sojourn in Brittany) marked a turning point in French painting. The birth of symbolism, limited at first to literature, coincided with that of neoimpressionism. In its manifesto published in *Le Figaro* on September 18 of that year, the poet Jean Moréas declared that "art can derive from objectivity only a simple and extremely restrictive point of departure." A succeeding article by the same author characterized the movement thus: "The essential aim of our art is to objectify the subjective (the externalization of the Idea) instead of subjectifying the objective (nature seen through the eyes of temperament)." This admiration for artifice, for dreams and imagination — this feeling that "nature had served her purpose" — emphasized the mystic and theosophic tendencies of symbolism.

Within a short time "little reviews" were established to propagate the new esthetic, and the importance they accorded to painting and illustration attests to the growing rapport between literature and the pictorial arts. In 1886 *La Pléiade*, *Le Décadent*, *La Vogue*, *Le Scapin*, *Le Symboliste*, and *La Revue Indépendante*, an essentially anarchist production, appeared; in 1889, *La Plume*; in 1890, *Mercur de France*; in 1891, *La Revue Blanche*; also, in 1887 Stéphane Mallarmé's *Poésies* had been published, and in 1889 *Parallèlement* by Paul Verlaine, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* by Henri Bergson, and *Les grands initiés* by Edouard Schuré.

The young critic Albert Aurier, in a famous article in a *Mercur de France* of 1891, summarized the esthetic of symbolism as follows: "The work of art is . . . (1) ideological, as its sole ideal is the expression of the Idea; (2) symbolist, as it expresses this Idea by forms; (3) synthetic, as it presents these forms, these signs, by means of a generally comprehensible technique; (4) subjective, as the object is considered not only as an object but as the presence of an Idea perceived by the subject; (5) and consequently, decorative, as decorative painting properly speaking, as conceived by the Egyptians and probably by the Greeks and the primitives, is no more than the manifestation of an art at once subjective, synthetic, symbolist, and ideological."

Puvis de Chavannes (1824-98; q.v.), Gustave Moreau (1826-98), and Odilon Redon were three isolated figures who profoundly influenced the symbolists. Their work had demonstrated symbolist concepts intuitively before the emergence of the movement, although Moreau himself was shocked by the eccentricities of the younger generation. Redon had always emphasized the role of the imagination in art, and though he was of the impressionist generation, his work was the epitome of the symbolist concept.

Pictorial symbolism continued to coexist with impressionism, and in 1889 a joint exhibition entitled "Exhibition of the Painting of the Impressionist and Synthetist Group" was held at the Café Volpini. While the designation "impressionist" had been maintained, the esthetic of the movement was now opposed to the original impressionists and neoimpressionists and was more attuned to the aims of the synthetists, or cloisonnists, led by Emile Bernard (1868-1941). This group based its art on decorative and unmodeled color areas, almost like Japanese prints, in an attempt to achieve a synthesis of form and color. In his Brittany period, Gauguin was one of the leading exponents of synthetism, and the school of Pont-Aven (named after the town where he was living at the time) became the center for a synthetist community. Other participants were Louis Anquetin (1861-1932), Armand Seguin (1869-1903), Henry Moret (1856-1913), M. E. L. Maufra (1861-1918), and Paul Serusier (1863-1927). Although Van Gogh, who was in Provence, still considered himself an impressionist, he was in close contact with Pont-Aven. Gauguin wrote that the impressionists had painted "that which is right under the eye rather than what rests in the mysterious center of thought." He and Bernard insisted on the necessity of painting from memory rather than from reality. The synthetists continued to be closely allied with the symbolists in their esthetic tenets, but their pictorial productions were

less similar. The same emphasis on decorative abstraction and ideological symbols was found in the work of the *Rose Croix* (Rosicrucian) painters, Félicien Rops (1833-98), and the Nabis.

*The Nabis and Art Nouveau.* The term "Nabi," derived from a Hebrew word meaning "prophet," was adopted by the poet Auguste Cazalis in 1889 for a group of painters who frequented the Académie Julian in Paris and formed a kind of secret society rooted in symbolism, Catholicism, and mysticism. Their art derived in part from that of Gauguin and Degas and from Japanese prints. It was a highly intellectual and esoteric movement, with Mallarmé as the chief deity. Those taking part included Edouard Vuillard (1868-1940), Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947; qq.v.; PL. 122), Maurice Denis (1870-1943), Paul Ranson (1862-1909), Ker-Xavier Roussel (1867-1944), and Paul Serusier. In 1891 the Dutchman Jan Verkade (1868-1946) joined them, and in 1892 the Hungarian painter József Rippl-Rónai (1861-1927), Felix Vallotton (1865-1925), and the sculptor Aristide Maillol (1861-1944; q.v.). The Nabis dined together monthly and met every Saturday in the studio of either Ranson or Bonnard for discussions. From 1891 to 1896 they exhibited regularly in rue Le Peletier, then for a brief period (1897-98) at Ambroise Vollard's gallery, in 1899 at Durand-Ruel's, and in 1900 at Bernheim Jeune. The Nabis collaborated on scenery for the Théâtre de l'Art, which had been established in 1890 by the poet Paul Fort, and periodically illustrated *La Revue Blanche*, launched by the Natanson brothers in 1890.

The Nabis disavowed the realism of the impressionists, whose goal was "atill the imitation of matter . . . with its perceived form, its perceived color." For them, on the other hand, "art was above all a means of expression, a creation of our spirit of which nature is only an occasion." Maurice Denis, the theorist of the group, also declared that "art instead of being a copy, becomes the subjective readjustment of nature," and notes the "objective readjustment, which derives from an entirely esthetic and decorative conception." "We must remember," he said, "that a picture . . . is essentially a flat surface covered with colors that have been assembled in a certain order."

The line as a symbol, the spiritual connotation of the arabesque in major and minor arts suggested by the symbolists and Nabis, was to become the basis of Art Nouveau (q.v.), or Jugendstil [also called "modern style" or Stile Floreale (floral style)]. This movement, associated primarily with architecture and design rather than with painting, has come to be recognized as a much larger international trend. It was in turn closely related to the Vienna Sezession, founded in 1897 by Gustav Klimt (1862-1918; PL. 122). In England in the mid-19th century, the same mystic preoccupation with significant form and line had been the basis of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who combined poetic and religious fervor with a certain academic reality.

The theories and innovations of Seurat and his friends, symbolism, and the art of Gauguin, Van Gogh, Bonnard, Cézanne, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901; q.v.), and others (including sculptors) are often referred to comprehensively as "postimpressionism." This term bears no stylistic implications and should be considered only an expedient time designation, that is, the period following impressionism.

The sculpture of Aristide Maillol in the postimpressionist period can be compared with the work of painters of neoclassicist tendency (e.g., Cézanne), who consciously reacted against the "formlessness" of impressionist painting. Maillol's women are massive and rounded, and his surface texture — unlike that of Rodin and Degas — is smooth and firm. In Germany Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881-1919; q.v.) was at first influenced by Maillol; but as his art matured, his figures developed an elongated, somewhat expressionistic elegance with a lyrical humanism that has been compared to medieval art. Ernst Barlach (1870-1938; q.v.) was indeed inspired by medieval sculpture, as well as by Russian folk carvings, and created heavy static volumes that are ostensibly expressionist, although their weightiness also relates them to Maillol. Georg Kolbe (b. 1877) and Gerhard Marcks (b. 1889), two other German figure sculptors of a later date, can also be included in the group of artists who, like Mail-

lol, idealize the object. At times, however, their works tend to be marred by sentimentality.

*The Great Independents.* The progression from the above-mentioned groups to the first great movement of the 20th century, Fauvism, would not be clear without consideration of the important contributions of certain major figures, independent of their nominal adherence to various movements. One of these "Great Independents" was of course Gauguin, who advocated the return to primitivism shared by symbolism and Fauvism (PL. 121). [Constantin Brancusi's (1876-1957; q.v.) sculpture can also be likened to Gauguin's painting in its search for new sources of energy outside the Western tradition of rationalism. Antecedents for the simplification of form that characterizes Brancusi's work might be located in Oriental, African, and pre-Greek Cycladic sculpture (PL. 128). The barbaric symbolism and the extremely tactile, as well as visual, impact of his organic abstractions influenced Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920; q.v.) in both his painting and sculpture (PLs. 128, 129).]

Recognition as the first of the Great Independents of modern art may be bestowed upon Monet, who at the same time served as a transitional figure into impressionism. Renoir's importance as an independent figure lies in the classical tendencies inherent in his mature style, while Bonnard and Vuillard are noteworthy for their mastery of "réalité poétique," or intimism. The dramatic and intensely personal innovations of Vincent Van Gogh (PL. 120) do not fit readily into a schematic chart of modern movements, nor does the social perspicacity of Toulouse-Lautrec. In their expressionistic use of color and distortion, Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec prepared the way for similar experiments by the Fauvists. Cézanne (PL. 121), both in his style and theories, laid the foundation for cubism, and it is with him that the "early phase" of modern painting ends. The intense preoccupation with art as response to the conditions of contemporary life and with ideological reform programs gave way to the typically modern phenomenon of the avant-garde, which deliberately breeds revolt in order to create a more favorable climate for a program of art and society in open defiance of the temper of the times.

*Fauvism.* The Fauves (q.v.), or "wild beasts," were so named by the critic Louis Vauxcelles when they exhibited together for the first time in 1905 at the Salon d'Automne. "A pot of colors thrown in the public's face" was the descriptive phrase used by another critic. These tendencies, although they did not emerge as an avowed movement until 1905, had been manifested since the late 1890s by several painters; the most important of these was Henri Matisse (1869-1954; q.v.; PL. 123). Others involved were the Dutchman Kees van Dongen (b. 1877) and Louis Valtat (1869-1952), as well as members of three associated groups influenced by the neoimpressionists and the Nabis on the one hand and by Van Gogh on the other: the Atelier Gustave Moreau and Académie Carrière, including Albert Marquet (1875-1947), Henri Charles Marquain (1874-1943), Charles Camoin (b. 1879), and Jean Puy (b. 1876); the Châtou group, including André Derain (1880-1954; q.v.; PL. 123) and Maurice de Vlaminck (1876-1958); and the Le Havre group, with Othon Friesz (1879-1949), Raoul Dufy (1877-1953; q.v.), and for a short time, Georges Braque.

"Fauvism has thrown off the tyranny of divisionism," said Matisse. "It escapes into a wild state in search of simpler means that will not suffocate the spirit." Fauvism attempted to rediscover the purity of pigment, of the paint itself, by means of bold and arbitrary use of pure color for its intrinsic expressive qualities. "What I strive for above all is expression," wrote Matisse. "... I discover the expressive quality of color in a purely instinctive manner. My choice of colors is based on no scientific theory; it is based on observation, on feeling, on my own perceptive experience.... I want to achieve that concentrated essence of feeling which is the making of a picture." "Color," said Vlaminck, "was a keg of dynamite for us."

These explosive qualities found a parallel in Germany in the formation of the Brücke group in Dresden in 1905, and in the development of German expressionism in general (see

EXPRESSIONISM; also see ensuing discussion in this article). Its antirational conceptions were fundamentally in opposition to impressionism and neoimpressionism. "Impressionist painting is full of contradictory impressions," said Matisse. "We want to achieve an interior balance by means of simplification of idea and figurative form." Although the Fauves modified their initial "shock treatment" somewhat and realized the danger of a total lack of discipline or control, the movement itself came to a rather abrupt end after less than four years. While only Vlaminck and a few academizing Fauves sustained the original aims of the movement, its radically new color attitudes and its plastic intensity did have, and continue to have, great influence on many of the succeeding movements.

*Cubism.* Cubism (see CUBISM AND FUTURISM) was the formal and technical revolution that took place between 1907 and 1914, with Pablo Picasso (b. 1881), Georges Braque (b. 1882), Fernand Léger (1881-1956; PL. 124), and Juan Gris (1887-1927; qq.v.; PL. 130) as its prime movers. It originated in two diametrically opposed influences — primitivism and analytical science. Without the impetus provided by the radical spirit of cubism, the subsequent evolution of modern art would have been inconceivable. Cubism shattered the compact forms of the traditional concept of volume; it created a new plastic language in accordance with developments in science and contemporary thought and was strongly influenced by Cézanne, Seurat, and African sculpture.

The first great cubist canvas was *Les Femmes d'Alger* (O.J. 75), painted by Picasso in 1906-07. In a 1908 issue of *Gil Blas*, the critic Louis Vauxcelles used the word "cubes" in connection with a Braque exhibition at the Galerie Kahnweiler. The creators of cubism accepted the term defiantly, for they disavowed any conscious theorizing. "When we created cubism," said Picasso, "we had no intention of producing cubism, only of expressing what was within ourselves." Other artists in the movement included Robert Delaunay (1885-1951; PL. 127), Roger de La Fresnaye (1885-1925; qq.v.; IV, PL. 78), Albert Gleizes (1881-1953; IV, PL. 79), Jean Metzinger (1883-1956; IV, PL. 83), Francis Picabia (1879-1953; PL. 132), Louis Marcoussis (1883-1941), Henri le Fauconnier (1881-1946), Jean Lurçat (b. 1892), and Henri Hayden (b. 1883).

From 1909 to 1912 the ambitious program of the cubists was embodied in "analytical cubism," which engaged in new experiments in the structure of form and object-space relationships and became increasingly abstract and rectilinear. From 1912 to 1922 "synthetic cubism," the second major tendency, was predominant. Reversing the process of breaking down natural forms in an analytical manner, synthetic cubism built up form by arbitrarily selecting and assembling compositional elements. This synthesis made use of collage, illusionistic techniques, and more palpable geometric shapes. Brilliant color, which had gradually been eliminated during the analytical period, was resurrected by Delaunay and Picabia about 1912. Between 1912 and 1913 the cubists began working with "constructions" that combined everyday objects with painting.

In 1912 the Section d'Or was formed, and its membership included Gleizes, Metzinger, Marcoussis, Jacques Villon (PL. 138; see DUCHAMP BROTHERS), Frank Kupka (1871-1957; PL. 137), Picabia, and André Lhote (b. 1885). "Decorative cubism" followed in 1914-15, and "curvilinear cubism" in 1923-26. The term "Orphism" was used by Apollinaire in 1912 to describe the art of Delaunay (also referred to as "simultaneism"), which was closely related to cubism but placed more emphasis on the purely lyrical values of color and light effects. Throughout this evolution of cubism, the principles of simultaneity, superposition, and transparency were increasingly applied to present the object in a cumulative aspect, that is, viewed from several different points.

Cubist sculpture, like cubist painting, was basically form-dissecting in intent, and its recourse to African sculpture was inevitable. Picasso's wooden planar constructions and his heads, which at first were simply complex faceting of the surface, were later refined in highly analytical fashion, presenting multiple views and moving focus (PL. 128). Braque's limited sculp-



tural output is usually closer to relief in execution and is suggestive of classical Greek art. Alexander Archipenko (b. 1887) explored the possibilities of concave and convex opposition in nude figures (PL. 128). The early polychrome reliefs of Henri Laurens (1885-1954) were more akin to painting than sculpture, but he later developed an architectonic, tender, and elegant figure sculpture that remained fundamentally cubist in conception. Ossip Zadkine (b. 1890) was very much influenced by African sculpture and continues to produce cubistic representational sculpture on a monumental scale. Jacques Lipchitz (b. 1891; q.v.) worked in an austere and architectural style in his cubist period, although he has since evolved a more expressionistic and abstract style (I, PL. 131). "Much as I admire the impressionists and Rodin," he still affirms, "I always say 'I am a cubist.'"

Elements from other movements (expressionism, surrealism, and futurism) developing simultaneously in the 1920s were merged with cubism. The most important cubist sculptor was equally influenced by futurism: Raymond Duchamp-Villon's (1876-1918) fusion of mechanical and organic shapes (IV, PL. 82) and his monumental portrait of Baudelaire present two aspects of a talent that undoubtedly would have developed into a major influence had he not been killed in World War I.

**Futurism.** Just as cubism, which was essentially concerned with the static, devoted itself to the representation of objects in space, futurism took up the problem of representing motion in a new way (see CUBISM AND FUTURISM). Initially a literary movement whose beginnings were marked by the publication of F. T. Marinetti's first futurist manifesto in 1909, its precepts were extended to the visual arts in 1910, when three Italian painters — Carlo Carrà (b. 1881), Umberto Boccioni (1882-1916; q.v.), and Luigi Rossolo (1885-1947) — met Marinetti in Milan and decided to direct a manifesto to young artists. This document was to have an extraordinary effect on the stagnant climate of Italian culture at that time. It was also signed by the painters Giacomo Balla (1871-1958) and Gino Severini (b. 1883; q.v.) and was followed by a second manifesto — the so-called "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting," published in Milan in April of the same year. During 1911 the first important futurist painting and sculpture was produced. Other, temporary members of the futurist movement were Ardengo Soffici (b. 1879; PL. 131), Ottone Rosai (b. 1895), and Mario Sironi (b. 1885).

The first futurist exhibition was held in Paris at Bernheim Jeune in 1912 and was followed by additional exhibits in London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Vienna, and other European and American cities. On April 11, 1912, Boccioni's manifesto *La scultura futurista* anticipated the creation of Dada objects. Boccioni was in fact the major futurist sculptor, for he translated into sculpture the same principles of motion and dynamism that dominated his painting (PL. 131). His *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* is an intricate coalescence of shapes that creates an illusion of motion (IV, PL. 82). He expressed his guiding principle thus: "Man must be studied through his dynamism, which is the simultaneous action of his absolute and relative motion." In 1914 Boccioni's *Pittura e scultura futuriste*, which set forth the theories of the movement, was published.

The futurists set out to "destroy the cult of the past, the obsession of the antique . . . exalt every kind of originality, boldness, extreme violence . . . rebel against the tyranny of the words 'harmony' and 'good taste' . . . take and glorify the life of today, incessantly and tumultuously transformed by the triumphs of science . . . We declare that the world's splendor has been enriched by a new beauty, the beauty of speed. A speeding automobile is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace." The futurist emphasis was on energy and dynamism rather than on object and matter (IV, PLS. 81, 84). "When we speak of movement, it is not a cinematographic preoccupation which guides us . . . nor a childish curiosity to observe and fix the passage of an object being displaced from point A to point B. On the contrary, we want to approach pure sensation, namely, to create the form of plastic intuition, to create the duration of apparition, to bring to life the object in its own manifestation."

**Expressionism.** The term "expressionism" was used for the first time in an article by Wilhelm Worringer in the review *Der Sturm* (August, 1911) in connection with Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Matisse. It was employed again for the Blaue Reiter exhibition of 1912 at the Der Sturm Gallery, where it became the designation for the more romantic and spontaneous tendencies in German painting (see EXPRESSIONISM). "Expressionism," defined in a broader sense, can also be applied to the work of Van Gogh, Georges Rouault (1871-1958; PL. 125), the Norwegian Edvard Munch (1863-1944; PL. 116), the Belgian James Ensor (1860-1949; PL. 122), the Lithuanian Chaim Soutine (1894-1943; qq.v.; PL. 140); members of and artists sponsored by the Munich, Vienna, and Berlin Sezession groups, such as Oskar Kokoschka (b. 1886; q.v.; PL. 141); and other painters whose use of color and form serves primarily emotional ends, or "self-expression." It is, however, German expressionism that is generally implied by use of the term, the painting based on the three fundamental movements of the early 20th century in Germany: Die Brücke, Der Blaue Reiter, and Die Neue Sachlichkeit.

The Brücke — or "bridge" — group, formed in 1905 in Dresden and dissolved in 1913, had among its participants: Emil Nolde (1867-1956), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938; qq.v.), Erich Heckel (b. 1883), Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (b. 1884), Otto Müller (1874-1930), Fritz Bleyl (b. 1880), Max Pechstein (1881-1955), Cuno Amiet (b. 1868), and in 1908, Kees van Dongen (b. 1877). These artists published their drawings and prints in albums and proposed a return to the most genuine sources of inspiration — popular art and the work of craftsmen. In the manifesto of the movement in 1905, they declared: "He who renders his inner convictions as he knows he must, and does so with spontaneity and sincerity, is one of us." The first Brücke exhibition was held in 1906 at the Dresden-Löbtau; the second exhibit, later that winter, included graphic works. A letter of invitation to membership in the group, sent to Nolde in 1907, stated: "One of the aims of Die Brücke is, as its name implies, to conduct toward it all the revolutionary elements now in gestation." After the Brücke group moved to Berlin, some of its freedom and impulsive handling of colors was lost and its unity was eventually shattered, with each artist going his own way.

The Blaue Reiter ("Blue Rider," named after a work by Kandinsky) developed at the end of 1911 from the Neue Künstler Vereinigung (New Artist's Federation) in Munich. Its founders were Paul Klee (1879-1940; PL. 137), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944; PL. 126), Franz Marc (1880-1916; PL. 127; qq.v.), and August Macke (1887-1914). Their first exhibition was in Berlin in December, 1911. Some months later, in a black-and-white show at the Goltz Gallery in Munich, painters from the Brücke and Neue Berliner Sezession groups, as well as Picasso, the Frenchmen Braque, Derain, La Fresnaye, and Vlaminck, and the Russians Gontcharova, Larionov, and Malevich, also participated. On the cover of the catalogue for the first exhibition was a summary of the Blaue Reiter's intentions: "We want to acknowledge a determined form; the goal is that of indicating, in the variety of forms represented, how the interior inspiration of the artist effects itself in a multiplicity of methods." Similarly, August Macke wrote: "The aim of art is not to imitate scientifically and examine the organic elements in natural forms, but to produce an abbreviated form of life by means of appropriate symbols." Their interests tended toward lyrical abstraction, as shown in the writings of Marc, Klee, and especially Kandinsky in his *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* of 1912.

The third important group was the Neue Sachlichkeit ("new objectivity"). Initiated in the last years of World War I by Otto Dix (b. 1891), George Grosz (1893-1960), and Max Beckmann (1884-1950) as a reaction against the excesses of expressionism, the movement professed a return to objectivity of vision. Like the Brücke and Blaue Reiter groups, however, it also reflected a protest against the times and was characterized by bitter, cynical realism and profound social commentary. These and other artists participated in the November group of 1918, which aspired to create an international federation of

artists collaborating in order to achieve closer contact between art and the people. Max Pechstein wrote, "We painters and poets are bound to the poor in sacred solidarity. Many of us have known the misery and humiliation of hunger. We feel more secure in a proletarian society. We do not want to depend upon the whim of bourgeois collectors . . . We must be true socialists, we must arouse the highest socialist virtue — brotherhood of man."

Expressionism, in its broader interpretation, still has many adherents in the contemporary art of all countries. Although the movement proper was located primarily in Germany, the dramatic qualities of expressionism continue to attract such painters as Mané-Katz (b. 1894) and Zygmund Menkes (b. 1896) in France; Max Weber (b. 1881), Hyman Bloom (b. 1913), and Rico Lebrun (b. 1900) in America; and many others elsewhere. Matisse's sculpture, which he abandoned in 1933, was fundamentally expressionist in concept and execution. Followers of expressionism who work in an abstract idiom will be discussed in a subsequent section on contemporary trends.

**Suprematism and constructivism.** Kazimir Malevich (1878–1935; q.v.), the first artist to advance a system of pure geometrical abstraction in his painting (PL. 137), developed suprematism in Moscow in 1913. In 1915 he edited the suprematist manifesto, with the help of several writers, including the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. Almost simultaneously, Vladimir Tatlin (b. 1875) created constructivism; Alexander Rodchenko (b. 1891), anti-objectivism; and Michael Larionov (b. 1881), rayonism — all based on the aesthetic of futurism and the Blaue Reiter for the most part. In 1912, Malevich, Larionov, Nathalie Gontcharova (b. 1881), and David Burluk (b. 1882) had participated in the Blaue Reiter exhibition in Munich. Contact with the futurist theories — except in Germany, where the Italian movement was already well known — was intensified by conferences that Marinetti held in Russia in 1914. After the October Revolution, Malevich taught at the Academy of Fine Arts in Moscow, and there he became acquainted with the sculptors Naum Gabo (b. 1890) and Antoine Pevsner (b. 1886; qq.v.; PL. 137) and the painter El Lissitzky (1890–1941). Larionov's rayonist experiments were short-lived, but in 1911–12 they constituted, along with Kandinsky's expressionistic abstractions, the most rigorous abstract tendencies in Europe. The movement and its name emanated from a preoccupation with the disintegration of forms into radiations of light.

Malevich explained the movement he founded as follows: "By suprematism I mean the supremacy of pure feeling or perception in pictorial art. From the suprematist point of view, exterior appearances offer no interest; only sensibility is essential, independent of the mood in which it exists." For him the highest aim was to free art from "all sociological or materialist associations." "The object in itself means nothing to the suprematist. Sensibility is the only thing that counts." He finally arrived at expression of "the feeling of the absence of the object," as exemplified in his notorious series of *White on White* paintings of 1918.

The sources of Russian constructivism unquestionably lie in Picasso's cubism. Constructivist theory developed in the works of Tatlin between 1913 and 1917 and those of the brothers Gabo and Pevsner between 1915 and 1917. The two currents converged in Moscow in 1917. Tatlin's reliefs were composed of industrial materials such as glass, wire, and metal. His art became increasingly architectonic, and the most ambitious of the constructivist works was his project for a monument to the Third International of 1919. Constructivist sculpture in general was more concerned with the object in space, with intersecting planes in depth rather than with volume and mass as plastic elements. In 1920 Gabo and Pevsner wrote the "realist" manifesto in which they presented the following fundamental concepts of constructivism: "In order to interpret the reality of life, art must be based upon two fundamental elements: space and time. Volume is not the only concept of space. Kinetic and dynamic elements must be used to express the true nature of time. The static rhythms are no longer sufficient. Art must not be more imitative, but seek new forms."

Rodchenko's anti-objectivism, or nonobjectivism, was less absolute in color and form and more dynamic than the suprematism of Malevich from which it sprang. Rodchenko's *Black on Black*, which he sent to the suprematist-nonobjectivist exhibition in 1919, was the anti-objectivist reply to Malevich's *White on White*. Another offshoot of these tendencies was the "Proun" constructions of El Lissitzky, which were a combination of French Dada and Dutch de Stijl with Russian elements.

**Vorticism.** Independent of the Russian movements, *Blast: The Review of the Great English Vortex* appeared in London in June, 1914, with the painter Wyndham Lewis (1882–1957) as editor. The accompanying movement, both literary and artistic, was called vorticism; among its members were the poet Ezra Pound (b. 1885) and the sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891–1915). Its principles were derived from cubism and futurism, though the movement professed opposition to both, and its program sought to free British art from the Victorian age and to present painting with the rigor of geometric theory. Though the vorticists sought to enlist Jacob Epstein (1880–1959; q.v.) in their ranks, this sculptor stands apart from any of the main movements of the 20th century. His intense cultivation of expressive values and his consistent production of sensitive portraits are traits not found in other leading avant-garde sculptors of his time.

**Purism.** Purism was initiated in 1915 with the publication of the review *L'Elan*, and its tenets were elaborated in 1918 by its founders Amédée Ozenfant (b. 1886) and Le Corbusier (q.v.; Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, b. 1887) in their book *Après le cubisme*. Its authors maintained that cubism had become trivial and decorative and that all painting based on fantasy, preciousness, and ostentation should be banned in order to restore to the object its basic architectonic simplicity. The machine became the symbol and model of absolute functionalism. Purism, like de Stijl and suprematism, rejected all subjective individualism and sentimentalism. The purist theories were further developed in the review *L'Esprit Nouveau* (Paris, 1920–25), in Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* (1923), and in his collaborative effort with Ozenfant, *La peinture moderne* (1925). The first exhibition of Purism was held in Paris in 1918 at the Galerie Thomas. Although the movement was ostensibly progressive and reformist, it was actually "reactionary" in that it stressed the inclusion of recognizable objects in paintings.

**Dada.** Cubist disintegration of forms, futurist rebellion against static harmony and good taste, Kandinsky's abstract "improvisations," Marcel Duchamp's (b. 1887; PL. 132) proto-Dada works from 1911 on (including the first "ready-made" in 1914), the cubist collage and the adoption of new materials such as glass, wood, newspaper, mirrors, and horsehair — all these paved the way for Dada and its assertion of the total irrationality of art.

The foundation of the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich by Hugo Ball (1886–1927) in 1916 marked the actual beginning of the movement. The expatriate Romanian poet Tristan Tzara is said to have chosen the designation "Dada" (hobbyhorse) at random from a dictionary. Dada demonstrations were held, and the first Dada manifesto was published. Dada spread to Germany, with centers in Berlin, Cologne, and Hanover, and to Paris, which became its center. In New York Marcel Duchamp had already produced antiesthetic works, having entered a miniature urinal in the 1917 *Indépendants* under the title *Fountain* by R. Mutt. The group that had grown up about the Alfred Stieglitz Photo Secession Gallery founded the review *291* in New York in 1915. Man Ray (b. 1890) had invented his "rayographs," an experiment in photographic techniques; and Francis Picabia, a former cubist, was also working in the Dada idiom before the movement was actually organized. The first "organized" Dada group, that of Zurich, included Ball, Tzara, Jean (Hans) Arp (b. 1887; q.v.), Marcel Janco (b. 1895), and Richard Huelsenbeck (b. 1892). Max Ernst (b. 1891; q.v.) and Kurt Schwitters (1887–1948) were two German artists whose Dada contributions were of great importance and orig-

inality, especially in the field of collage. Erast introduced Dada in Cologne, and Schwitters in Hanover; both took part in the Paris movement in its heyday.

Dada was dedicated to disorder, anarchy, and antisystematization and to open defiance of all previously existent forms of art and literature. In Germany it had marked political and Communist associations, and everywhere it reflected the desperation of the times in its drastic measures, its attempt to wipe the esthetic slate clean of pretension and hypocrisy. Its visual productions included the "found object" (*objet trouvé*), the "ready-made" (intact or slightly doctored objects from the everyday world that were chosen by the artist as works of art), and collages and constructions made from refuse, bits of paper found in the gutters, etc. "Sense through nonsense" was one of their bywords, and they propagated their faith with exhibitions of anti-art held in churches, lavatories, and bars, as well as outrageous public demonstrations that generally incited extremes of rage or enthusiasm.

Dada sculpture appeared mainly in the form of these found objects, ready-mades, and bold constructions and relieflike collages. Marcel Duchamp's fountain-urinal was not simply a joke, however, but prefigured much modern sculpture in its strictly formal emphasis. The Dada contribution to the contemporary sculptural esthetic lay, therefore, as much in this new manner of seeing sculptural shapes in everyday objects as in its development of constructions.

A large number of short-lived reviews were brought out by the various Dada groups in Europe: 1917, *Dada 1*, *Dada 2*, and *Nord-Sud* in Paris, *The Blind Man* and *Rongrong* in New York; 1918, *Club Dada* and *Der Dada* in Berlin by a group that included, among others Hannah Hoch (b. 1889), George Grosz, and Raoul Hausmann (b. 1886), *Dada 3* in Zurich, 1919, *Dada 4* and *Dada 5* (under the title *Anthologie Dada*) and *Littérature* in Paris; also 1919, *Ventilator*, published in Cologne by Baargeld (Alfred Grünwald, 1897-1927), Ernst, and Arp, and *Merz* in Hanover, published by Schwitters as his own analogy to Dada; 1920, *Dadaphone*, Paul Eluard's *Proverbe*, and Picabia's *Cannibale* in Paris and *Die Schammade* in Cologne; 1921, *New York Dada* by Man Ray and Duchamp.

In the same period Arp and Ernst brought out their collage series *Fatagaga*, Tzara published his 25 *Poèmes* (illustrated by Arp), and *Littérature* published no less than 23 Dada manifestos. In 1920, a public demonstration was held at the Palais des Fêtes before shocked and delighted Parisian audiences. The climax of the movement was the Dada festival of the same year in the Salle Gaveau. In 1922 the second international Dada exhibition was held in Paris at the Galerie Montaigne (the first having been in Berlin in 1920), but the movement had already begun to disintegrate. Dada, whose aim was to destroy, destroyed itself, according to schedule; but in doing so it gave way to surrealism, which was simply another, more serious and intellectual approach to the same problems and objectives.

**Surrealism.** The surrealist movement, or "superrealism," was founded by the poet and writer André Breton and included in its ranks many former Dadaists (see SURREALISM). The primary goal was to give form to subconscious themes supplied through chance, madness, dreams, hallucinations, or automatism — in other words, by all the psychic states that create in the imagination of the artist a certain *dépaysement* and produce "thought dictation, from which all exercise of reason and every esthetic or moral preoccupation is absent." The surrealists were conversant with Freudian theory and were among the first to see its importance in relation to art.

When Breton published the first manifesto of surrealism in 1924, he wrote, "I believe that in the future the two apparently contradictory states — dream and reality — will merge into an absolute reality, a surreality." In writing of surrealist painting, Max Ernst stressed the difference between the traditional esthetic, based on relationships between different aspects of things that can be seen, and surrealism, which must discover new relationships founded upon irrational means that awaken the functions of the unconscious, the spontaneous, the fortuitous, or the automatic (PL. 134). The theory of automatism in Dada

and surrealism gave rise to a number of new techniques or procedures: Max Ernst's *frottage* (or rubbings), Man Ray's rayographs (and other offshoots from photography, such as photomontage and photograms), Oscar Dominguez's (b. 1905) decalcomania (a kind of monotype), Wolfgang Paalen's (b. 1905) "smoke painting," the double image, the found object, typographical compositions, and so on. The object took on a new symbolic significance that gave rise to such typical surrealist products as Meret Oppenheim's fur-lined teacup, the precedents for which were Dada ready-mades.

The principles of surrealist painting were extended to sculpture, continuing and amplifying the Dada object. The only important sculptor to work in the surrealist idiom was Alberto Giacometti (b. 1901; q.v.), although Max Ernst began to work in sculpture later, while staying with Giacometti in Switzerland. Giacometti's elongated, highly cerebral, and existentialist vision of man continues to reflect his surrealist origins, recalling earlier nightmarish subjects such as *The Palace at 4 A.M.* and *Woman with Her Throat Cut*. The free-standing sculpture and reliefs (PL. 132) of Jean Arp, suggestive of the Dada and surrealist movements with which he has been associated, are antirational but cannot be assigned to either "school." "Reason," he says, "has cut off man from nature." Arp's smooth and polished shapes, refined and purified to the elemental simplicity of Brancusi's great *Bird in Space*, are often more natural than nature itself. The organic and sensuous quality of his sculpture has had great influence on the work of younger European sculptors such as Alberto Viani (b. 1906) and Emile Gilioli (b. 1911).

In 1925 the first collective exhibition of the surrealist group took place at the Galerie Pierre in Paris and included works by Joan Miró (b. 1893; PL. 135), Giorgio de Chirico (b. 1888; qq.v.), Pierre Roy (b. 1900), Man Ray, Picasso, Arp, Klee, and Ernst. Others taking part in the movement were André Masson (b. 1896; PL. 138), Yves Tanguy (b. 1900), René Magritte (b. 1898; PL. 144), Paul Delvaux (b. 1897), Duchamp, and Picabia. Surrealism was also a highly important literary movement and generated numerous reviews, including *La Révolution Surréaliste* (the fifth number of which marked the surrealists' formal allegiance to Communism), *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, and *Minotaure*.

The surrealist program was broad and lasting, although the movement lost most of its impact in the late 1930s. International surrealist exhibitions have been held all over the world, including — besides frequent shows in London, Paris, and New York — Prague, Copenhagen, Tenerife, Tokyo, Barcelona, and Mexico City. In 1960 alone, there were two international surrealist exhibitions, and surrealist publications such as *Médium* and *Le Surréalisme Même* continue to be published. The period 1925-35, however, is the one of most historical importance. In 1928 Breton's book *Le surréalisme et la peinture* was published, and in 1929 the second manifesto of surrealism appeared. In 1930 Salvador Dalí (b. 1904; q.v.; PL. 133) introduced his paranoic method of criticism, and a book of automatic texts entitled *L'Immaculée Conception* was published by Breton and Eluard. Dalí and Luis Buñuel made two surrealist films: *Le chien andalou* in 1929 and *L'âge d'or* in 1931. Also in 1931 the first exclusively surrealist exhibition in America was held at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford.

**De Stijl.** The de Stijl group and the review of the same name were founded in the Netherlands by Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931) in 1917. In the first issue of the review Piet Mondrian (1872-1944; q.v.) wrote an article on neoplasticism in painting and succeeding issues contained several other pieces on neoplasticism as a style. As a basis for his conception of abstract life, Mondrian said, "In order to understand the evolution of art from the natural toward the abstract, we have to understand that man's evolution continues in those physical circumstances as a process of interiorization . . . Man develops today in the opposite direction — away from matter and toward the spirit . . . As pure representation of the spirit, art will express itself in a purified — that is, abstract — esthetic form."

Besides Van Doesburg and Mondrian, other members of

de Stijl were Vilmos Huszar (b. 1884), the architect J. J. P. Oud (b. 1890; q.v.), and the poet Antony Kok (b. 1882). Two other painters, neither of whom was an active member, contributed to the 1917 issues of the review — Bart van der Leek (b. 1876) and the Italian futurist Gino Severini. The common purpose of these painters, architects, and writers was the "necessity of abstraction and simplification." They upheld the mathematical spirit in opposition to impressionism and sought the destruction of all "baroque" forms of expression, by which they meant everything lacking clarity and order. The paintings of Mondrian, Van Doesburg, and Van der Leek were all characterized by arrangements of vertical and horizontal bars or rectangles in flat planes and primary colors relating to each other or to a white background (PL. 136). Simultaneously in 1917, Georges Vantongerloo (b. 1886) and his group translated the Stijl preoccupation with rectangles and architectonic forms into sculpture, for which the style was admirably fitted. However, it was an Austrian, Frederick Kiesler (b. 1892), who created the *City in Space*, probably the most important fusion of de Stijl's architectural and sculptural principles. A bold experiment with asymmetrically arranged rectangular forms in space, the *City* was shown at the Paris exhibition of decorative arts in 1925.

The first manifesto of de Stijl (November, 1918) was signed by Van Doesburg, Mondrian, Huszar, Vantongerloo, Kok, and the architects Robert van't Hoff (b. 1887), Gerrit Rietveld (b. 1888), and Jan Wils (b. 1891). It called for an international unity of life, art, and culture on the intellectual level. The second manifesto, published in 1920, was devoted to literature and showed the influence of Dada. Mondrian's *Le néo-plasticisme* appeared in Paris the same year. Van Doesburg was making a grand tour of Europe at this time and spreading the ideology and influence of de Stijl to other avant-garde groups such as the Bauhaus, which he visited in 1921. In 1923 a Stijl exhibition was held at Léonce Rosenberg's in Paris. In the meantime Hans Richter (b. 1888), the abstract film maker, and El Lissitzky, the Russian constructivist, had joined the movement; and Van Doesburg had published the review *Mécano* (1922-23), in which Arp, Tzara, Schwitters, Hausmann, and other Dada artists collaborated. In 1925 Mondrian separated from the group because of disagreements with Van Doesburg. Constantin Brancusi, Friedl Vordemberge-Gildewart (b. 1899), and César Domela (Nieuwenhuis, b. 1900) also joined de Stijl, and Van Doesburg wrote his *Manifesto of Elementarism*, which offered a more dynamic, if less mathematically refined, style; he employed this style to decorate the Cabaret L'Aubette in Strasbourg (1926-28) with Sophie Taeuber-Arp (1889-1943).

In 1927 an important 10th-anniversary retrospective issue of *De Stijl* was published. In 1924 Van Doesburg had settled in Paris, where he died in March, 1931. With his death the group activity of de Stijl came to a close, although a number of the review was published in 1932 as a memorial to its founder. In 1930 a new group based on de Stijl had been formed by Vantongerloo and Auguste Herbin (1882-1960) with the support of Van Doesburg. This outgrowth of the original movement called itself *art concret* and published a review by the same name; in 1932 it emerged as the Abstraction-Création group. The influence of de Stijl, especially in architecture and industrial design, had been firmly implanted in the more advanced circles of European art — firmly enough to weather its subsequent persecution under the Nazi regime.

**Bauhaus.** The Bauhaus, a center of activity from 1919-33, was a likely focal point for the new theories of art. Directed by the architect Walter Gropius (b. 1883; q.v.), its faculty included Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Gerhard Marcks, Lyonel Feininger (1871-1956), László Moholy-Nagy (1888-1943), Marcel Breuer (b. 1902; q.v.), Joseph Albers (b. 1888), Herbert Bayer (b. 1900), Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943; PL. 141), Johannes Itten (b. 1888), George Muche (b. 1895), and Lothar Schreyer (b. 1886). Klee taught theory, as well as painting on glass and textiles. Kandinsky taught pure theory and painting as applied to architecture.

The Deutsche Werkbund, founded in 1907, was the direct

predecessor of the Bauhaus in attempting a synthesis between "machine style" and arts and crafts. The first proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus in 1919 set forth its program and principles: "Architects, painters, and sculptors must recognize anew the composite character of a building as an entity. . . . There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman. . . . Proficiency in his craft is essential to every artist. . . . Let us create a new guild of craftsmen, without class distinctions which raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist. Together let us conceive and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity." The mathematical aspects of space as explored by de Stijl and the Russian movements strongly influenced Bauhaus sculpture, whose most important exponent was Moholy-Nagy.

The Bauhaus desire to achieve a synthesis between fine and applied arts laid the foundations for an entirely new concept of teaching art and revolutionized the field of industrial design. In 1925 the Bauhaus was transferred from Weimar to Dessau, and in 1933 it was closed by the Nazis. After the suppression of the German Bauhaus, a New Bauhaus (The Institute of Design) was founded in Chicago in 1937 by Moholy-Nagy, and this center has contributed strongly to the diffusion of the new ideas in America.

**Fantastic art.** Fantastic art has never constituted an organized movement, but it represents an important strain in modern art, a common attitude independently arrived at by widely diverse painters. The term was used by Baudelaire to describe the art of Goya and is often applied to the works of Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Fantastic art is generally characterized by a certain tendency toward the mysterious, the unexpected, the absurd, or the bizarre and hence has disquieting overtones of eeriness or terror. This strange and uneasy atmosphere is found in the work of Odilon Redon, Arnold Böcklin (1827-1906; qq.v.), Gustave Moreau, and Adolph Monticelli (1824-86), as well as in the exotic scenes done by Le Douanier, Henri Rousseau (1844-1910; q.v.), about 1904-08. James Ensor, Joan Miró, the Russian Marc Chagall (b. 1887; qq.v.), and André Masson, with their surrealist backgrounds, and even Paul Klee, can be labeled "fantastic." Klee and Chagall (PL. 139) represent the "marvelous" or fairy-tale aspect of fantastic art, which often arises from, or creates, a dreamworld; this source of inspiration relates it to much primitive, Dada, and surrealist art.

Closely allied to fantastic art is a specific group called the "metaphysical school," which was initiated by the Italian Giorgio de Chirico during a sojourn in Paris (1910-15; PL. 133). After he returned to Italy, he was joined by Carlo Carrà (PL. 133) and Filippo de Pisis (1896-1956) in 1917, and the name "metaphysical school" was coined. Their work was an attempt to create a new order of reality based on metaphysics. The enigmas of De Chirico's dreamworld bore a definite relationship to surrealism, which he aligned himself with and then repudiated. "A work of art," he declared, "must tell something which does not appear in its external form."

**Neoprimitivism.** Neoprimitive painters, often called *peintres nafs*, Sunday painters, or popular painters, attempt to recover the spontaneity and simplicity of folk art. The most important artist is Henri Rousseau (PL. 121); others are André Bauchant (b. 1873), Louis Vivin (1861-1936), Camille Bombois (b. 1883), Séraphine Louis (1864-1934), and Dominique Peyronnet (1872-1943). Neoprimitivism, like fantastic art, is independent of specific movements, and painters working in both of these idioms more or less stand apart from contemporary trends. Their unsophisticated art is characterized by a childlike delight in color and pattern and by little regard for academic disciplines or techniques. Although it is the product of a more sophisticated personality, the art of Maurice Utrillo (1883-1955; q.v.; PL. 138) is allied formally to that of the neoprimitives.

**CONTEMPORARY TRENDS.** Given the extreme complexity of the diverse and successive artistic trends from the years just

preceding World War II to the present, this "middle phase" of modern art must be discussed from a national point of view, although for the most part the artists have entirely disengaged themselves from any particularly national content in their work and have arrived at a generally European or international conception. The principal influence in this period is the gradual assimilation of the radical discoveries made by the previous generation. Their innovations have been, and are being, explored and carried to their extremes. Mutual influences have traversed the boundaries of both national and highly specialized doctrines, and the result is a most complex picture. No other phase in the history of art has shown such a bewildering variety of styles and such reciprocity. Political developments and the growing reluctance of the artist to engage himself in social comment are among the causes of the increasing eclecticism of contemporary art. With the emergence of avant-garde movements in other countries, Paris lost its exclusive claim to the central position. Significant events had occurred in Russia before the revolution, in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the United States, Mexico, etc. French and non-French artists began to share the initiative, and the decline of the "organized movements" obviated the necessity of a central source of esthetic revolution.

The present situation is characterized by the continuing advancement of abstract or nonobjective art. The geometric trend, stronger at first, has given way to increasing emphasis on the element of chance, on emotionalism and personal expression, and on "informal art." The most recent embodiment of this tendency has arisen since World War II and is variously known as abstract expressionism or abstract impressionism, tachism, action painting, *art autre*, *art informel*, and so on. All these styles have evolved from past developments in modern art. Among the elements they have incorporated and amplified upon are the following: the color concepts of symbolism and Fauvism; tectonic characteristics from the late work of Monet, Bonnard, and others; Kandinsky's approach earlier in his abstract period (ca. 1910-20); surrealist automatism and Dada irrationalism; as well as organic shapes and dynamics of line showing the influence of Far Eastern calligraphy. There is, in short, a growing rapport between European, American, and Japanese art that makes the designation of individual, readily distinguishable movements impossible.

In cubism, expressionism, Dada, and related movements, there was already a distinct propensity toward pure form, independent of all objective representation. Kandinsky is credited with painting the first "abstract" painting about 1910. The works of Picasso and Braque from 1910-14; of Franz Marc, August Macke, and Klee after 1914; and naturally, of Mondrian, de Stijl, Bauhaus, suprematism, etc., were all abstract and nonobjective. Hans Arp said in this period, "I understand how a cubist painting can be called abstract. . . . But I find that a painting or a sculpture which has had no object for a model is as concrete and sensual as a leaf or a stone." To avoid confusion, the term "nonobjective art" (q.v.) should be used for what is often mistakenly called "abstract art." Abstraction, or simplification toward the "essence" of the object, is a quality that is present to some degree in most great painting, both traditional and contemporary. It is not this quality, but rather the increasing lack of reference to any object (real or imagined), which can be deemed "nonobjective," as evident in Arp's statement. Conversely, representational art can be called "figural," or "objective" art.

*France.* Any discussion of French art of the modern period must necessarily include consideration of the *école de Paris*, the school of Paris, comprised not only of Frenchmen but of artists from all over the world who either emigrated to France or lived there for varying lengths of time. In the first decade of this century certain foreign painters attached to this school were called "peintres maudits," or accursed painters—for example, Amedeo Modigliani and Chaim Soutine. Another direction within the school of Paris was represented by Picasso, Gris, and their circle. Painters such as Serge Poliakoff (b. 1906) and Nicolas de Staël (1914-55) were considered to comprise

the present generation of the school of Paris until quite recently when a so-called "young school of Paris" appeared; it was this *nouvelle école de Paris* which formed the cadre for the first Paris Biennale in 1959. "School of Paris" continues to be a loose, general designation; no one style predominates among the painters included, although most work in a nonobjective idiom.

Aside from the nonobjectivism of the avant-garde, there has always been an opposing neorealist trend in France that invokes the example of Manet and Courbet. Older artists who worked in this idiom at one time or another included André Dunoyer de Segonzac (b. 1884), Jean-Louis Bouscungault (1883-1943), Luc Albert Moreau (1887-1948), and Henri de Waroquier (b. 1881). About 1930 a new generation of the neorealist painters emerged; constituting a norm between the avant-garde and the academic official salons, these new realists included Maurice Brianchon (b. 1899), Roland Oudot (b. 1897), Roger Chapelain-Midy (b. 1904), Yves Brayer (b. 1907), and Jules Cavillès (b. 1901). One characteristic they generally held in common was buoyant use of color.

In 1935 the group Forces Nouvelles, guided by humanist precepts, was formed. Its adherents, who usually expressed themselves in much more somber colors, included Jean Lasne (b. 1911), Robert Humblot (b. 1907), Henri Jannot (b. 1909), Georges Rohner (b. 1913), and Claude Vénard (b. 1913). In 1948 the group L'Homme Témoin (Man as Witness) exhibited in Paris. Among the artists participating were Bernard Lorjou (b. 1908), Bernard Buffet (b. 1928), Paul Rebeyrolle (b. 1926), and André Minaux (b. 1923). Balthus (Balthasar Klossowsky, b. 1910), whose first one-man show occurred in Paris in 1934, continues to paint with an entirely personal, detached, and mystic realism. Other realists working contemporaneously in France were Jean Commère (b. 1920), François Gruber (1913-48), and Vera Pagava (b. 1920). Still others—Amédée Dubois La Patellière (1890-1932) and Edouard Georg (b. 1893)—followed the example of Henri le Fauconnier and painted in an expressionist idiom that was less radical than the original German movement. Marcel Gromaire (b. 1892), Edouard Pignon (b. 1905), André Marchand (b. 1907), Antoni Clavé (b. 1913), and numerous lesser-known artists found inspiration in cubism and the art of Picasso.

Although its disciples still publish periodicals and hold exhibitions, surrealism is no longer potent as a movement; however, painters such as the Chilean Roberto Matta Echaurren (b. 1912; PL. 134), who works in Paris, and Arshile Gorky (1904-48) in New York have developed an abstract surrealism, while other lesser artists continue to work in the original forms. Max Ernst and Alberto Giacometti have created new mythologies that still evidence their original surrealist affiliations.

*Art brut* ("raw" art), whose leading exponent is Jean Dubuffet (b. 1901), is related to children's art with its deliberate caricature and emphasis on the manipulation of surface (PL. 147), which frequently result in bitter and witty commentary on the times. Dubuffet also works in sculpture, and he has created a series of "Little Statues of Precarious Life" made of slag, sponge, charcoal, and refuse.

The predominant trends in France, however, have been nonobjective, although in the last part of his life Nicolas de Staël, one of the most important painters of this period, reverted to an interest in the object. Serge Poliakoff, Maria Elena Vieira da Silva (b. 1908), Charles Lapique (b. 1898), Gustave Singier (b. 1909), Roger Bissière (b. 1888), Alfred Manessier (b. 1911), Jean Bazaine (b. 1904), Maurice Estève (b. 1904), and Pierre Tal Coat (b. 1905) are the most widely known members of an abstract school that bases its art on relatively concrete form and composition, as opposed to the stress on the "accidental" of the tachist movement. At the same time they tend to emphasize lyricism and spiritualization rather than dynamism and expressionism.

The 1930s had seen the establishment of the groups Abstraction-Création and Cercle et Carré, both stemming from de Stijl and constructivist trends. One of their members, the Dutch sculptor César Domela, continues to work in a rounded, elegant variant of neoplasticism. Another sculptor subscribing to the geometric trend is Victor Vasarely (b. 1908), who is



greatly interested in problems of space, movement, and transparency. He has made abstract "kinetic" works and maintains that painting and sculpture have become anachronistic terms — that they embrace a "single plastic sensibility in different spaces."

Geometric abstraction was revived by the exhibition of *art concret* at the Galerie Drouin in 1945 and by the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles founded in 1947; both promote tendencies based on neoplasticism and constructivism and frequently approach the cubist esthetic as well. Auguste Herbin, Alberto Magnelli (b. 1888), and Jean Deyrolle (b. 1911) took part in the establishment of Réalités Nouvelles. The Groupe Espace was organized in 1951 by painters, sculptors, and architects — among them André Bloc (b. 1896), Jean Gorin (b. 1889), and Edgar Pillet (b. 1912) — and was based on the conviction that art should play an integral part in the conduct of life. Bloc, in particular, is still interested in the integration of the plastic arts in architecture, the "art of filling space."

The term "tachism," coined by the critic Michel Tapié from the French word for "spot" (or "blot"), is analogous to the American terms "abstract expressionism" and "action painting." Among its best-known practitioners, who stress the values of irrationality and the principle of chance, are Georges Mathieu (b. 1921), Wols (Wolfgang Schulze, 1913–51; PL. 147), and François Arnal (b. 1924). Somewhat related to tachism is the art of Jean Fautrier (b. 1898; PL. 150). His series of "Objects," "Nudes," and "Hostages" are all violent impasto shapes rendered in subtly modulated tones on monochrome backgrounds, occasionally accented with acrid pastel color, and are regarded as a mordant commentary on modern life. A trend that has paralleled tachism is painting based on the sign or ideogram, which in some cases stems from an interest in Japanese and Chinese calligraphy. Exponents of this tendency are Pierre Soulages (b. 1919) and Hans Hartung (b. 1904; PL. 148), Kumi Sugai (b. 1921), and Zao-Wou-Ki (b. 1920).

The school of Paris also present great variety in the field of sculpture. One of the first sculptors to work with metal in an expressionistic manner was Germaine Richier (1904–59), whose bulbous, twisted, and rather tortured view of 20th-century man is at times surrealistic, and always highly imaginative. A fantastic menagerie of monsters and organic forms was developed in her later works, and the tension she achieved between surface and volume has influenced a great many of the younger sculptors. One of these is César (Baldacchini, b. 1921), who assembles welded scrap iron into objects with a sense of rhythm and mass that makes him one of the outstanding workers in this medium. Besides the austere metal abstractions for which he is best known, the Dane Robert Jacobsen (b. 1930), who lives in Paris, has also produced some richly humorous iron "dolls" made of scrap that are somewhat reminiscent of Picasso's later sculpture. The idea of welding found objects into recognizable figural subjects is based technically, though not esthetically, on Dada. The fantasies of Robert Müller (b. 1920), another sculptor in metals, are original and at times powerful. His rather primitive, rounded, and often horrifying forms have many imitators.

Etienne Hajdu (b. 1907) works in a more classical vein and creates abstract marble or metal bas-relief that displays an undulation of surface which tends to fuse form and background. Alicia Pérez Penalba (b. 1918), an Argentinean by birth, has developed a style of piled-up, totemic forms. The leader of the so-called "Neo-Dada" in Paris is the Swiss Jean Tinguely (b. 1925), who has been experimenting with objects and relief in motion since about 1950. His subsequent "metamatics," or electromechanical sculpture and machines that are made from the refuse of junkyards, variously play the piano, make "paintings," or destroy themselves.

Countless other names, as well as many other divergences from these main lines of development, cannot be listed here because of exigencies of space. Paris, although no longer the uncontested center of organized art movements, still claims the largest artist population in the world and remains an esthetic hub for the young that is unmatched in Europe.

*England.* In the latter part of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th, British art remained largely a pro-

vincial reflection of continental activities, although the vorticism of Wyndham Lewis is somewhat of an exception. In 1933, however, with the formation of Unit One by a group of painters, sculptors, and architects, Britain gained new prominence on the international scene. Painters such as Paul Nash (1889–1946) and Graham Sutherland (b. 1903; q.v.) were already active in the interwar period, but only in the past 25 years has a distinctive British art developed, even though it remains a "school" of individualists.

Sculptors are responsible for much of the vitality and originality of contemporary art in England. Henry Moore (q.v.; PL. 145) is probably the most important living exponent of organic sculpture, although he in turn has been influenced by Arp and, of course, Brancusi. Moore is a great respecter of materials and of fluid natural form; like most of the important English artists, he evolved his own style without identifying himself with any group or specific tendency. During the 1930s however, Moore's abstract wire-strung creations were related to and influenced by surrealism, and he acknowledges the importance of the subconscious, as well as the value of strictly formal development. "The meaning and significance of form itself," he has said, "probably depends on the countless associations of man's history." Moore has in fact studied African, Sumerian, and Aztec sculpture, in addition to the paleolithic paintings at Altamira, in an attempt to rediscover a kind of intuitive force in the "life" of the materials themselves. He proceeded to concentrate on the forms and rhythms of the human body, and his monumental figures, with their positive use of both mass and space, are "outdoor sculpture" in the best sense of this anomalous category. Relations between man and nature are always primary considerations in his work.

Once a classmate of Moore and a comember of Unit One, Barbara Hepworth (b. 1903) also belonged to the Paris Abstraction-Création group. She has always carved directly in wood or stone, and although her earlier sculpture was quite naturalistic, she has veered toward an interest in relationships and tensions between forms in space. Like certain works of Moore, these forms are often pierced through and strung with wire. She is fundamentally a classicist artist, in the sense that she is involved more with form than with any sort of romanticism or expressionism. Eduardo Paolozzi (b. 1924), on the other hand, is best known for mechanical robots and grotesque animals that he casts from scrap constructions. Their textural and conceptual inventiveness combines with their many-sided, ambiguously flat effect to present an awkward but expressive, rather battered modern man.

Lynn Chadwick (b. 1914) began by making mobiles, turned to constructions, and finally arrived at his mature style of abstract welded-iron sculpture that often incorporates semi-mobile elements. "I am pleased," he says, "if the iron forms I make have a sort of organic reality." Kenneth Armitage (b. 1916) first developed a flat, almost screenlike style of free-standing sculpture that usually represented groups of human figures; but his later work is bulkier and more massive, although still concerned mainly with semiabstract human forms (PL. 145). The last of this trio of well-known younger British sculptors is Reg Butler (b. 1913). Trained as an architect and a blacksmith, he turned to sculpture in 1944. His human figures are generally rendered in an attitude of reaching or straining upward, and his sense of proportion often conveys an effect of monumentality. In 1954 he did, in fact, win the international competition for a monument entitled *The Unknown Political Prisoner*.

Victor Pasmore (b. 1908) and Ben Nicholson (b. 1894; q.v.) are the most important painters of geometric abstractions, which recall the art of Mondrian, Purism, and synthetic cubism. Nicholson's first nonobjective work dates from 1923, and Pasmore later became a pure constructivist. In his sculpture, the latter employs translucent materials in a purified, architectonic manner. Other painters, such as Patrick Heron (b. 1920) and Ceri Richards (b. 1903) in an abstract vein and Keith Vaughan (b. 1912) and John Craxton (b. 1922) in a figural idiom, have pursued a subtly balanced and essentially decorative stylistic bent. William Scott (b. 1913) has based his nonobjective work on a sensual and naturalistic conception of reality, while the



romantic realism of John Piper (b. 1903) has also found felicitous expression in his designs for the theater.

The best-known British painters on the international scene are Graham Sutherland and Francis Bacon (b. 1910), whose formal vocabularies derive from the visionary traditions, both literary and pictorial, of the past (PL. 145). Their own visions of the contemporary world are expressed in terms relating to surrealism and "informal art." John Tunnard (b. 1900) and Stanley William Hayter (b. 1901) also began in the surrealist fold, while Alan Davie (b. 1920) — although vaguely influenced by surrealism — paints in a tachist idiom with symbolic values that have reference to Buddhism. Many of the younger painters have been attracted to tachism, some evidencing only a brief affiliation. Among the varied adherents of tachism are Denis Bowen (b. 1921), Dorothy Bordaas (b. 1905), Robyn Denny (b. 1930), and Henry Cliffe (b. 1919). Since 1955, however, the influence of American painting, especially the New York school, has been more marked than that of Paris.

A lyrical impressionism that has veered toward the abstract was developed by Ivon Hitchens (b. 1893); and a strain of abstract expressionism inspired mainly by landscape impressions — especially of St. Ives, Cornwall — is found in the work of John Wells (b. 1907), Roger Hilton (b. 1911), William Gear (b. 1915), Sandra Blow (b. 1925), Peter Lanyon (b. 1918), Bryan Wynter (b. 1916), Terry Frost (b. 1915), Donald Hamilton Fraser (b. 1920), and Trevor Bell (b. 1930).

Since World War II England has also seen the rise of the "kitchen sink" school, a group advocating a social realism akin to that of the "angry young men" of contemporary English writing. Unencumbered by academism, this trend has been distinguished by a great deal of individualism, as represented in the work of John Bratby (b. 1928), Derrick Graves (b. 1927), Edward Middleditch (b. 1923), and Jack Smith (b. 1928).

The British also like to add to the established contemporary "isms" that of English neoromanticism, with its beginnings in the 1930s; indeed, the romantic tendencies characteristic of 19th-century British art have never completely died out.

*Italy.* In Italy after World War I, a strong neoclassicist reaction was initiated by the appearance of the review *Valori Plastici*, published from 1919 to 1922. In 1924 the Novecento (20th Century) group, which had been formed in Milan in 1922, exhibited at the Biennale of Venice and became generally associated with the regime, although its program was never avowedly fascist. The movement included such figural painters as Carlo Carrà, Ottone Rosai, Felice Casorati (b. 1886; PL. 142), and Massimo Campigli (b. 1895) and the sculptors Arturo Martini (1889–1947; PL. 143) and Marino Marini (q.v.).

By 1930 artists in Milan, Turin, and Rome were reacting against the Novecento movement and soon afterward began to produce their first nonobjective canvases. In 1934, in conjunction with the collective Galleria del Milione in Milan, the first manifesto of Italian nonobjectivism was published. Thereafter, groups of nonobjective painters began forming throughout Italy, and their members included Antanasio Soldati (1896–1953), Lucio Fontana (b. 1899), Osvaldo Licini (1894–1958), and Enrico Prampolini (1894–1956). Their art was based in particular on the works of Mondrian, Kandinsky's second period, and Vantongerloo.

In Turin the Gruppo dei Sei (Group of Six) retaliated with a return to impressionism, while at the same time Luigi Spazapan (1889–1957) was evolving an expressionistic style that was Viennese in origin. During this period (1925–39) Filippo de Pisis (PL. 142) lived in Paris, and Giorgio Morandi (b. 1890; PL. 149), although he was briefly associated with metaphysical painting, worked in relative isolation. Morandi's style is a delicate compromise between impressionism and cubism, and his tonal intimism has had great influence on the Roman school. He continues to work in a subtle and highly personal manner, still in solitude and still without ties to current movements or trends.

The Roman school, another reaction to the Novecento that was formed by Mario Mafai (b. 1902) and Scipione (Gino Bonichi, 1904–33; PL. 142), began as expressionism which was

without social criticism and now includes a number of non-objective painters; many of its adherents, such as Afro (Basaldella, b. 1912), work largely with color and tone. Others, such as Giuseppe Capogrossi (b. 1900), have evolved personal signs and symbols; some, such as Toti Scialoja (b. 1914), work in a tachist idiom. The Milanese Corrente group, formed in 1938, had as participants Bruno Cassinari (b. 1912), Giuseppe Santomaso (b. 1907), Emilio Vedova (b. 1919), and Renato Guttuso (b. 1912) and was dedicated to resistance against the cultural inertia of Italy at the time.

After World War II, the Nuova Secessione Artistica Italiana (New Italian Artistic Secession) — later the Fronte Nuova delle Arti (New Art Front) — was formed by Carlo Levi (b. 1902), Renato Birolli (b. 1906), Giulio Turcato (b. 1912), the critic Giuseppe Marchiori, and others. Although it lacked a precise stylistic direction, it favored a broadening of Italy's artistic interests to achieve closer rapport with the general European artistic climate. After 1948 a controversy arose between the abstractionists and the realists and eventually split the Fronte Nuova into two factions — "The Group of Eight Italian Painters," comprised of Birolli, Santomaso, Turcato, Vedova, Afro, Enio Morlotti (b. 1910), Antonio Corpora (b. 1909), and Mattia Moreni (b. 1920); and groups in Milan and Rome that were more oriented toward social realism and included Levi, Guttuso, and Renzo Vespignani (b. 1933).

In Milan Roberto Crippa (b. 1920), Emilio Scanavino (b. 1922), and others were influenced by the surrealists Ernst and Giacometti. In 1946 Lucio Fontana wrote the *Manifesto bianco* in Buenos Aires, and subsequently he established the spatialist movement in Milan. In the manifesto he set forth the principles of an abstraction based on a materialistic and scientific conception of reality. The group "Forma," which continues postimpressionist abstraction in the spirit of *art autre*, includes the painters Piero Dorazio (b. 1927), Achille Perilli (b. 1927), and Antonio Sanfilippo (b. 1923). Enrico Baj (b. 1924) and Gianni Bertini (b. 1922) have founded the "nuclear art" movement in Milan; and the avant-garde painters whose interest lies in formal manipulation of the surface and collage painting are led by Alberto Burri (b. 1915), a former surgeon, who works with burlap, iron, and paint (PL. 148). More than any other country in this period, Italy is oriented in terms of groups and movements, though none has grown to prime international importance and most are regionally based on the individual works of a few painters or sculptors.

For the most part, contemporary Italian sculpture remains within the classical figure tradition. Arturo Martini, who was a member of the Valori Plastici group in Rome, was influenced by Medardo Rosso and has in turn had great influence on younger sculptors such as Marino Marini, whose figures and horses combine a certain dependence on antiquity with a fresh, entirely modern spirit and execution (PL. 143). Giacomo Manzù (b. 1908) is most widely known for his monumental figures of cardinals (PL. 143), which similarly combine a classical approach to the figure with modern conceptions of volume. Luciano Minguzzi (b. 1911) and Emilio Greco (b. 1913) are among the lesser-known exponents of this tradition. Their lighter, graceful figures are often charming, if not as grave and monumental as those of Manzù.

One of the leading abstract sculptors is Mirko (Basaldella, b. 1910), whose totemic forms and bronze animals with decorative surfaces derive more from early Chinese bronzes than from any Western source. The smooth-surfaced organic figures of Alberto Viani are purist, like the works of Brancusi and Arp from which they derive, and are more "international" in flavor than peculiarly Italian. At present the Pomodoro brothers, Arnaldo (b. 1926) and Gio (b. 1930), represent the most interesting trend in nonobjective sculpture in Italy. Both work in metal, with an emphasis on surface in both low textural relief and welded freestanding sculpture.

*Spain.* Represented outside Spain by the work of Picasso, Miró, Gris, and Dalí, Spanish painting has not, despite these noteworthy emigrations, lost contact with the mainstream of European art. The work of Francisco Iturrino (1864–1924) was

related to Fauvism, and that of Juan de Echevarría (1872-1952) to aspects of Cézanne and Gauguin. Benjamín Palencia (b. 1902) recalls postimpressionist naturalism in his paintings, while Daniel Vázquez Díaz (b. 1892) introduced in Spain a discerning application of the cubist discoveries in his frescoes of Santa María de la Rábida near Huelva. Francisco Cossío (b. 1898) combines a baroque spirit with a modified cubism.

The major work of Julio González (1876-1942) properly belongs to the period from 1926 to 1942, as it was not until his fiftieth year that he fully developed the distinctive style of abstract sheet-metal sculpture for which he is best known. The influence of his friend Picasso and of African art is apparent in his masks and linear figures, which coexist with more traditional figure sculpture such as his famous *Montserrat*. The influence of González on recent sculpture is widespread and can be seen in the works of such diverse sculptors as Reg Butler, the Dane Robert Jacobsen, and Berto Lardera (b. 1911). Pablo Gargallo (1881-1936), another friend of Picasso, created notable figures of beaten metal in the twenties, but these were not as revolutionary or as powerful as the work of González.

The subsequent, more avant-garde development of Spanish contemporary art was preceded by several important events that affected Spanish modern architecture as well. In 1931, after a lecture by Walter Gropius in the students' residence in Madrid, the movement GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Tecnicos Españoles para el Progreso de l'Arquitectura Contemporanea) was formed; the same year witnessed the inception of the review *Gaceta de Arte*, edited by Eduardo Westerdahl, who was also the coordinator of the second international surrealist exhibition in Tenerife in 1935. In 1948 several artists joined with Westerdahl to constitute what became known as the Grupo de Canarias (Canary Islands group), and a group of abstract artists was organized in Saragossa. Also in 1948, at a time when Spain's artistic isolation was at its height, the group Dau al Set and the review of the same name were founded in Barcelona. Among those involved with establishing Dau al Set were the poet Juan Brossa, the writer Arnald Puig, the critic Juan Eduardo Cirlot, and painters Antoni Tàpies (b. 1923), Modest Cuixart (b. 1925), Joan Ponç (b. 1927), and Joan Josep Tharrats (b. 1918). Its purpose was to consolidate the forces of the emerging Spanish avant-garde.

In 1951 the first Spanish American Biennial, held in Madrid, marked another important step in the evolution of the new Spanish art, for it was here that modern art was officially acknowledged for the first time. Manolo Millares (b. 1926) and Enrique Planasduras (b. 1921) were among those exhibiting. In 1949 and 1950 two congresses sponsored by the Altamira School in Santander (founded in 1948 by critic Ricardo Gullón, historian Pablo Beltrán de Heredia, and sculptor Angel Ferrant, along with the German painter Mathias Göritz) called attention to the origins of the new structural vocabulary and lauded poetic values, especially those of traditional surrealism. In 1953 the Asociación de Artistas Actuales (Association of Contemporary Artists) was founded in Barcelona by the critic Alexandre Cirici-Pellicer. This association instituted the Salón de Mayo and in 1955 fostered the Tàull group, which included the painters Tàpies, Tharrats, Cuixart, and José Guinovart (b. 1927) and the sculptors Angel Ferrant (b. 1891) and Eduardo Chillida (b. 1924). The idea of "magic abstraction" disseminated by Dau al Set was translated in 1957 into an original theory of informal art by the El Paso group in Madrid, in which Millares, Luis Ferto (b. 1929), Antonio Saura (b. 1930), and Rafael Canogar (b. 1934) took part. This movement was to be the source of the "new Spanish art" whose exponents have since been recognized and individually rewarded both with prizes at the international biennials and by increasing interest and enthusiasm throughout Europe and America.

This most advanced school of Spanish painting is characterized by highly developed manipulation of surface and emphasis on texture in subtle, often monochromatic tonal effects utilizing collage, construction, and thickly applied pigment. It has been referred to as "matter painting" by the critic Lawrence Alloway (PL. 146). Lucio Muñoz (b. 1929), Manuel Rivera (b. 1927), Francisco Farreras (b. 1927), Antonio Suárez (b. 1923), and

Manuel Viola (b. 1919) are other painters whose work, although very personal in style, should be included in any general description of contemporary trends.

Among the sculptors active in this same ambient are Eduardo Chillida, who carries on the forged-iron tradition of Spanish craftsmanship in a highly metaphysical manner (PL. 146); Oteiza (Jorge de Oteiza Embil, b. 1908), whose heavy, simple iron and aluminum forms are more angular than those of Chillida; Pablo Serrano (b. 1910), who assembles rough welded-iron constructions of found objects; and José Subirachs (b. 1927), a native of Barcelona whose fantastic organic forms are undoubtedly influenced by the architectural ornament and ironwork of his fellow Catalan Antoni Gaudí.

*Germany.* The history of modern German art was largely conditioned by the systematic persecution that befell it during the Hitlerian regime. The first repressive measures included the closing of the Bauhaus in 1933, which resulted in the emigration of Gropius, Kandinsky, Albers, Feininger, Moholy-Nagy, and others to France and America. Klee, Pechstein, Willi Baumeister (1899-1955), Beckmann, Dix, Grosz, Schlemmer, Karl Hofer (1875-1955), and Christian Rohlf (1849-1938) were dismissed from their teaching positions. In 1937 Nolde was forbidden to work and Schmidt-Rottluff to exhibit or work. In 1938 Kirchner, upset by a defamation campaign against his painting, committed suicide in Switzerland. Kokoschka left Prague to establish himself in London the same year. In June, 1937, Hitler opened Der Haus der deutschen Kunst (Hall of German Art) and in his dedicatory speech announced that "here begins the end of madness in German art... the Hall of German Art in Munich is constructed by the German people for their own German art." His campaigns against "degenerate" modern art were unremitting and devastating; hence when the war ended, the German art world was a *tabula rasa*, more so than any other European country. The surviving older expressionists who remained in Germany and held teaching positions had little or no influence with the younger generation. Willi Baumeister was the only older painter to enjoy much popularity (PL. 141).

The general trend in Germany since World War II has been decidedly nonobjective, though not reflecting any specific prewar movement. As in the 1930s, the role of the government in the German art world continues to loom larger than in most other European countries. Besides Baumeister, Theodor Werner (b. 1886), Ernst Wilhelm Nay (b. 1902), and Fritz Winter (b. 1905) continued to exercise some influence. Successful disciples of the expressionists were few, except for Alexander Camaro (b. 1901) and, in some measure, Werner Gilles (b. 1894). Richard Oelze (b. 1900) and Hans Bellmer (b. 1902) are the only notable painters who still work in the surrealist vein. Kandinsky has exerted the greatest influence over nonobjective art, although its variants are numerous — running the gamut from Baumeister's naturalism to Nay's intellectualism.

Hans Hartung (b. 1904) and Wols, both of whom emigrated to Paris, are two of the initiators of "informal art." The abstract work of Julius Bissier (b. 1891) is related to certain aspects of Far Eastern painting. Heinz Trökes (b. 1915) and Hann Trier (b. 1915) have evolved personal styles that are only vaguely attributable to the influence of Picasso and surrealism, respectively. In their dynamic use of movement, Karl Otto Götz (b. 1914) and K. R. H. Sonderborg (b. 1923) approach the action painters. Other important tachist painters who have come to the fore in the 1950s include Bernhard Schultze (b. 1915), Emil Schumacher (b. 1912), Winfred Gaul (b. 1928), Karl Fred Dalmen (b. 1917), Hans Platschek (b. 1923), Peter Brüning (b. 1929), and Erwin Bechtold (b. 1925).

The present sculptural output of Germany is also marked by its great variety and quantity and its high quality. Karl Hartung (b. 1908), one of the deans of German sculpture, has been working in an abstract idiom since 1933, and his weighty, columnlike figures are reflected in some of the work of the younger generation. Otto Freundlich (1878-1943), who belonged to both the Cercle et Carré and Abstraction-Création groups in Paris, created serene, monumental heads and abstractions.

Bernhard Heiliger (b. 1915) is known for expressive, simplified portrait heads and for organically smooth and curving figures. Hans Uhlmann (b. 1900) began as an engineer, and his complex bent forms of bronze seem to revel in movement. "I make spatial sculpture, which is more than merely three-dimensional," he said. Among the numerous sculptors who have emerged in the 1950s, Norbert Kricke (b. 1922) and Emil Schumacher represent two divergent tendencies. With steel wires, Kricke produces light and graceful works, while Schumacher, who is also a painter, makes "tactile objects" — irregular metal reliefs of heavily textured surface.

Thus Germany, despite the devastating effects of defeat and artistic exile, has resumed a significant role in the realm of art; and the predominant styles are those reflecting the international postwar scene.

*Austria, Switzerland, and Luxembourg.* The major source of Austrian expressionism was the art of Gustav Klimt, who was in turn a product of the Vienna Sezession and Art Nouveau movements. Egon Schiele (1890–1918) was another early exponent of expressionism, and Oskar Kokoschka continues to be the best-known Austrian modern artist. Austrian expressionism is distinguished from that of Germany by its more cerebral, graphic, and drier quality, although it was based upon the same concern for the plight of humanity. Alfred Kubin (b. 1877) created a visionary and mystical world — anguished, macabre, often tinged with eroticism — which is reflected by the younger generation of Austrian surrealists, such as Ernst Fuchs (b. 1930), Anton Lehmden (b. 1929), and Rudolf Hausner (b. 1923). An extreme abstract geometricism based on Mondrian's theories is practiced by Arnulf Rainer (b. 1929) and Joseph Mikl (b. 1929). Carl Unger (b. 1915), Gustav K. Beck (b. 1902), and Fritz Stowasser (b. 1928) work in an abstract manner that is less rigorous, while Fritz Hundertwasser (b. 1928) has created a kind of "cosmic" Neo-Dada.

Two of the widely known Austrian modern artists are the sculptors Rudolf Hoflehner (b. 1916) and Fritz Wotruba (b. 1907). The former makes simple, powerful abstract forms in steel; the massive architectural figures of Wotruba are carved directly in limestone and demonstrate great sensitivity for the material itself — its weight, volume, and texture.

Tachism and concretism are the two major trends of present-day Swiss art. René Aicht (b. 1920), Charles Rollier (b. 1912), Franz Fedier (b. 1922), and Rolf Iseli (b. 1934) are the chief exponents of tachism, while Max Bill (b. 1908) leads the *art concret* group, which as a whole propounds an art founded on "its own means and its own laws, without external dependence upon natural phenomena" and also without intellectual abstraction. Richard Lohse (b. 1912), Leo Leuppi (b. 1893), Walter Bodmer (b. 1902), and Walter Linck (b. 1903) are others in this group. Bill, who had been a member of Abstraction-Création, bases his own art on numerical reasoning and rigorous theorizing. Linck went through a surrealist phase in the 1940s and subsequently began to create linear wire sculpture. Bodmer is also known for his spatial constructions in wire. Hans Aeschbacher (b. 1906), working in an entirely different tradition, has created an impressive series of abstract planar monoliths, and Zoltan Kemeny (b. 1907) makes rhythmical iron and copper reliefs composed of small squares or separate units.

Modern art in Luxembourg understandably follows the concurrent tendencies in France, Germany, and Belgium. Joseph Kutter (1894–1941) was a distinctive expressionist who subordinated all other considerations to plastic exigencies. Luxembourg artists working in an abstract or semiabstract idiom include Emile Kirscht (b. 1913), Victor Jungblut (b. 1914), Jean-Pierre Junius (b. 1925), Will Kesseler (b. 1890), Mett Hoffmann (b. 1914), François Gillen (b. 1914), Frantz Kinnen (b. 1905), and Joseph Probat (b. 1912).

*Netherlands.* After the Dutch expressionism of Jan Sluijters (1881–1957), Jan Wiegers (b. 1893), and Hendrick Chabot (b. 1894), and the followers of de Stijl, the generation of 1920 found inspiration in the work of Piet Ouborg (1893–1954), whose reliance upon automatism was the source of a fantastic

dreamworld. In 1949 the Experimental group, which consisted of writers and painters, first attracted public attention with its exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam; the show, organized by the Danish painter Asger Jorn (b. 1914), employed the title "CoBrA" because it included artists from Copenhagen, Brussels, and Amsterdam. The most promising of the painters involved — and who have since confirmed this promise — were Karel Appel (b. 1921), Constant (Nieuwenhuys, b. 1920), and Guillaume Corneille (b. 1922). Combining abstraction and expressionism, their work was daring and full of vitality. In slightly altered form, the group has continued to function in Paris. The Blaue Reiter influence is especially strong in the work of Gerrit Benner (b. 1897), whose painting has evolved independent of organized movements.

The sculptor Willem Couzijn (b. 1912) makes heteromorphic forms that are harsh and somewhat expressionistic, while Constant is heir to the Stijl tradition in his monumental and geometric spatial constructions. More recently the young Dutch sculptor Jaap Mooney (b. 1915) and painters Jaap Wagemaker (b. 1906) and Lucebert (b. 1915) have been working in an expressionistic *art brut* vein in various techniques of construction and montage and have directed the Dutch expressionist tradition into new channels.

*Belgium.* James Ensor's enigmatic and fantastic art, the emotional realism of Constant Permeke (1886–1952; PL. 144), and the geometric abstraction of Victor Sevrancx (b. 1897) represent the three most important contributions of Belgian art up to the present. One can no longer speak of Belgian art in terms of schools, however, and these influential tendencies have been variously adapted since their original expression.

Although Ensor himself was associated with no movement, his surrealist tendencies have been carried forth in the art of Jan Cox (b. 1919), Paul Delvaux, and René Magritte (PL. 144), who were active in both the Parisian surrealist movement and that of Brussels. The representation of dream sequences has been continued by younger painters such as René Lambert (b. 1925), François Marlier (b. 1918), Jacques Lacomblez (b. 1934), Max Michotte (b. 1916), and Remy van den Abeele (b. 1918). Octave Landuyt (b. 1922) reflects another influence of surrealism in his organic hallucinations, while two former surrealists, Pol Bury (b. 1922) and Raoul Ubac (b. 1910), have turned to nonobjective painting.

Followers of Permeke were members of his school of Laethem-Saint-Martin, which was the center of Flemish expressionism. Gustave de Smet (b. 1877), Frits van den Berghe (1883–1939), and Franz Masereel (b. 1889) were among these disciples of Permeke. The lyrical geometric abstraction of Sevrancx has been sustained in part by Raoul Ubac, Antoine Mortier (b. 1910), and the group Jeune Peinture Belge, founded in 1947. Roger Dudant (b. 1929) and Lismonde (b. 1908) base their nonobjective work on personal apperception of the visual world. Younger painters such as Gaston Bertrand (b. 1910) and Antoine Marstboom (b. 1905) have proceeded from figural to abstract styles. Floris Jespers (b. 1889), having worked in the Congo after World War II, changed his style radically under the influence of the new environment. At present, informal art in a Belgian idiom is notably represented by Serge Vandercam (b. 1924) and Pierre Alechinsky (b. 1907), who has become a member of CoBrA. The dense and complicated metal sculpture of Roel d'Haese (b. 1921) usually evokes some bizarre animal or insect world.

*Scandinavia.* The only internationally famous Scandinavian artist is Edvard Munch, the great Norwegian expressionist. For the most part, Scandinavian art expresses a rather backward romanticism and the influence of Matisse — the Swede Isaac Gruenewald (1889–1946); of Picasso — the Dane Niels William Scharff (b. 1886) and the Norwegian Aage Storstein (b. 1900); of neoprimitivism — the Swede Sven Erixon (b. 1899); and of surrealism — the Swedish painters' group of Halmstad, founded in 1929. The most notable event in Norway between the two world wars was the renewal of monumental painting, especially fresco, in a style that might be described

as formalistic realism with a more or less symbolic content. The major representatives of this trend were Per Krohg (b. 1889), Axel Revolt (b. 1887), Henrik Sørensen (b. 1882), and Alf Rolfsen (b. 1895), as well as Gustav Vigeland (1869-1943) in sculpture. Norwegian art, even that of the younger generation, continues to pursue primarily an expressive, realistic vein.

The isolation of Scandinavia during World War II resulted in a marked loss of artistic vitality, but the renewal of contact with the rest of Europe in 1945 stimulated more original artistic experiments once again. The early recognition of the Swede Viking Eggeling (1880-1924), known for his abstract cinematographic production, has been succeeded by the growing reputations of the following artists: the Dane Richard Mortensen (b. 1910), member of the group called "The Line," and Robert Jacobsen (b. 1912), both residents of Paris; their fellow Dane Ager Jørn (b. 1914), member of the CoBrA group; Norwegian painters Anna Eva Bergman (b. 1909) and Inger Sitter (b. 1929); and the Icelandic painter Nina Tryggvadóttir (b. 1913). The younger Scandinavian artists, with the over-all exception of the Finns, are primarily abstract and nonobjective.

Much of Finnish modern art is inspired by national characteristics, nature, peasant culture, and the indigenous landscape, although certain Finnish abstractionists have found inspiration in French art. It was only during World War I that the Septem and November groups introduced a Finnish strain of impressionism and expressionism. Among the more important Finnish artists working today are Gösta Diehl (b. 1909), Unto Koistinen (b. 1917), Paul Gronholm (b. 1907), Olli Miettinen (b. 1899), Ben Renvall (b. 1903), Ernst Mether-Borgstrom (b. 1917), and Unto Pusa (b. 1913) in the abstract idiom, and Yrjö Verho (b. 1901) and Nils Lybeck (b. 1902) in the most traditional field.

*Greece.* Until quite recently, Greek contemporary art generally remained within the figural tradition, perhaps because of the brilliant natural atmosphere that seemingly influences the vision and conceptions of Hellenic artists, or because of the rich realistic inheritance, or because of the distance from and scarcity of contacts with the great Western European art centers. The first reactions to the teachings of the school of Munich and the consequent orientation toward Paris began about 1920. The next fifteen years can be characterized as a Greek *crise de conscience* and a "return to the source," of which Jean Tsarouchis (b. 1910) is a typical example. Yannis Moralis (b. 1916), on the contrary, sought inspiration outside the Greek tradition. Struck by the contemplative spirit and muted colors of the Fayum figures of Egypt, he borrowed from them the warm tones that lend personal significance to his expressionist style.

Several contemporary Greek painters have found inspiration in their native landscape — Spyros Vassiliou (b. 1902) and Yannis Spyropoulos (b. 1912), among others. Nicolas Ghikas (b. 1906) studied in Paris and then returned to Greece to teach. His style integrates elements of Near and Far Eastern art with geometric abstraction. Constantin Parthenis (b. 1878) was the first to introduce impressionism into Greece and later evolved a lighter, more decorative style of his own. George Rouzianis (b. 1885) paints in the German expressionist idiom, while George Gounaropoulos (b. 1890) depicts serene and dreamlike still life and landscape.

Certain younger painters are more attracted to a geometric cubist realism, such as Alexander Kontopoulos (b. 1905). Nikos Engonopoulos (b. 1910) is a fervent disciple of surrealism, and Thanos Tsingos (b. 1914), who works in Paris, is a tachist of extreme freedom. Two Greek abstract sculptors also working in Paris are Constantin Andréou (b. 1917) and Costas Coullentianos (b. 1918). A number of the younger painters have begun to resort to the freshness and naïveté of popular art and folklore for inspiration. In spite of growing influences from the international world of art, Greek painting remains firmly rooted in its own national traditions and phenomena.

*Turkey.* After the Kemalist revolution and the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the early 1920s, Turkish modern art began to develop. Works of unimaginative realism and academic im-

pressionism had largely constituted 20th-century art in Turkey until this renaissance. In the decade 1930-40 several young artists united to form the academically oriented Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors and the avant-garde Group D, which was in contact with the school of Paris. When the spirit and techniques of European modern art had been assimilated, Turkish artists began to combine the new influences with their own heritage of Moslem civilization, including such decorative elements as the linear abstraction of the traditional calligraphy and the grace and color of miniature painting. Turkish art is at present straddling two continents and two traditions, trying to reconcile the heritage of its past with political reforms and new developments in art.

Among the members of Group D, most of whom worked in semiabstract and abstract styles, were the well-known painters Nouroullah Berk (b. 1904), who incorporates Oriental graphic elements into new figural combinations; Cemal Tollu (b. 1899), whose almost rustic conception of volume adopts the massive harsh forms of Hittite sculpture; and Sabri Berkel (b. 1907), who withdraws deliberately from representation and invests his abstract forms with a warmth and delicacy peculiarly Oriental. Two younger painters, Erdal Alantar (b. 1932) and Şadan Bezeyiş (b. 1926), express themselves in color that sometimes achieves a characteristically Near Eastern barbaric intensity.

Zeki İzer (b. 1905) and Refik Epikman (b. 1901) both work in a constructivist vein, while Turgut Zayim (b. 1906) evokes both Persian and Turkish miniatures and the folk tradition of his country in a highly personal style. Among other noteworthy Turkish artists are the painters Arif Kaptan (b. 1906), Eşref Üren (b. 1897), Cevat Dereli (b. 1902), Halil Dikmen (b. 1906), and Ahmet Hakkı Anlı (b. 1906) and the sculptors Hadi Bara (b. 1906), İhlal Koman (b. 1921), Sadi Calik (b. 1919), and Semiramis Zorlu (b. 1925).

*Israel.* Israeli modern art is a phenomenon apart, rooted as it is in a state newly formed by people of extremely diverse backgrounds and national origins. Israeli art nevertheless projects a vital nationalism, formally influenced by the European avant-garde but spiritually dedicated to Hebraic tradition and the growth of the new nation. The point of departure for modern art in Israel was the formation of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in 1906 by Baruch (Boris) Schatz (1866-1932), which was ideologically linked to the British movement of William Morris. This school attracted Jewish artists from all over the world and was in close contact with the Zionist movement. Its most common artistic note was a love of the land. From 1932 on, the annual exhibition of the Tower of David in Jerusalem documented the evolution of Israeli art in the direction of the European avant-garde. The influx of Jewish artists due to Nazi persecution accelerated the development of avant-garde movements in Israel. Painters who had studied in such diverse traditions as those of modern German, Russian, or French art adapted their work to the new milieu and found inspiration in an entirely new way of life.

As Israeli modern art approaches maturity, its three main tendencies are reflected by artists who represent the dominant movements of the first half of this century (Fauvism, cubism, tachism, etc.); by those whose realism or abstraction is primarily Israeli in character and subject matter, deriving from folklore and native landscape or customs; and by a certain number of social realists. Among the best-known in the first group are Joseph Zaritsky (b. 1891), Moshe Castel (b. 1907), Miron Sima (b. 1902), Moshe Mokady (b. 1902), and Yehezkiel Streichman (b. 1906). The second group includes Israel Paldi (b. 1893), Mordecai Levanon (b. 1901), Aharon Kahana (b. 1905), and Schmuël Bonneh (b. 1930). In the third group are found Yohanan Simon (b. 1906), Moshe Gat (b. 1935), Shraga Weill (b. 1918), and other painters from the  *kibutzim*.

*Eastern Europe.* Since the abandonment of constructivism, Russian art has been limited almost entirely to an objective realism with explicit social and political content. This tendency may differ somewhat in avowed social and political ends, but formally it is allied to Nazi and fascist academism and has

produced no notable artistic results. With the aid of Communist propaganda, however, its dominance has been extended to most of the Eastern European countries. Only Yugoslavia and Poland have demonstrated a capacity for autonomous development in relation to modern Western trends, especially in the past few years.

The older generation of Yugoslavian painters, those born about 1900, had studied in Paris before World War II, and some had brought back to Yugoslavia the principles of the new movements. Since 1945, on the other hand, many of the younger artists have plainly kept abreast of international developments in nonobjective art, augmented by certain distinguishing national and social elements. Gabrijel Stupica (b. 1913) boldly paints a fantastic, tormented world, while Miljenko Stančić's (b. 1926) almost surrealist works are more intellectual in conception and execution. Lazar Vozarević (b. 1925) peoples a mythical era with careful, archaic figures, and Miodrag Protić (b. 1922) constructs new forms from familiar objects, in a fashion somewhat related to cubism. The Exat 51 group (Experimental Studio 51) adheres to Mondrian's ultrarational esthetic; the Zemlja (Earth) group, on the other hand, devotes itself to a kind of magic neoprimitivism that has inspired a number of peasant painters in the village of Hlebine to paint naive fantasies. One of their best-known members is Ivan Generalić (b. 1914); Lazar Vujaklija (b. 1914) is also essentially a primitive and draws his inspiration from the art of Bogomil and peasant embroideries. Two abstractionists influenced primarily by the Fauves and Kandinsky are Stane Kregar (b. 1905) and Edo Murtić (b. 1921), while Stojan Čelić (b. 1925) and Šime Perić (b. 1920) — especially the latter — are more spontaneous and closer to tachism.

Modern painting in Poland also had its roots in prewar Fauvism, cubism, and other more or less abstract tendencies. One of the leading nonobjective painters to return to Poland was Władysław Strzemiński (1893-1952), whose work was inspired by mathematics and modern industrial technology. He had worked with Malevich in Vitebsk and in 1924 was associated with the magazine *Blok* in Warsaw.

World War II interrupted the development of modern art in Poland, and from its conclusion until the "thaw" in 1956, social realism was the dominant style. With the easing of restrictions, contemporary Polish artists have evolved an advanced nonobjectivism closely related to tachism. Among the most important of these nonobjectivists is Tadeusz Kantor (b. 1915), whose compositions are dictated by the rhythms and forms of music. Maria Tyszkiewicz started from geometric constructivism and surrealism and has developed an abstract style that reflects the international idiom. Jerzy Nowosielski (b. 1923) is a tachist whose work is characterized by an emphasis on plastic form, and the sculptress Alina Slesinka (b. 1926) makes abstract plastic forms hung on twisted wires. Most Polish painters, however, have not abandoned all reference to reality. Tadeusz Brzozowski (b. 1918) and Jan Lebenstein (b. 1930) depict supernatural worlds that suggest an underlying spiritual conflict which is disquieting in the manner of Kafka.

In Czechoslovakia the period between the two world wars was dominated by the artists grouped around the Mánes association and was oriented toward Parisian art circles (as the Otto group had been before World War I). Among its chief exponents were the painters Emil Filla (1882-1953) and Václav Špála (1885-1946). Realism and other trends based on popular and folk art have come to dominate Czechoslovakia. Among the artists contributing to these tendencies are the lyric painter Jan Zrzavý (b. 1890), the caricaturist Antonín Pelc (b. 1895), and the landscapists Bohumír Dvorský (b. 1902) and František Jiroudek (b. 1915). Josef Wagner (1901-57) and Josef Malejovský (b. 1914) are among the better-known sculptors.

In Romania a school of social realism has sought to reevaluate lyrical traditions of color and popular art, as set forth in the work of Camil Ressu (b. 1880), Marius Bunescu (b. 1881), and Dumitru Ghiață (b. 1888). The painter Henri Catargi (b. 1894) is inspired by 17th-century classicism. Ștefan Szőnyi (b. 1913) and the printmaker Vasile Kazar (b. 1913) work with historical themes. Romanian sculpture, known outside the

country in the work of Constantin Brancusi, is represented more traditionally by the production of Ion Jalea (b. 1887).

Modern Hungarian art also has its roots in Paris, primarily through the influence of József Rippl-Rónai, who had exhibited with the Nabis. Béla Czöbel (b. 1883) worked with Matisse and subsequently transmitted Fauvist and expressionist trends to his native country. István Szőnyi (1894-1961) was mainly interested in rural subjects of the Danube area where he lived. Aurél Bernáth (b. 1895) depicts the everyday world in an outwardly simple, but mysterious, expressionist idiom that brings to mind Munch or Kokoschka. The work of József Egrý (1883-1951) was based upon intense investigation of natural phenomena, especially the scenery of Lake Balaton. Paris also exercised great influence over the sculptors of Hungary. Ferenc Medgyessy (1881-1958) fused the style of Egyptian and archaic Greek sculpture, the simplification of Rodin, and the naïveté of Hungarian folk art into powerful figures. Béni Ferenczy (b. 1890) is noted for his portraits and medallions. His sister Noémi Ferenczy (1890-1958) — both were children of the painter Károly Ferenczy — created colorful tapestries.

Among the younger Hungarian painters are Gyula Hincz (b. 1904) and Endre Domanovszky (b. 1907), who portrays a vivid world of dreams. Folk art is also a strong influence in the work of certain Hungarian sculptors, such as Miklós Borsos (b. 1906) and Desző Bokros-Birman (b. 1889), who are also noted for their portraits. Margit Kovács (b. 1902) adopts the techniques and decorative motifs of peasant potters in her ceramics, and József Domján (b. 1907) has also assimilated the rich flavor of peasant wood carvings in his unique color woodcuts.

**SCIENCE AND MODERN ART.** Modern art is one agent of the profound transformation in the conceptions of the world and of life that has come about in the past three centuries. But it has been subjected in turn, especially in the last hundred years, to the direct and indirect influences of the other essential agent in this transformation — science and technology. As one historian has said, "Civilization as we know it today would, in its material aspects, be impossible without science. In its intellectual and moral aspects science has been as deeply concerned. The spread of scientific ideas has been a decisive factor in remoulding the whole pattern of human thought" (J. D. Bernal, *Science in History*, London, 1954).

The realism of Courbet has been assumed, in this article, to be the starting point of modern art. In 1861 Courbet said, "The art of painting should consist solely of the representation of objects visible and tangible to the artist. . . . It is a completely physical language using for words all visible objects. . . . Beauty is in nature and is found in reality under the most diverse forms." The world of Courbet is that of the philosophical positivism of Auguste Comte, that is, a world which is the sum of the objects that the scientific observer finds in his experiments. Knowledge, for a positivist, is built solely upon rational experience. The scientist disregards what he cannot verify empirically and excludes all metaphysical argument.

The impressionists, who understood art as pure vision, took over and used the observations of the optical science of their time. Augustin Fresnel, in a work on diffraction and polarized light, had stated that monochromatic light is a succession of simple vibrations and that color is a matter of frequency (1866). Helmholtz had laid the foundations for a physiological theory of perception, and O. N. Rood had been pursuing the quantitative analysis of color contrasts. As early as 1839 M. E. Chevreul had propounded a theory of color. Drawing upon such developments, Renoir, from 1869 on, painted mainly with the pure colors of the spectrum — the rainbow palette. He was the first to carry to its logical conclusion the use of the so-called "mélange optique," the optical union of broken color.

The development of photography (q.v.) in the 1830s and 1840s had two consequences: first, it replaced painting in fulfilling some traditional functions, such as the objective reproduction of optical truth (thereby encouraging artists' experiments on a formal, rather than illusionistic, plane); second, it furnished documents of momentary or "candid" vision, thereby facilitating the study in art of immediate sensory data. This latter



aspect was especially important to the work of Edgar Degas and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec.

Félix Fénéon wrote that in 1886 there appeared for the first time "works painted . . . by a reasoned method." He was referring to divisionism, or pointillism, which according to Pissarro was based on the substitution of the "optic mixture for the pigmentary mixture . . . the breaking up of color into its component elements, for the optic mixture creates much more intense luminosities than the pigmentary mixture." Seurat was the first to renounce the traditional coloristic impasto and to propose this radical technical innovation, uniting the theories and discoveries of Chevreul, Rood, and Maxwell.

Like the Renaissance artist, Cézanne sought to base his art on objective and geometrical principles. "Pure drawing," he said, "is an abstraction . . . drawing and color are not separate and distinct . . . Treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, and the cone; the whole placed in perspective, let each side of an object or plane be directed toward a central point. Lines parallel to the horizon give extent . . . lines perpendicular to the horizon give depth . . . In art above all, everything is theory developed and applied in relation to nature." It should be noted, however, that Cézanne's approach differs from that of the Renaissance artist, since he sought to make a contribution to art as an autonomous pursuit, whereas in the Renaissance the goals of art and science were regarded as convergent.

In the first decades of this century a concern far removed from analytical science was also exerting a decisive influence on the development of modern art, namely, primitivism; cubism might in some ways be regarded as a result of the interaction of the two. It is not necessary to be familiar with the experimental methods of science in order to fall under their influence: the cubists' will to break with the tradition established in the Renaissance had its roots in the urge to produce something as revolutionary as the new world brought to light by science and technology. A new artistic language arose in accordance with the evolution of science and contemporary thought. The connection between cubism and the Einstein space-time continuum has been stressed by critics. As early as 1911 Apollinaire spoke of "the fourth dimension as a utopian expression which should be analyzed and explained . . ." In *Du "Cubisme"* (1912) the painters Gleizes and Metzinger said, "The pretense of representing the weight of bodies — and the time spent in enumerating their various aspects — is as legitimate as that of imitating daylight [as the impressionists and divisionists did] by the collision of an orange and a blue. The fact of moving an object around to take several successive appearances and fuse them into a single image, to reconstruct it in time, will no longer make thoughtful people indignant." For Moholy-Nagy, cubism was simply "vision in motion, a new essay of two-dimensional rendering of rotated objects" (*Vision in Motion*, Chicago, 1947).

Gleizes' and Metzinger's theory of cubism made painting a rational enterprise. No longer was it the concern of the artist to reproduce the appearance of natural objects or to portray the world as he experienced it emotionally. The object in his painting was a logical formalization or reconstruction of the natural model. Painters such as Picasso and Braque were saved from becoming merely scientists or geometers on canvas by the primitive, or ethnological, qualities of cubism — and by their own genius. A doctrinaire application of extremist art theories can only lead to the negation of art.

The "isms" of modern art may be properly considered the application of specialization to artistic problems, just as the division of labor is considered the application of specialization to the solution of pragmatic problems. Thus, the futurist aim was the representation of movement and the glorification of the machine. One of their devices — as announced in the foreword to the first futurist exhibition in Paris (1912) — was the *linea-forza*, or "line-force": "All objects extend to infinity by means of their line-forces, the continuity of which is measured by our intuition. It is these line-forces that we must depict. We interpret nature by rendering the objects on canvas as the principle or prolongation of the rhythms which they impress upon our sensibility." The interest is, therefore, now

concentrated not on the object or on matter but, as in modern physics, on energy.

Art has been influenced not only by the progress of science and technology but also by the reactions against it. Dada, born of the despair following World War I, proclaimed a cult of nihilism: "Let us all shout. There is great work of destruction and negation to be done." This revolt was based upon a mistrust of the "material, mean, banal, mechanical, base," everyday reality; it was a protest against intellectualism. An echo of this attitude can be heard in such a statement as that made by the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead: "In regard to the esthetic needs of civilized society the reactions of science have so far been unfortunate. Its materialistic basis has been directed to things as opposed to values . . . It may be that civilization will never recover from the bad climate which enveloped the introduction of machinery" (*Science and the Modern World*, Cambridge, Eng., 1945). Alexis Carrel, himself a scientist, wrote, "We must free ourselves from the world constructed by the sciences of inert matter without regard for the laws of our nature" (*Man, the Unknown*, New York, 1935). In the art of, among others, the futurists, the Purists, the vorticists, Léger, and Duchamp, robotlike machines began to replace the human frame, and this substitution may be interpreted as a warning against the increasing mechanization of modern life.

Surrealism was also a protest against intellectualization, but while affirming the supremacy of the unconscious, it was in fact closely associated with another aspect of rational inquiry. André Breton, who was a trained psychoanalyst, accepted as applicable to art both the Freudian theories and the clinical methods. In his view, pure psychic automatism "expresses either verbally, in writing, or by any other means, the real functioning of thought — a dictation of thought in the absence of all control exercised by reason and outside of all esthetic and moral preoccupations" (*Les manifestes du surréalisme* . . ., Paris, 1955).

The positive influence of modern science comes to the fore in the thinking of other artists. Gyorgy Kepes, painter and industrial designer, wrote as follows: "To be contemporary in the true sense demands a most advanced knowledge of the facts governing the life of today . . . The language of vision, optical communication, is one of the strongest potential means both to re-unite man and his knowledge and to re-form man into an integrated being . . . To perceive a visual image implies the beholder's participation in a process of organization. The experience of an image is thus a creative act of integration" (*Language of Vision*, Chicago, 1944).

The rational tendencies of modern architecture and industrial design, the logico-mathematical formalism of such non-objective movements as neoplasticism, and most of the constructivist trends are all evidence of the liaison between modern art and science; another example is provided by the growing importance of the psychology of form, or Gestalt psychology. Thus the increasing abstraction of vision has a parallel in physical theory. To quote A. S. Eddington: "The relativity of physics reduces everything to relations; that is to say, it is structure, not material, which counts. The structure cannot be built up without material, but the nature of the material is of no importance" (*Space, Time and Gravitation*, Cambridge, Eng., 1920).

If the art of painting undertakes "to paint the solid or the volume, a weight, a direction, a tempo; cohesion, adhesion, attraction, antipathy, elasticity, gravity, rhythm, harmony, etc., the question is one of forces . . . and if art consists of forces and if forces cannot be seen in things, then things, as seen by the mechanical action of the eyes, cannot enter art . . . Art can only be made with symbols analogous to those of science . . . Abstraction is the structural constant of art. It remains constant from the primitive savage to Spengler's civilized megalopolitan, that hard city-man who, detached from the soil, no longer feels the pulse-beat of nature . . . By the very truth of organic growth modern art is irrevocably committed to a further exploration of abstract structure" (L. Danz, *The Psychologist Looks at Art*, London, 1937).

Nonobjective painting embodies an attitude that is emphatically new. "It is the indication in this kind of painting of the



theory of an atomic universe. At the same time that scientists were proclaiming that matter is not material but is an X factor in the universe, non-objective painters were representing something not material, yet, like matter, something primary, cosmic and indestructible. The experiments, equations and equipment of the scientists had led to the same kind of conclusion as reached by the intuition of the artists; that is, objects as we see them and atoms as material are far from being ultimate and accordingly far from being 'real' (J. Ashmore, "The Old and the New in Non-Objective Painting," *J. of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, IX, 1951).

In 1940, at a symposium arranged by the United American Artists, I. Rice Pereira analyzed three different kinds of abstraction. The first was "representational" — it broke down shapes in nature to obtain their essence; the second was "intuition" — it was made up of shapes drawn from the subconscious; the third was based on "the pure scientific or geometric system of esthetics" — it sought "to find plastic equivalents for the revolutionary discoveries in mathematics, physics, biochemistry, and radioactivity." Typical of the last group are the sculpture of Antoine Pevsner, based on forms suggested by mathematical calculation; the experiments conducted by Moholy-Nagy and Man Ray in machine photography; and some of the recent investigations made into the quality of spatial surface by Mark Tobey. It was Tobey, in speaking of the Frenchman Georges Mathieu, who characterized his painting in words that may be aptly applied to a larger group of contemporary artists: "His work is independent to an extreme, is sought only within his personality and comes forth direct, uninhibited by the past, suggesting in its Now the possibilities of modern science reaching Mars, the moon, or what may be approaching us in time's unending line."

Contradictory aspects characterize the trend variously termed "informal art," "action painting," or "tachism." Its relation to phenomenological and existentialist thought is clear. Also evident is the opposition of its fundamentally negative sociopolitical attitudes to the social and humanitarian utopianism of Mondrian and neoplasticism, to the direct, propagandist incitement to action of socialist realism or German expressionism, to the dominant consideration of economic production in industrial design (q.v.), and finally to all science and mechanization. Nevertheless, the poetics of this "informal art" is largely based upon the perceptive horizons opening to modern science. Often used as starting points are the new insights of the scientific process, such as microscopic views of tissue (suggesting the shapes of invertebrates), telescopic projections, and aerial views.

The strictly irrational tendencies that frequently interrupt the course of modern art had a philosophical parallel in the writings of Henri Bergson. To him reason is the intellectual power enabling us to comprehend the world of space, of pure extension, while intuition gives us the key to the understanding of life. He maintains that reason can give us only relative knowledge; but the knowledge we gain through intuition is absolute. As Renoir, who was certainly influenced by this idea, said (in a preface to Cennini's *Livre de l'art*), "It must be confessed, modern rationalism, if it is able to satisfy the learned, is a manner of thinking incompatible with any conception of art."

The negative attitude toward rationalism extended throughout Europe. In a letter to Emile Bernard, Gauguin wrote, "Europe is played out. It has been given over to the rage for money and the analytical spirit." He defined the method of primitivism — as opposed to that of realism — as "proceeding from the spirit and making use of nature." The struggle between this nonreligious but mystical attitude toward art and the spirit of science found new expression in symbolism.

Also antirational in the Bergsonian sense is the Fauvist art of Matisse; nor are there any scientific theories underlying the direct approach to art of the neoprimitive and the fantastic painters. "Art has no other source than the soul of the world in which it lives. Its essence, like that of life, remains unknown," said Odilon Redon. The art of these painters was inevitably linked with the enigmatic world of unconscious or atavistic symbols — the world studied by C. G. Jung. In *Philosophy in*

*a New Key* Suzanne K. Langer asserts that "in the fundamental notion of symbolization . . . we have the keynote of all humanistic problems. In it lies a new conception of 'mentality,' that may illumine questions of life and consciousness instead of obscuring them as traditional 'scientific methods' have done." The painting of Klee, Chagall, Picasso (in certain periods), Miró, and Ernst demonstrate the importance of symbolization in the creation of the imaginary worlds of modern art. The seeds of a new mythology are there for the asking. Miró's "signs" are not simply formal abstractions. "As if the signs that I transcribe on a canvas at the moment when they correspond to a concrete representation of my mind were not profoundly real and did not belong to the world of reality!" he once said in an interview. Paul Klee, in explaining the origins of his symbols, asks if the abode of the artist is not "there in the womb of nature where the secret key to all being is hidden . . . . Our quaking hearts drive us downward, deep down to the origins of things" (*On Modern Art*, London, 1948).

This is by no means the whole of the testimony of the artists who maintain the fundamental superiority of the irrational to all "man-made" knowledge. Rouault, Marc, Jawlensky, and Beckmann, among others, speak in the same terms. Ensor discloses a similar view when he refers to "beauties hidden from the positive spirits saturated with reason and with vain, cruel, brutal and contemptible science." In the same vein are remarks of De Chirico — "What is most necessary is to rid art of everything of the known which it has held until now . . . that things may appear to it in a new light"; Chagall — "I don't believe the scientific tendency is a good thing for art"; Masson — "I know that I am surrounded by the irrational"; and Nolde — "The artist does not believe in science; it is but half." Looking forward, Oskar Kokoschka expresses the dilemma in this way: "The present crisis caused by science and technology is destroying the old culture. A world of ideas with a universal aspect is perishing . . . . These ideas are the opposite of every analytical process. A long period of desert will come, a long period of sterility . . . . In this period of spiritual drought . . . the essential values will survive in spite of all and then will come the future. It will follow the same pattern as the myths."

Thus science and technology, acting both positively and negatively, play a dominant part in the development of modern art. Meanwhile, although specific works of art continue to be based upon either a positive or a negative reaction to the rational approach, scientific method itself is coming closer to art as the unknown becomes more and more "real." In any case, the influence of technology cannot be denied or ignored. The two extreme reactions to science clearly account for much of the contradictory aspect of contemporary art and indeed of the complexity of today's society.

Josef P. HODIN

**LITERATURE AND MODERN ART.** The relation between art and literature has always been somewhat tenuous, owing to the basic and irreconcilable differences between word and form. The verbal and the visual have totally disparate implications and, despite the evident surface rapport between the "arts" in any age, have rarely occupied common ground. In modern times especially, "literary" painting is usually the least successful esthetically, and the painting that is most successful esthetically is rarely the most intellectual, since it remains within its own limits of *visual* communication. The symbolist painter Odilon Redon summed up this attitude: "A thought cannot become a work of art except in literature." The rapport between art and literature is therefore conditioned by their particular relation to the times. Nevertheless, in 20th-century literature and art there is a certain community of purpose. As the two have become increasingly subjective and abstract, and consequently closer to each other, the word "poetry" has become almost a generic term applicable to both. The evolution of the relation between the modern arts is the triumph of description over narration, of the personal over the impersonal.

In 1850 the writer Champfleury congratulated Courbet for having portrayed the bourgeoisie in a picture (*Funeral at Ornans*) as large as the typical historical work — in other words,

for painting a "modern" or up-to-date work. "Many regret the passing of Van Dyck's costumes," he wrote, "but M. Courbet has understood that painting must not deceive . . ." The Goncourts reiterated that a painter must be "modern." However, their own response to Manet and impressionism amounted to indifference, although in writing they approached the impressionist technique in their detailed coloristic descriptions of Parisian life, giving prominence to modifiers such as "bluish" and "yellow-tinged." Certain passages of Flaubert also have been characterized as literary impressionism. Although Emile Zola was a childhood friend of Cézanne and even dedicated his *Salon* of 1866 to the painter, he never quite understood Cézanne's artistic innovations and later broke with him. "The word 'art' displeases me," Zola wrote, "I want Life."

The growing consciousness of the ordinary, the familiar — the crowds, parks, and boulevards of Paris — was itself one of the interests that the writers and painters had in common. In the 1860s a writer urged painters to unpack their trunks and take an overnight bag, in other words, to paint the suburbs of Paris, the Seine, and the modern life at their doorsteps instead of traveling to faraway places to find exotic subjects. Both writers and painters preferred the circus and the cabaret to the theater, the *bourgeoisie* or lower classes to the less colorful aristocracy. Most of the naturalistic and impressionist works of the period might well have been illustrations for books by Zola, the Goncourts, De Maupassant, Daudet, or Huysmans. Degas's millinery shops, Lautrec's dance halls, the cafés, beaches, and parks were settings for and were peopled by characters from contemporary novels.

Baudelaire was the first great modern poet of whom it can be said that he actually thought in terms of visual impressions. His art criticism was among the most perceptive of modern times, and his *correspondances* created an atmosphere favorable for symbolism. His idea that there is a fundamental esthetic of which all arts are a manifestation foreshadowed the early-20th-century move toward integration of all the arts and life. Baudelaire's verses on Lola of Valencia were published with the engraving after Manet's painting of the actress (Pl. 120; IV, Pl. 280), and he defended the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* when it was refused by the Salon of 1863.

Baudelaire's sensitivity to color heralded Gauguin and, more especially, the Fauves, with their use of arbitrary color to expressive ends. "I want prairies dyed red, rivers of yellow gold, and trees painted blue. Nature has no imagination . . . The beautiful is always bizarre." Rimbaud also had a strong sense of color and visionary imagination; and his "verbal alchemy" was later to be translated into "visual alchemy" by Max Ernst in his illustration collages. Exoticism, mystery, the world of the imagination drew the two arts together. In symbolism particularly, poetry and painting, both serving as vehicles of imagination and dream, were very close. Jules Laforgue expressed a general sentiment in his statement, "When something must be said — there is prose." The painters added, "When something must be represented — there is photography."

An immediate predecessor of the Dada movement was the writer Alfred Jarry, who was defying literary conventions at the same time that the Fauves were trampling on pictorial tradition. His Rabelaisian play *Ubu Roi*, written in 1896, was the first "anti-art" work of art, and he organized the 'Pataphysics, a satirically pompous society that had recently been resurrected by painters and writers in Paris — among them Jean Dubuffet, whose *art brut* is typical of its production. Henri Rousseau was Jarry's discovery; Apollinaire joined him in extravagant praise of the primitive painter — much of which was meant simply as a joke, however.

Mallarmé was closely related to both the symbolists and the Nabis, and his later work served as an inspiration to the cubists. André Gide said of him that he "dreamed of a book entirely composed in the manner at once of a painting and a symphony." Mallarmé's *Coup de dés* ("A Throw of Dice"), one version of which was published in 1897 in *Cosmopolis*, contained the roots of the method of cubist collage, as well as of the Dada typographical experiments in which poems were arranged on the page to form ideograms expressing something

of the flow and pattern of the words themselves and thus added a new dimension to the work. Apollinaire in his *Calligrammes* worked in the same manner but placed more emphasis on humor and favored the representational ideogram ("technopaignion").

Cubism, like the poetry of Baudelaire and Rimbaud, dislocated the naturalistic world of appearances. "It was assumed that the intrinsic value of things and their relation were revealed, through some mysterious inward enlightenment, to the poet and artist alone" (G. Lemaître, 1941). A decreasing concern with revelation of a meaning to the spectator marked the progress of both art and literature toward subjectivism. The specific in each art became more personal and hermetic. The cubist attitude toward forms was like that of Mallarmé for words. Volume and shape, or words and syllables, took on a greater importance in themselves, apart from the functions of the depicted objects or the meaning of the phrases. Apollinaire, with his quick mind, poetic spirit, and philosophical background, actually interpreted cubist goals for public and painters alike. Like the cubists, he tried to embrace all aspects of things in his poetry, to give a kaleidoscopic view of the complexity of modern life. His "conversation-poems" (like Rimbaud's image juxtapositions) were verbal collages of snatches of overheard conversations.

Apollinaire was also involved with the futurists, after their 1912 Paris exhibition, and wrote the manifesto *L'antitradizione futurista*, which was published in Milan in 1913. His connections with *Der Sturm* in Germany, his early essays on Picasso — to whom he dedicated the poem *Les fiançailles* ("The Betrothal") in 1908 — the illustration of his books by Derain and Dufy, and finally the publication of his *Peintres cubistes* (1913) all demonstrate Apollinaire's sustained sympathy with modern art.

"Cubist" literature shared the multiple perspective, the simultaneous viewpoint, of the visual arts. In Pirandello's play *Six Characters in Search of an Author* there is a line about "truth up to a certain point but no farther." Pirandello put together theatrical clichés in a kind of collage, and the analytic technique of the entire piece is as much Picasso's as it is his. Gide's *The Counterfeiters* may be said to be a "cubist novel"; it is concerned with unresolved relationships, shifting in focus and viewpoint, and the question of supreme importance is that of the distance between reality and the representation of reality.

Gertrude Stein saw in cubism the enormity of modern life: "Picasso is of this century, he has that strange quality of an earth that one has never seen and of things destroyed as they have never been destroyed." Gertrude Stein's writings and her circle of artists and writers in Paris — the close community of art and literature that she describes in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933) — are typical of the cubist period.

Futurism itself began with a literary manifesto, in 1909, and was the creation of the poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. During its brief life span, it encompassed activities both literary and artistic: poets and painters were united in the common goal of awakening Italian apathy to a new dynamism. The slogan "A speeding automobile is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace" and Marinetti's poem *A mon Pégase*, which substituted the automobile for the classic winged horse, were reflected in the paintings and sculpture of speed and motion by the futurist artists. Among the painters was Ardengo Soffici, art critic and writer as well, who had formerly been opposed to futurism; he became an editor of the Florentine periodical *La Voce*, one of futurism's liveliest organs. The Russian futurists, who actually represented a development independent of Marinetti, were primarily literary; among them was the poet Mayakovsky, who had also helped to write Malevich's suprematist manifesto.

In the career of the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca the *rapprochement* of art and literature is tellingly illustrated. In 1926 he published an ode to Salvador Dalí in the *Revista de Occidente*, a leading review of the time. Lorca was something of a painter and draftsman himself, and his poetry is extremely dependent upon sensory perceptions. In the visual images that he evokes, color plays an important role. The lines "Green, how I love you green. / Green wind, green branches" are typical. Lorca uses color in his plays for recurrent motifs as other authors use ideas and verbal symbols.

Max Ernst, on the other hand, is a painter whose poetic collage and painting titles, together with the verbal elements in his works, have made him a unique blend of painter and poet. His collage novels, *Femme 100 têtes*, *Dream of a Little Girl Who Wanted to Be a Carmelite*, and *One Week of Kindness*, as well as those done in collaboration with Paul Eluard, mark a meeting of art and literature rare even in this century.

Among the Dadaists, most of the painters wrote and the poets made collages. Dada, in fact, was a movement both artistic and literary, dedicated from its beginnings to the destruction of both art mediums in any conventional sense of the terms. Its grotesque humor goes back to Jarry, but its attitude toward the deities of earlier modern movements was iconoclastic. Dada attempted to create a *tabula rasa* on which art and literature could start afresh. "We ignore Mallarmé, without hatred, because he is dead. We don't know Apollinaire any more because we suspect him of indulging in art too consciously . . . Max Jacob . . . but then, he has ended by taking himself too seriously — grave intoxication indeed!" (Jacques Vaché, *Lettres de guerre*, Paris, 1919). Dada was born in Zurich, in the Cabaret Voltaire founded by the poets Hugo Ball and Tristan Tzara. Their production, verbal and visual, and the review *Littérature* in Paris (which was encouraged by, among others, André Gide and Paul Valéry), reflected the prevailing disgust with the world.

When Dada gave way to surrealism, a movement in which André Breton's discovery of automatic writing played a major role, the entire course of modern art and literature was affected. The idea of the inner dictation of an automatic message, of the painter standing by as spectator at the birth of his work (as Ernst put it), of the liberation of the unconscious mind, changed the conception of creativity in both art and literature. Although surrealism began as a literary movement, its theories were subsequently elaborated by the painters and actually found their most effective expression in the plastic arts. Spontaneous verbal suggestion was followed by spontaneous visual suggestion, and the influence of surrealism, literary and artistic, on the arts of the 1940s and 1950s cannot be overestimated. Lemaitre says rightly that surrealism is not, properly speaking, an artistic or literary school but, primarily, a metaphysical attitude toward the whole of human existence, as was Dada before it.

One of the main influences for the surrealists was the work of the poet Lautréamont (Isidore Ducasse), whose *Chants de Maldoror* (1868-70), a violent and bizarre vision, was one of the surrealist bibles. His phrase: "the chance meeting of an umbrella and a sewing machine on a dissecting table," was enthusiastically adopted as epitomizing the principle of juxtaposition central to surrealist art — the new reality produced by the encounter of two remote and unfamiliar realities juxtaposed on a new level of comprehension, forcing the viewer to see the whole in a new light. The word "surrealism" itself was the invention of Apollinaire, who used it first in a play of 1917, although without the multiple implications that Breton read into the word.

The subjective trend in art and literature continued in German expressionism, which was in essence an art of confession, the literary aspect of which included the works of August Strindberg, Franz Werfel, Ernst Toller, and Bertolt Brecht.

The trend toward unity in the arts was reflected in nearly all the major European modern movements, most of which issued manifestoes declaring their intention of integrating the arts. With the inception of cubism, futurism, Dada — in fact, most of the movements — poets were directly involved. The poet Anton Kok signed the original de Stijl manifesto, and in 1920 the review of the same name published an entire issue devoted to literature. The "little review" played a vital role in all these movements, both as a means of integrating the arts and as a vehicle for the diffusion of ideas. Dada spread like wildfire through Europe by means of its brief but violent pamphlets and magazines.

The form-dissolving tendencies of art and literature continue in our day, and now in both painting and poetry the object has disappeared — just as Mondrian predicted when he said that the particular in art would vanish. Pure abstraction has been characterized as painting in verbs rather than painting in

nouns, because of the return to fundamental forms rather than practical objects. The French painter Bazaine said that the object had to disappear as object in order to justify itself as form.

Tachism, or action painting, with its random textures, standardized surfaces, and mass stylistic traits, is paralleled by the writings of such French writers as Alain Robbe-Grillet. In his "anti-novel" *The Voyeur*, for instance, he concentrates on the surface, the outward monotony of things, in the same way that painters such as Antoni Tàpies and Jean Fautrier have turned to monochrome or strictly textural manipulations. The neutral point of view, the spatial concepts of the atomic age, are reflected in all the arts. In the malaise of modern Europe that is postulated in existentialist works, imagination plays an increasingly important role. Juan Gris said that the world from which he extracted the elements of reality was not visual but imaginative. Interest is no longer in the object; it is in the subject. Cubism introduced the principle of the autonomous work of art, but autonomy is in turn giving way to closer relations between the arts. Modern verbal and visual arts are uncompromising, and owing to their hermetic qualities, they come closer together as they attain more complete abstraction. For example, Dada has contemporary successors in Neo-Dada art and in the anti-theater of Beckett and Ionesco.

The revived interest in de luxe editions, in books illustrated by contemporary painters, in "poem-paintings" (print and poems as a single unit), and even in poet and painter working on the same surface reflects the liaison between the arts. The poet Wallace Stevens said in a lecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, "The paramount relation between poetry and painting today, between modern man and modern art, is simply this: that in an age in which disbelief is so profoundly prevalent — or if not disbelief, indifference to questions of belief — poetry and painting and the arts in general are, in their measure, a compensation for what has been lost . . . Poetry and painting are the sources of our present-day reality."

Rosario ASSUNTO

**POLITICS AND MODERN ART.** "Society will never understand or love the artist . . . But the artist must learn to love and understand the society which renounces him." Thus the British critic Herbert Read, in *The Politics of the Unpolitical* (1946), expresses one of the paradoxes of our day: although art to be valid must necessarily reflect its times and therefore be somewhat concerned in politics, it will rarely receive state support. However, the situation is not even as simple as this. There will always be the "pure," the "ivory tower," artist who strives to refrain from entering into any relation with his society; on the other hand, in modern times it is impossible for the artist to ignore international crises. To be sure, modern art has attempted to do so (albeit in a very personal manner) by means of its increasing abstraction and subjectivism, but while it is no longer directly concerned with national or international problems, it cannot ignore them. As the French writer Thierry Maulnier said in 1932, "The intelligence is placed in such circumstances that . . . disinterestedness and resignation come to the same thing."

In 1945 Herbert Read had pointed out that "modern art, in fact, is merely one expression of that principle of revolution which throughout history has been the only infallible index of vitality." But it is typical of the modern era that the revolutionary state has had no use for revolutionary art no matter how close to its own principles the art may seem to be. Thus Soviet Russia banned the austerity of constructivism as well as the "bourgeois emotionalism" of expressionism and abstraction.

In the first years of the revolution, the Soviet Union had been the only country (except for, briefly, Weimar Germany) in which avant-garde artistic tendencies, whose partisans had for the most part fought in the revolutionary movement or had been ready to affiliate, were officially supported and could be expressed freely, since the academic artists had met the fate of the old ruling classes to which they had been bound. Suprematism, initiated in 1913 by Malevich, did not meet official opposition until 1922, when Gabo and Pevsner were exiled.

Even in the case of architecture, however, Russia's revolutionary fervor terminated after the competition for the Palace of the Soviets, in which Gropius, Mendelsohn, and Le Corbusier unsuccessfully took part (1931). After that, classicism and monumentalism were rehabilitated as the property of the working classes, who were to acquire that image of the world which had been restricted to the ruling classes before the revolution. The attempt in the 1940s to connect modern art with Communism was entirely unreasonable in view of the attitude of the totalitarian state toward modern art. The Marxist assumed that, as Trotsky put it, the mind of the artist would limp after the reality the politicians were creating.

World War I gave impetus to the experimental and adventurous spirit that prevailed in artistic circles at the time. Dada came into being in neutral Zurich, chiefly as an expression of disillusionment with war and with the political conditions that had produced it. German Dada had overt political aims, and in Cologne the review *Der Ventilator* was even handed out at factory gates (and consequently banned by the British Army of Occupation). German expressionism was also socially oriented: it protested in emotional terms against the misery and corruption of the German political system.

Almost all the modern movements of the day were rebelling against the political status quo of their countries or of Europe as a whole. Surrealism, although it was generally anti-Stalinist, was the one most involved politically with the Communists. The review *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Revolution* was published from 1930 to 1933. Sympathy with the movement remained one of its main characteristics, though in 1935 a surrealist manifesto was published marking its official break with the Communist Party. In the same year Breton expressed the feelings of most artists and writers when he said, "We live in open conflict with the immediate world surrounding us . . . We offer total resistance to whatever particular obligation such a world attempts to impose on us" (*La position politique du Surréalisme*, Paris, 1935). The political corruption and national disintegration of France in the interwar period aroused a great deal of disaffection and revolutionary enthusiasm among the artists, and intellectuals in general rallied to the cause of the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war. The French artists' and writers' revolt against governmental policies in 1960 continued the tradition of conflict between the state and the creative arts.

In 1925 several of the most renowned German poets and writers (Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Sudermann) signed a protest to the government against the hostility of the official world which had the same year forced Walter Gropius to close the Weimar Bauhaus and transfer the school to Dessau. National Socialism had hardly attained to power before it manifested a peculiar aversion to modern architecture; it definitively suppressed the Bauhaus in 1933. Nazi hostility was aimed at all "degenerate," or un-German, art, and Hitler expressed his views with little hesitation in 1937 at the opening of the Hall of German Art in Munich when he announced that German art from then on would be free of all foreign contamination and would forthwith be beautiful in the classic sense of realistic imitation of nature. The Nazi "philosopher" Alfred Rosenberg labeled Picasso's art as "infantilism." Expressionists Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and Karl Hofer were expelled from the Berlin Academy, Oskar Schlemmer lost his teaching post, and Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, among countless others, were forced to leave Germany. To add to their public infamy, an exhibition designated "Degenerate Art" was held, and from then until the end of the war the only artistic production that was encouraged or indeed permitted was the academic.

The attitude of Italian fascism was less clearly defined than that of the Nazis. Marinetti and what was left of the futurist movement actively participated in the birth and political rise to power of fascism. Aside from the futurists, several avant-garde artists and critics adhered to fascism or assumed a waiting attitude, in the hope and expectation that its dynamism would lead to the affirmation of the new visual and architectural trends

and bring to an end the artistic isolation of Italy. In essence, however, fascism, although disguised by revolutionary phraseology, was wholly conservative and depended more and more upon an academic, classic, and official art. Events such as the construction of the railroad station in Florence and the Casa del Fascio in Como (PL. 112) were to provoke a scandal in official circles; in fact, it was the internal conflicts in the fascist ranks that made possible whatever modern art was realized in Italy in this period. Leaders such as Farinacci urged the necessity of cooperating with Nazi Germany even on the esthetic level and of banning "degenerate art," while others, among them Bottai, assumed a more open-minded attitude.

The distinction between monumental architectural works and functional ones, which denies the ethicoesthetic principles on which modern architecture is founded, and the classical cult of tradition, which is inevitably opposed to modern trends in European art, decisively imposed themselves in the last years of fascism. In 1939 the classicist critic Ugo Ojetti, who had always been opposed to new artistic conceptions, elicited strong official approval with a book that took for its title the nationalist slogan "In Italy Art Must Be Italian." In 1938 the declared adherence of the fascist government to the racist principles of the Nazis furnished further support for the aversion to modern art, which was alleged to be Jewish and internationalist. In the face of these developments, the young modern artists and critics, who were inevitably the losers in government-sponsored competitions, ended by attacking certain racist critics on juries with violence (as in Palermo in 1938), in protest against decisions based not on esthetic but on moral and political grounds. Then they passed from internal dissidence to conspiratory opposition and finally to the Resistance.

In all the Nazi-occupied European countries, artists and critics who were supporters of the new artistic tendencies were obliged to fight with, or support, the Resistance, not only because of their personal political convictions but because an eventual Axis victory would mean the end of modern art in Europe. In 1937 Picasso's *Guernica* and *The Dream and Lie of Franco* had been significant as an explicit declaration of war between modern art and nationalist totalitarianism in all its manifestations. In the anti-Nazi Resistance, the struggle to survive brought all trends of modern art together in a common cause, no matter how diverse their esthetics and ideals. Their differences were to appear again only after the war, when a temporary harmony in the struggle against surviving academism (especially in the countries where this had dominated during the war) was soon replaced by conflict between realism and nonobjectivism.

In most European countries, moreover, the end of the war and the need to rebuild destroyed cities gave the proponents of the new architectural trends an opportunity to realize their programs on a vast scale, and they united in defiance of all official, academic conceptions and in the aspiration to resolve humanistically the problems of habitation and installation presented by the modern city. The return to power of the politico-social forces that had dominated in the prewar period, however, impeded modern architecture in the countries of Western Europe (except England and the Netherlands); in the countries of Eastern Europe the organic connection with the Soviet Union was reflected, resulting in the continuation of Russian Communist artistic ideals, which were carried into the field of architecture as well as of painting and sculpture.

The Western Communist parties were, and continue to be, resolutely hostile to abstract art, considering it the esthetic expression of neocapitalism and accusing it of "bourgeois formalism." According to the right-wing writers, abstract art is guilty of "degeneracy," a term conspicuously used by the Nazis in connection with modern art in general.

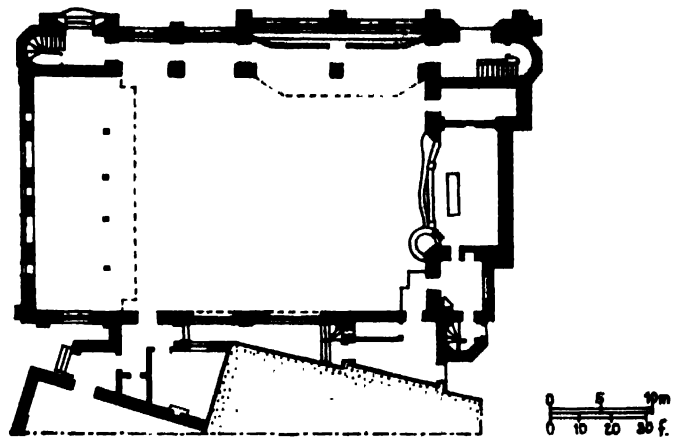
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Reactionary criticism will, of course, continue to exist, and efforts will continue to be made to give abstraction political overtones by calling modern art antidemocratic and scoffing at its increasingly subjective qualities as fraud or child's play, in sum as a kind of joke on the man in the street.

The responsibility of democracy to make it possible for all methods of expression to coexist is realized in the contemporary European state for the most part only to the extent of a laissez-faire policy. With a few notable exceptions, governmental attempts to patronize art have been limited to academic or popular art rather than to truly representative contemporary work. Bourgeois art inherently tends toward the academic, and the growing universal middle class determines the political attitudes toward modern art in general. Shelley called poets the "unacknowledged legislators of the world"; it is the inevitable role of the arts to remain conceptually ahead of their times, even when totally uninvolved in politics.

**ARCHITECTURE.** Modern architecture — here understood as the characteristic, novel, and distinctive building styles of the 20th century — gradually emerged from the mainstream of 19th-century eclecticism and revivalism slightly before the turn of the century. With respect to architectural history, the influential 20th-century developments begin at a point closer to 1890 than to 1900. On the other hand, the "origins" of modern architecture, especially in relation to theory and technology, extend back to the 18th century and are associated with the Enlightenment in France and the romantic movement in England. Superficially, the stylistic change that occurred on the eve of the 20th century was related to a growing rejection of the principles of revivalism and eclecticism, principles frequently questioned but never supplanted in the course of the 19th century. Associated with this movement away from the historical styles was a growing reliance upon industrial technology and new factory-produced materials (iron, steel, concrete, etc.) in the creation of new forms. Both of these tendencies rapidly culminated in the so-called "international style" of the 1920s.

It is convenient to divide the evolution of modern architectural styles into three distinct periods. The first phase comprises roughly the two decades prior to World War I; the second phase, marking the ascendancy of the international style, occupies the interwar decades of the 1920s and 1930s; and the third period begins after 1945. Although this breakdown seems geared to the intervention of political and military catastrophes, each of the periods has special style characteristics and aims as well. While the second and third phases of 20th-century architecture offer distinct differences from the preceding period, their inno-

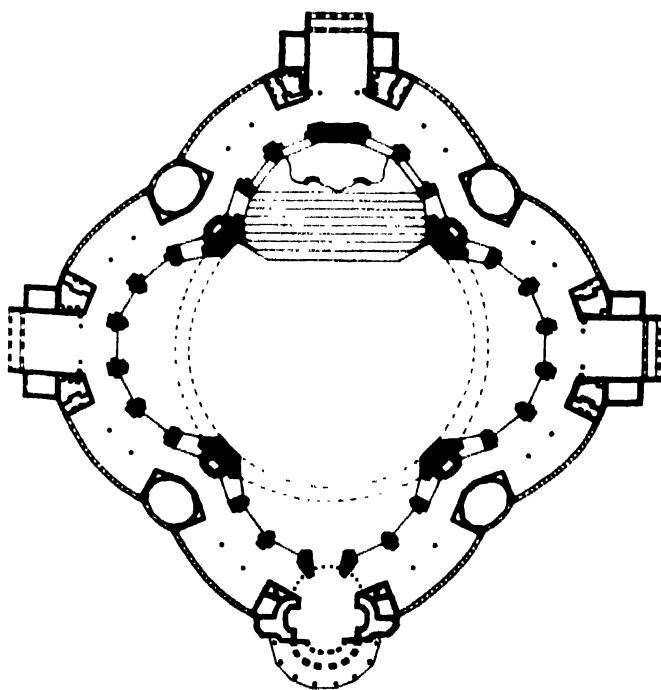


Glasgow, plan of Queen's Cross church (architect: C. R. Mackintosh, 1896-99).

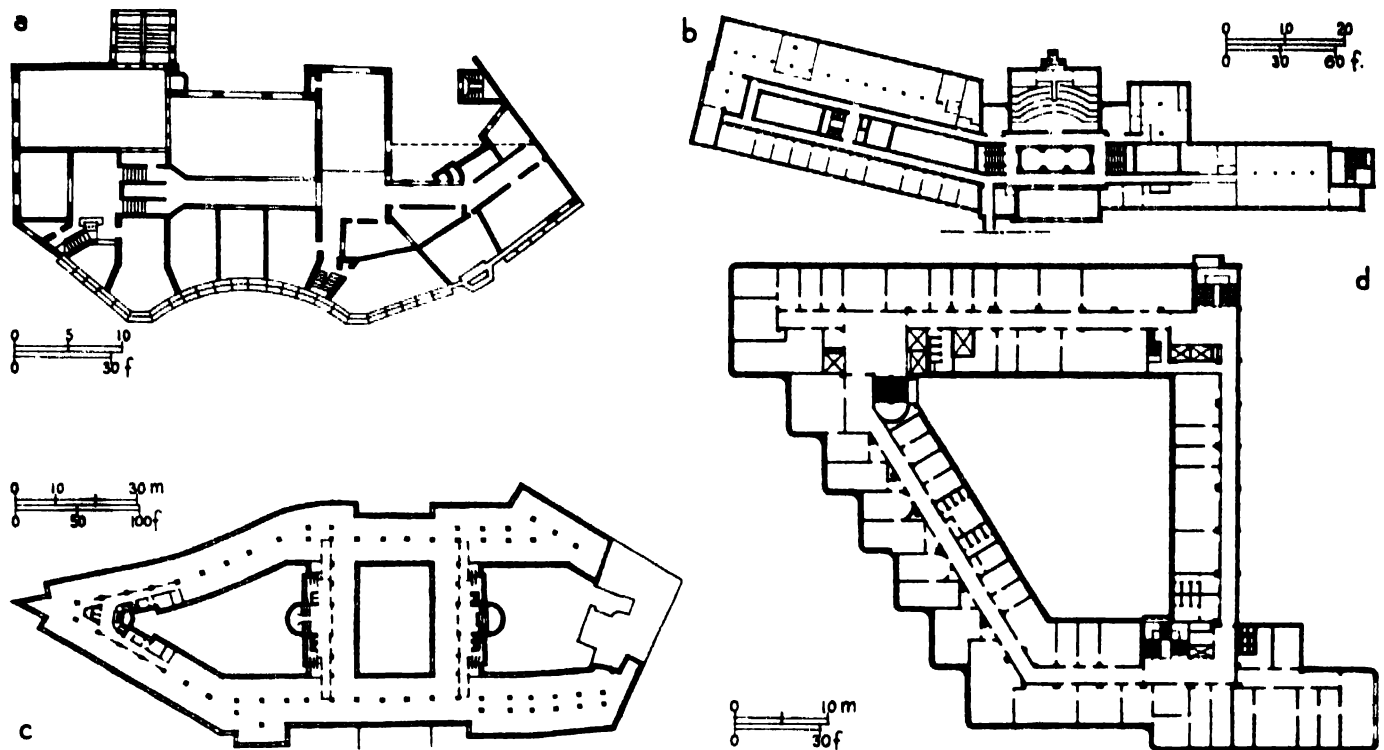
ventions and aspirations are nonetheless based on the achievements of this earlier phase. Hence there is a continuity discernible in the historical development of architecture in the 20th century that transcends minor reactions directed against special or isolated tendencies.

The significant creative contributions of certain architects are often limited to their work within but one of these phases, even though their activity may span two or all three. There are some architects, however, such as Le Corbusier and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (q.v.), who have made notable creative contributions to the styles of two successive periods. Finally, there is the unique figure of Frank Lloyd Wright (q.v.); although an American of distinct nationalistic proclivities who never executed a commission in Europe, Wright nonetheless contributed positively to all three phases in the development of modern European architectural styles (see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS).

*First phase (ca. 1890-1914).* No one architect or building can be chosen to represent the passage of 19th-century architectural history into that of the 20th; in fact, there are no sudden or marked interruptions in the sequential flow of stylistic developments. The transition was largely accomplished within the loosely related movement known as Art Nouveau (q.v.). Many of these first, tentative steps toward the creation of a new architectural idiom were made in certain provincial centers relatively remote from the cosmopolitan art world of Paris and London. Localities that achieved sudden, if ephemeral, architectural importance about 1900 included Turin, Glasgow, Barcelona, Brussels, and Darmstadt. Art Nouveau, initiated in Brussels by Victor Horta's (1861-1947; PL. 99) Tassel house (12 rue de Turin; now 6 rue Paul-Emile Janson) of 1892-93, was, despite its radical antielectic attitude, still somewhat dependent upon the immediately preceding architectural styles and betrayed constant — if veiled — references to the forms of the Gothic revival or of Second Empire eclecticism. The same ambiguous quality of affected novelty tempered by restrained historicism is discernible in the modernized Scottish baronial houses of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928; q.v.), such as the Hill house at Helensburgh of 1902-03. Even in his more frankly original designs such as the older portions of the Glasgow School of Art (1897-99), there frequently remains a suggestion of medieval castellation, as in the turret that rises above the door. The interiors of both Mackintosh and Horta (FIGS. 222, 223) manifest a break with the recent past of eclectic and revival architecture. Here the provocative, original use of new materials and of deliberately conspicuous structural devices, features that derive in part from 19th-century engineering and technology, are unmistakable (I, PL. 468). Art Nouveau was the first architectural style that sought to reconcile the problems of formal composition and creation with the inventions and products of modern machine technol-



Breslau, plan of Centenary Hall (Jahrhunderthalle; architect: M. Berg, 1913).



Plans of commercial and administrative buildings: (a) Brussels, Maison du Peuple (architect: V. Horta, 1897); (b) Frankfurt on the Main, Höchstes Farbwerke (architect: P. Behrens, 1920-24); (c) Hamburg, Chilehaus (architect: F. Höger, 1923); (d) Berlin, Shell building (architect: E. Fahrenkamp, 1932)

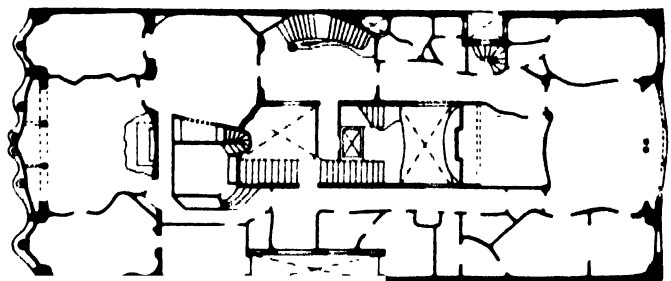
ogy in a consistent fashion, for its adherents labored to overcome the separation and antipathy existing between the professions of architect and engineer in the 19th century.

These new stylistic departures, made within the frame of a waning historicism, were not confined to a single architectural center. Art Nouveau, pioneered in Belgium by Horta and then by Paul Hankar (1861-1901) and Henri Van de Velde (1863-1957; q.v.), soon appeared as a parallel growth in Paris, where the work of Hector Guimard (1867-1942), especially his Castel Béanger of 1894-98 and his numerous designs for the Métro stations of about 1900, is of remarkable quality. Their decorative character of nongeometrical, yet stylized, and sinuous ornamental forms echoes the tendencies found in Brussels but also displays certain local differences. There is clearly a geographical relationship in the progress of the movement between the above-mentioned centers; on the other hand, one of the most strikingly original talents of the epoch, Antoni Gaudí (q.v.; FIG. 224) of Barcelona, seems to have had little or no contact with Paris or Brussels, and yet his work fits readily into the shifting architectural situation at the turn of the century. Seemingly out of touch with parallel trends in other parts of Europe, Gaudí went through a similar stylistic metamorphosis in his emotionally charged, crustaceous buildings, in which an expressionistic and surrealist manipulation of form is superimposed upon a romantically oriented Neo-Gothic tradition. His personality and work amply illustrate the paradoxical forces at work in the architecture of the period.

Of equal importance for the development of modern European architecture are the Chicago architects Frank Lloyd Wright and his master Louis Sullivan (1856-1924; q.v.). The efforts of these two figures to transcend the limits of historicism remain within a sober, rational format, never verging upon the expressionist histrionics of Gaudí. It was not until much later, in his middle age, that Wright's sense of the fantastic became apparent in his formal inventions (I, PL. 408). The Sullivan *œuvre*, evolving out of late Victorian tendencies, has a breadth of style that goes far beyond the passing fashions of Art Nouveau. Although his first masterpiece, the Auditorium Building in Chicago (1887-89), was traditional in form, numerous decorative touches on the interior presaged the floral fantasies

of the imminent Art Nouveau. His later Carson, Pirie & Scott store (1899-1901) is, from a decorative point of view, the equivalent of the work of Horta in Brussels or Gaudí in Barcelona, while simultaneously it portends subsequent developments in 20th-century architecture with its visible expression of the steel frame and the large expanses of glass. Wright, who had worked as chief assistant to Sullivan, was active primarily as a creator of domestic architecture, a field in which he excelled and in which his most striking stylistic innovations first appeared. Many of these designs were published and widely circulated in Europe in 1910 and 1911, and their originality proved a strong influence on the work of numerous architects and students of the younger generation.

The European architectural milieu of 1910 was already largely prepared for the new formal language that Wright developed, as a result of the work of several designers whose buildings often postdate the *fin de siècle* Art Nouveau in style, if not always in period. The design of Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867-1908) for the Sezession gallery in Vienna (PL. 100) preserves the originality of spirit inherent in the fanciful curvilinear effects of the Art Nouveau of Horta, Guimard, or Gaudí. Nevertheless, it is more sober, straightforward, symmetrical, and rectilinear in appearance; in fact, it is the first influential example of a "counter-Art Nouveau," which blossomed into the early-20th-century style of Peter Behrens (1868-1940), Adolph Loos (1870-1933; qq.v.) and Joseph Hoffmann (1870-

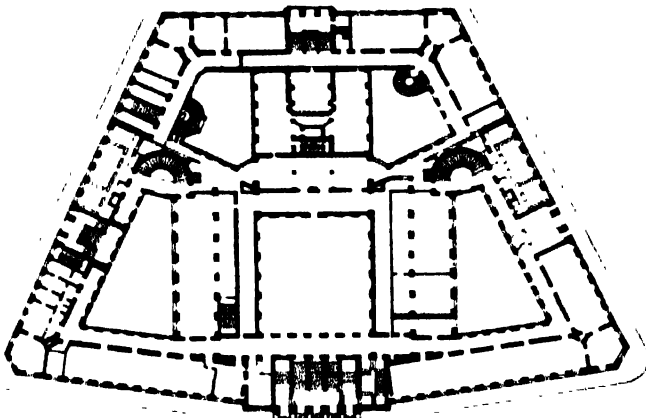


Barcelona, Casa Batlló, plan of second floor (architect: A. Gaudí, 1910).



1956). These architects owe a special debt to the architect-teacher Otto Wagner (1841-1918; q.v.), who set a notable example for the younger generation in his Vienna subway stations (1894-1901) and Postal Savings Bank (PL. 100; FIG. 225), where his fundamental academicism was tempered by the use of modern materials and by decorative tendencies analogous to Art Nouveau and its countermovement. This counter-Art Nouveau is not so much a reaction as it is a less fanciful and more architectonic variant of its elegant and original, if sometimes neurotic, predecessor. The relationship between the two movements is blurred by the dualistic tendencies inherent in the *fin de siècle* architecture of Mackintosh and Sullivan, in which imaginative curvilinear ornament is discovered within a rational and rectilinear architectural context.

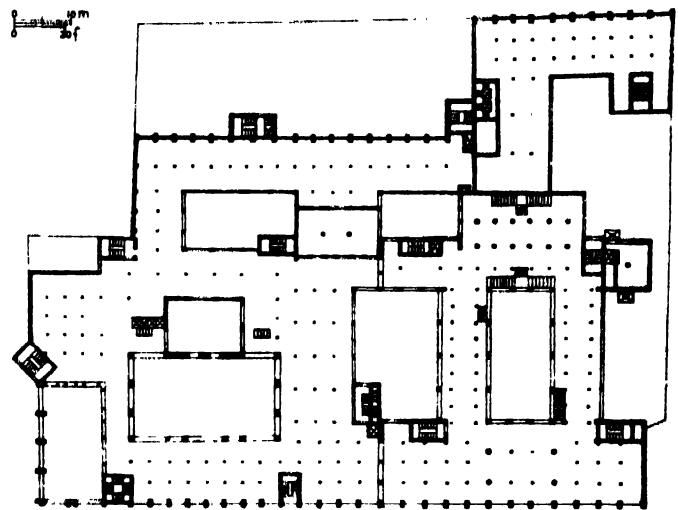
No one personality dominates radical or avant-garde architecture in Europe during the first decade of the 20th century to the degree that Wright did in America. In fact, much of the distinguished work of a Behrens or Hoffmann is classicizing and academic, and unmistakable allusions to specific historical styles are incorporated in such buildings as Behrens' Florentine-inspired crematorium at Delstern bei Hagen (1907), in Olbrich's last commission, the almost Schinkel-esque Feinhals house at Cologne-Marienburg (1908), or in Joseph Hoffmann's Austrian Pavilion at the Cologne Werkbund Exhibition of 1914. The modernized Doric order of the latter structure simultaneously manages to be refined in detail and yet stark in the efficiency with which abacus, capital, and entasis have been eliminated with machinelike ruthlessness. If there are unmistakable anal-



Vienna, Postal Savings Bank, plan of ground floor (architect: O. Wagner, 1905)

ogies between the historicizing modernism that dominated German architecture between 1900 and 1914 and the new neoclassicism of the Anglo-Saxon world — as represented by Henry Bacon's (1866-1924) Lincoln Memorial, Washington (completed 1917); Sir Edwin Lutyens' (1869-1944; q.v.) Viceroy's House, New Delhi (1920-31; designed 1911-14); or Sir Herbert Baker's (1862-1946) new constructions for the Bank of England, London (1921-37) — these similarities merely point up the importance of Central Europe at this moment in the evolution of new and radical architectural styles. The qualities of refined simplification and efficient brutalization that characterize the new 'Tru-tone' style before 1914 did not come to full fruition until the 1920s in the architecture of the Bauhaus.

The coincidence of this "early modern" style with the waning medieval revival of the late 19th century is well illustrated by Alfred Messel's Wertheim store, Berlin (1904; FIG. 226), or Paul Bonatz' railway station at Stuttgart (begun 1911). These simplified, often richly textured medieval types also have reflections in Scandinavian architecture, especially in the much-admired Stockholm Town Hall (begun 1909) by Ragnar Östberg. Such medievalizing correspondences to the early modern work of Behrens, Hoffmann, and Loos originate in the boldly simplified brick architecture of H. P. Berlage (1856-1934; q.v.),

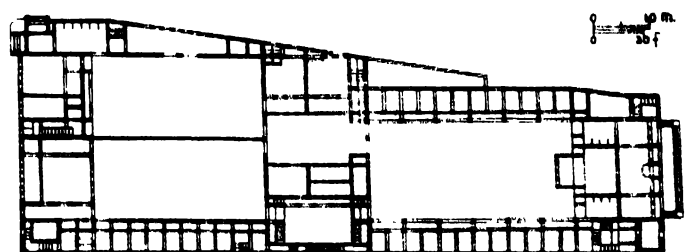


Berlin, plan of Wertheim store (architect: A. Messel, 1904).

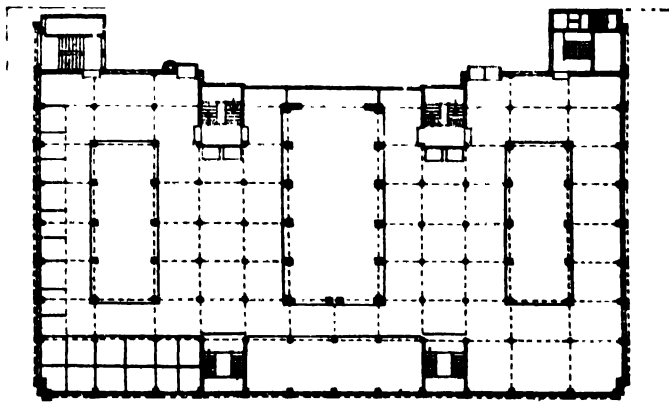
whose best-known works include the Amsterdam Stock Exchange (begun 1898; FIG. 226), the Amsterdam Diamond Workers' Union (1899-1900), and the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague (PL. 108). Berlage's designs are also like the early efforts of Olbrich (FIG. 227), in that they are early manifestations of a counter-Art Nouveau and further illustrations of the resistance that the more volatile curvilinear *fin de siècle* decoration encountered in many progressive architectural circles in Europe even before the advent of the 20th century.

Among the many practitioners of this transitional style linking the waning medieval revivals with the more original modes are two Finns, Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950; q.v.) and Lars Sonck (1870-1956). Saarinen is best known for his Helsinki Railway Station, finished on the eve of World War I, although the competition was held in 1904; and this, as well as other of their works, would appear to have been influenced by the precedent of two Americans, H. H. Richardson (1838-86; q.v.) and Louis Sullivan. Sonck's Helsinki Telephone Exchange (1905) and his ecclesiastical work seem even more dependent upon Richardson, with their bold rustication and massively scaled details. At the same time his domestic works have more severe planes and openings, suggestive of a Sezession influence. Further adaptation of the medieval theme, but with even more startling variations of scale and surface treatment, can be found in P. V. Jensen Klint's (1853-1930) Grundtvig Church in Copenhagen (PL. 108). Similar tendencies are evident in the numerous churches of Dominikus Böhm (1880-1955; FIG. 227), which — although of a later, expressionist period — develop naturally from these earlier, pre-World War I efforts.

The more original designs dating from this period manifest qualities also characteristic of the prevalent "atриpped-bare" eclecticism of the time. The Viennese master Hoffmann fulfilled his most ambitious commission, the Stoclet house in Brussels (PL. 102; FIG. 228), about 1905-11, and in many respects it is the most prescient design of the entire period in Europe. Pala-



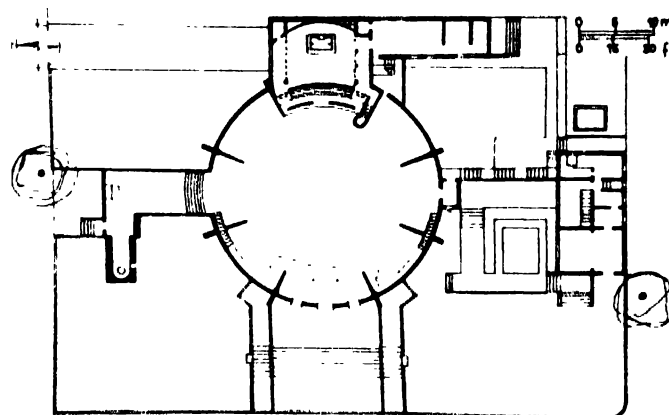
Amsterdam, Stock Exchange, plan of ground floor (architect: H. P. Berlage, 1903).



Düsseldorf, plan of Tietz store (architect: J. M. Olbrich, 1908).

tial in scale and luxurious, yet restrained in its exquisitely fenestrated wall surfaces, both its exterior and interior reflect the most accomplished of all counter-Art Nouveau designs. Its philosophy of design would seem to incorporate a demure *fin de siècle* sophistication of detail precariously balanced with a prosaic, if not outright functionalist, austerity. The appearance of the Stoclet house elicits obvious comparisons with the Glasgow architecture of Mackintosh and at the same time anticipates in significant details the post-World War I architecture of de Stijl and Purism. A radical design of the same period that is somewhat less prophetic in style, as well as less uncompromisingly iconoclastic, is Olbrich's masterpiece, the exhibition building at Darmstadt (begun 1901; pls. 100, 101), which includes the famous "wedding tower," whose free forms anticipate the expressionist architecture that followed World War I. While slightly traditional in its use of stylized romantic-classic forms in conjunction with its striking sequence of picturesque masses, Olbrich's exhibition building remains one of the most effective and novel architectural manifestations of the period in Europe.

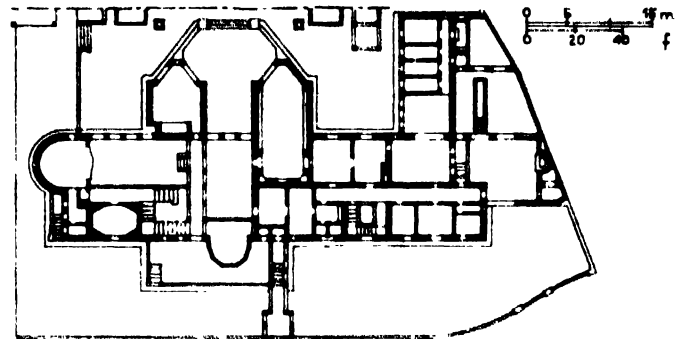
Still, it is a single industrial work by Peter Behrens, his turbine factory in Berlin for the German General Electric Company (one of the most enlightened patrons of early modern architecture), that is perhaps the most intense and successful expression of the architectural aims of the period (PL. 103). Its marked economy of form and the efficiency reflected in the conspicuous use of modern industrial materials, such as steel and concrete, is interestingly complemented by an implicit academic quality of design. As in Behrens' other buildings for the same client, his Berlin turbine factory manifests a careful study of detail and an adjustment of proportions that were hitherto lacking in industrial architecture. The well-considered details that visually define the principal structural elements of the building (a three-hinged arch) are emphatic illustrations of this quasi-academic design procedure. In addition, the elevation of the end wall derives from a symbolic allusion, for it resembles the magnetic field of an electric generator and is thus another



Cologne, St. Engelbert, plan (architect: D. Böhm, 1933).

harbinger of post-World War I expressionist architecture. Behrens' other Berlin factories (1910-12) were often lighter and more elegant in detail, more obviously academic in occasional classicizing features, but were not as striking and unusual as the turbine factory.

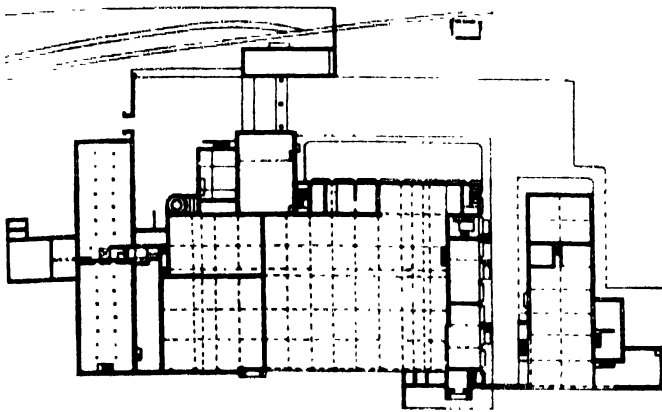
The efficient, industrial aspect of the Behrens style was significantly advanced by his young disciple and associate Walter Gropius in partnership with Adolph Meyer. Their small Fagus factory (PL. 103; FIG. 229) reveals a precise yet sensitive solution for an austere industrial program. The subtle juxtaposition of glass and brick wall areas on the exterior and the use of a glass "void" at the corners (instead of the normal, and here superfluous, structural column) produce arresting effects that transcend any purely utilitarian origin. Such refined modulations of surface and contour may also be attributed to the work of Behrens; but in the Fagus factory Gropius and Meyer have gone beyond their master and have stripped away the last tenuous references to the academic tradition. Gropius later stated that this glass wall was intended to be merely a screen to keep out the rain, cold, and noise; the implication was that the conventional notion of the wall as a solid, with only incidental openings for doors and windows, had been abandoned at this early date by the most advanced of the younger generation. The antithesis of the glass-sheathed industrial style of Gropius and Meyer is to be found in the almost fortresslike chemical factory of Hans Poelzig (1869-1936) at Luban, near Posen (1911-12). Here a massive, traditional brick wall surface reluctantly admits small rectangular or half-round window openings, and the forbidding, somber effect of the whole has an air of mystery



Brussels, Stoclet house, plan of ground floor (architect: J. Hoffmann, 1905).

and irrationality later cultivated by the expressionists, of whom Poelzig would be a leader. In no essential way does his factory at Luban suggest the type of ferro-vitreous architecture propounded by Gropius and Meyer and sometimes approached by Behrens; this conflict in style presages certain antipathonal developments in German architecture in the early 1920s.

The stylistic departures in the Fagus factory at Alfeld are as readily apparent as its structural innovations and frank use of new materials. However, the most important French architect of the pre-World War I period, Auguste Perret (1874-1954; q.v.), would seem to have been concerned less with formalistic problems than with the development of a new structural material and its visible expression. From first to last, Perret's stylistic evolution was based upon the conspicuous use of concrete structure and the outward reflection of that structure by means of variously textured and tinted precast concrete elements. He was preceded in the use of reinforced concrete structure by two older French builders and architects, François Hennebique (1842-1921) and Anatole de Baudot (1834-1915). Hennebique had built a concrete-framed factory in Tourcoing in 1895; and in 1904, in the same material, he constructed a villa at Bourgl-la-Reine that was of unusual shape and featured large areas of glass. De Baudot, once a pupil of Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79; q.v.) and also a practitioner of simplified Gothic revival, built the concrete-framed church of St-Jean-de-Montmartre in Paris (ca. 1897-1905), which was structurally a pioneer in the field



Alfeld an der Leine, Germany, plan of Fagus factory (architects: W. Gropius and A. Meyer, 1911).

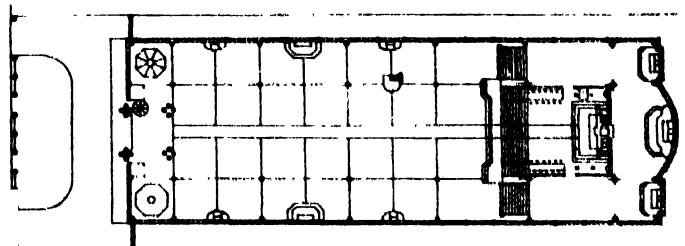
of ecclesiastical architecture and which offers interesting analogies of form with Art Nouveau. Perret succeeded in refining the stylistic consequences inherent in frank expression of concrete structure, a task that had been only tentatively essayed by his predecessors. The length of his productive career, extending from 1902 until his death in 1954, is exceeded in modern history only by that of Wright, though it must be added that Perret's influential contribution to the evolution of modern architecture is not sustained over the same period of time. His work does not reveal any marked evolution; in fact, the projects of his last 20 years display no immediate awareness of avant-garde developments, and some of his finest achievements of the years 1920-40 evidence very little contact with the mainstream of the international style.

While Perret was not dogmatically hostile to the varied manifestations of the febrile Art Nouveau around 1900, nonetheless his own instincts led him to conceive of architecture from a more prosaic viewpoint and to reject the paudy decorative and expressive devices typical of Guimard's style. Perret's first significant work, the block of flats at 25 bis rue Franklin (PL. 102), offers a clearly expressed reinforced concrete frame with walls (revetted with a counter-Art Nouveau floral motif in terra cotta) conceived as slightly recessed panels, many of which are almost completely occupied by amply proportioned French windows. In a sense, Perret's wall (basically the same type he was still building after 1945, when placed in charge of the reconstruction of Le Havre) is the antithesis of that invented by Gropius and Meyer for the Fagus factory, in which the structural piers are deemphasized, if not concealed behind the "skin" of the enclosing wall, instead of being prominently placed in front of the wall plane. Theoretically, Perret's work derives from the Neo-Gothic structural rationalism of Viollet-le-Duc, although his forms are often abstractly suggestive of traditional French classicism, much in the same way that the work of Olbrich and Behrens harbors oblique references to German romantic classicism. As might be expected from an architect whose designs were so dependent upon structural expression, his monumental interiors are among his most successful efforts — the handsome church of Notre-Dame at Le Raincy (begun 1922; I, PL. 305; FIG. 230) being his masterpiece in this category.

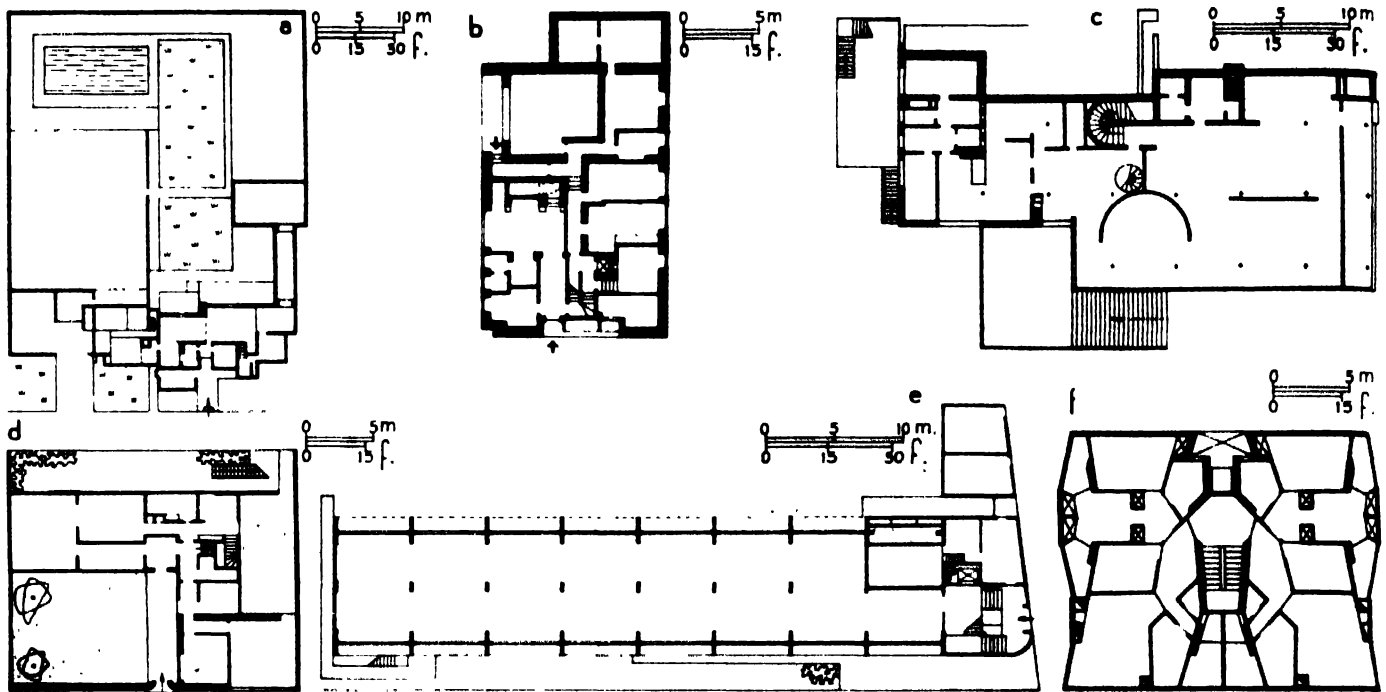
Besides the work of Perret and the later work of the Art Nouveau generation, in the period before 1914 French architecture can boast of only one other significant, if more conventional, talent: Tony Garnier (1867-1948), who had been trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (as was Perret) and appointed city architect for Lyons in 1905. His work is perhaps more clearly academic in its derivation than that of fellow progressive architects, French or otherwise; nonetheless, his project *Une cité industrielle* (published in Paris, 1918), which dates from 1901, contains a number of simple domestic and urban schemes that, at their best, anticipate the denuded surfaces and unpunctuated contours of Le Corbusier's early Purist manner. This basically negative approach to design, which obtains its originality chiefly through a complete purge of ornament (historical

and modern), is better seen in the work of the Viennese Adolph Loos (PL. 102; FIG. 231b). Having been in America 1893-96, crucial years in the development of Art Nouveau, Loos was even more negative than Olbrich or Hoffmann in his judgment of this curvilinear idiom. His work — interiors as severe as exteriors — hardly approaches the transitional ambiguity of the counter-Art Nouveau practiced by his compatriots, with the result that his designs are perhaps the most uncompromisingly sober and prosaic of the period, not excluding the Gropius and Meyer factory at Alfeld. In fact, Loos published a famous article, "Ornament and Crime" (*Ornament und Verbrechen*, 1908), whose title practically summarizes his sentiments. This germinal essay was twice republished in France in the 1920s, initially in the first volume of *L'esprit nouveau* (1920), which had Le Corbusier as coeditor. The interiors of Loos manifest his knowledge of the English domestic work of about 1900 by such figures as C. F. A. Voysey (1857-1941; q.v.) or A. H. Mackmurdo (1851-1942). This aspect of late-19th-century English architecture was made known in Central Europe by the extensive publications of Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927) between 1900 and 1905. The exteriors of Loos are bare and stark (and in this sense brutal in over-all effect), though in the Steiner house in Vienna (1910) the façade is symmetrically articulated in a taciturn academic fashion. Along with the work of Gropius, the architecture of Loos is the most progressive and fully formulated modernism on the Continent on the eve of World War I.

Formalizing academic qualities persisted throughout this pre-1914 period and were constantly found in conjunction with the new antihistorical trends. This balance between the progressive, functionalist attitude and the time-hallowed academic tradition of design was particularly successful in the superb factory and office building designed by Gropius and Meyer for the Werkbund exhibition of 1914 at Cologne. Like the slightly earlier Berlin turbine factory of Behrens, this industrial design by his followers manages to synthesize several aspects of the period's architecture, but the result is much more forward-looking. The Gropius and Meyer work featured two interrelated wings — a vaulted machine shop and an office block. This design represented a daring application of the glass wall principle of enclosure; yet the structural departure was combined with an elaborately axial, academic plan and studiously balanced wall elevations along the front and back (the side elevations being picturesque and symmetrical). In addition, this regrettably temporary edifice was the first major instance of Frank Lloyd Wright's influence on the younger generation of European architects. Significantly, Gropius and Meyer chose a formal, academizing façade by Wright for their inspiration, his hotel at Mason City, Iowa (1908), a description of which had been published in Berlin in 1910-11. While using Wright's pattern and layout, the younger German architects rejected his dense, inscrutable masonry surfaces in favor of extensive glazed areas contrasted with thin-looking screen walls of brick, and their further development of this new and ambiguous glazed-wall technique of spatial enclosure paved the way for post-1918 developments. In this respect the Gropius and Meyer model factory complex offers a fertile comparison with Van de Velde's Cologne theater (FIG. 231) for the same exhibition. In general, both schemes are formal academic exercises, but with novel decorative or structural details. The factory possesses an airy elegance, with some of its forms ambiguously "dissolved" by the extensive use of glass; whereas the theater is a more massive,



Le Raincy, near Paris, plan of the Church of Notre-Dame (architects: A. and G. Perret, 1923).



Plans of private houses and apartments: (a) Paris, Léonce Rosenberg house (architects: T. van Doesburg and C. van Eesteren, 1923); (b) Prague, Müller house (architect: A. Loos, 1930); (c) Brno, Czechoslovakia, Tugendhat house (architect: Mies van der Rohe, 1930); (d) Ville d'Avray, France, Villa Hefferlin (architect: A. Lurçat, 1932); (e) Rotterdam, apartment house (architects: W. van Tijen, J. A. Brinkman, and L. C. van der Vlugt, 1934); (f) Barcelona, Montepio Marítimo apartments (architects: I. A. Corerch and M. Valls-Vergés, 1954).

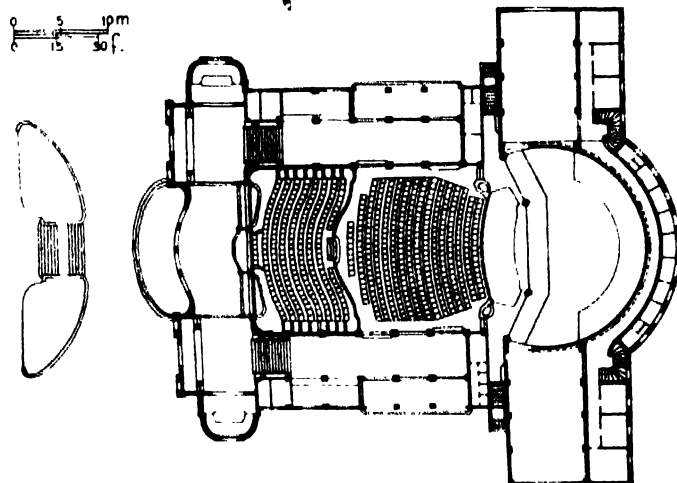
inert masonry pile, whose gently curving forms represent the final gasp of the fanciful Art Nouveau.

The overwhelming dominance of German and Austrian designers in this period was not seriously challenged elsewhere in Europe. France and, perhaps, to an even greater extent, the British Isles had dominated European architecture in the last half of the 19th century. This Anglo-French ascendancy was challenged in the 1890s with the advent of Art Nouveau and related phenomena in various centers, more or less remote from Paris and London. And while Paris ultimately contributed to Art Nouveau, by the time that the *fin de siècle* movements were on the wane creative leadership had passed from the hands of the French academicians as well as from their less academic British counterparts. French architecture of this era was dormant until the appearance of Purism with the early works of Le Corbusier in the 1920s; apart from Perret, it even lacked significant traditional, academic monuments. In Great Britain, even the late work of as distinguished a contemporary of the

Continental Art Nouveau as Mackintosh is largely of local interest. Only C. Harrison Townsend's (1850-1928) London buildings (Whitechapel Art Gallery, designed 1895; Horniman Museum, 1900-01) are the equals in style and quality of the work of Olbrich and, slightly later, of Behrens. The major English contribution to the first stage of 20th-century architecture — the domestic architecture of Mackmurdo, Voysey, and their contemporaries — for the most part antedates 1900, and its innovations were rapidly assimilated by the Central European architects, who then proceeded to develop and extend the new style, leaving the British designers behind in the process. This international eminence of Central Europe in architectural creativity outlasted the interruption of World War I and finally succumbed only with the demise of the Weimar Republic in 1933 and the exile of the great masters of the second (post-Behrens) generation — Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, and Eric Mendelsohn (q.v.). Germany had to share this position of distinction only briefly with a small band of creative architects in the Netherlands (de Stijl) and with the Paris-based Swiss architect Le Corbusier, whose tendencies were at least partly molded during a brief sojourn in the Behrens office before 1914.

*Second phase (ca. 1919-39).* The second phase of modern European architecture coincides with the phenomenon known as the "international style," a term effectively proposed by Philip Johnson, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Alfred H. Barr, Jr., on the occasion of an architectural exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1932 and very likely derived from the title of Gropius's book *Internationale Architektur* (1925). Regrettably, since World War II the expression has become a term of opprobrium, at least as used by those who do not care for the austere and functional geometric discipline that is characteristic of the period. However, despite its subsequent misuse, it is a valuable historical term, one that characterizes the architecture as well as the distinctive intellectual climate of the period between the world wars.

World War I interrupted building activity in all but a handful of neutral nations; but, remarkably, it was the direct cause of only one fatality in the ranks of rising young architects: The death of the Italian futurist Antonio Sant'Elia (1888-1916;



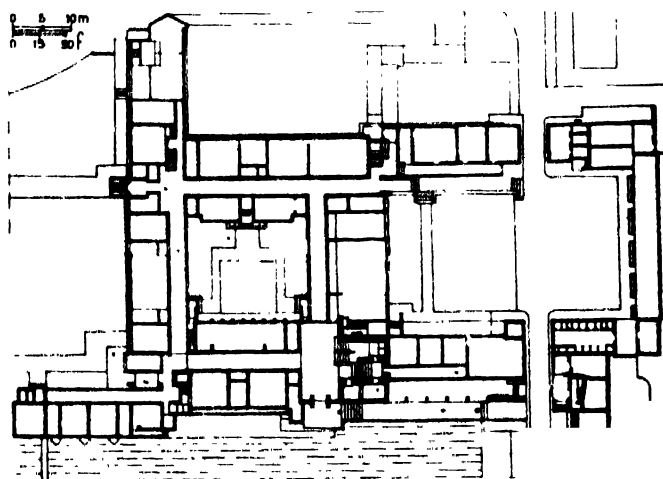
Cologne, plan of theater for the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition (architect: H. Van de Velde).

1, PL. 408) removed from the scene the one architect who, in numerous projects, displayed a tendency toward flamboyant inventiveness that was provoked by concurrent movements in painting immediately before the war. In any event, his numerous projects were another harbinger of the architectural expressionism that was to come into prominence soon after 1918 as an implicit rival of the more rational, geometric — and durable — international style. The cubic, geometric tendencies that gradually became apparent in architecture during the second decade of the 20th century, especially in neutralist countries such as the Netherlands, cannot be explicitly related to the seemingly analogous cubism then dominating French painting, though there were subsequent influential contacts between architecture and painting. The impact of the formal repertoire of Frank Lloyd Wright upon certain minor Dutch architects during these war years was so strong that it engendered unfortunate imitation rather than the genuine inspiration with which Gropius and Meyer responded. No revolutionary developments followed upon Robert van't Hoff's two Wright-inspired villas at Huis Ter Heide, the Netherlands (1916), or the small hotel at Woerden, near Utrecht (1917–19), by Jan Wils and Theo van Doesburg. These designs, albeit aggressively cubic in their piling up of horizontal and vertical slabs, were unquestionably congenial to the established trends of European modernism.

The remarkable progress of Dutch architecture during these war years can perhaps be seen best in the works of J. J. P. Oud (q.v.), whose early style developed from the refined and original medievalism of Berlage. By 1917, however, his work had revealed unmistakable advances in two designs: first, in a project for a house in reinforced concrete, which was indebted to the precedents of both Behrens and Wright; second, in a more original and blocklike design for a seashore terrace of houses, which looks back in principle if not in style to the neoclassic resort architecture of the English Regency. Oud's terrace project moved clearly beyond the pre-1914 tradition of modernism in architecture and anticipated a progressive level that was not achieved in actual building until after 1920. In 1917 Oud was a cofounder of *de Stijl* (see above), a group composed primarily of painters but whose most renowned member was Piet Mondrian. Mondrian had worked in Paris from 1911 until the outbreak of the war and had been influenced by the cubist works of Picasso and Léger. After 1914 his style developed explicit architectonic implications as it became more and more starkly geometric, and conventional subject matter vanished in favor of completely abstract painting in about 1917. Van Doesburg's style, following his release from service in 1916, was moving in a similar nonobjective direction, and by 1917 the time was ripe for establishing an association that included architects, sculptors, and designers, as well as painters. In that same year Van Doesburg collaborated with Oud on two houses — one at Katwijk, the other in Noordwijkerhout — in which he assumed responsibility for some of the decorative details, such as the geometric patterns of the floor, while Oud continued to develop his architecture of severe, abstract wall surfaces with emphasis upon impenetrable cubic forms. These early accomplishments led to Oud's extraordinarily mature project for a factory at Purmerend (1919), which offers an interesting contrast with his much less challenging — in fact, rather Berlageian — designs for the workers' housing at Spangen (1918) or the *Tusschendijken* flats in Rotterdam (1920–21), neither of which were truly *de Stijl* in letter or spirit. Only in the temporary foremen's house at Oud Mathenesse (1923) and in the renowned *Café de Unie* (1923), both in Rotterdam, was the new manner discernible in Oud's Purmerend factory project finally realized in actual construction.

An independent echo of *de Stijl*'s tendencies is found consistently, and on a large scale, in the work (mostly at Hilversum; FIG. 234; cf. PLS. 106, 107) of W. M. Dudok. The Dr. Bavinck School (1921) is the most important of his early works. Here the abstract manipulation of horizontal and vertical blocks and planes, while falling short of the vivacious intricacy of Oud's Purmerend factory project, has a simple dignity and genuinely architectonic monumentality that the more modestly scaled architecture of Oud never pursues. Simultaneously with

the constructions of Dudok at Hilversum and of Oud in Rotterdam emerged the seemingly rival style of the Amsterdam school, led by Piet Kramer (b. 1881) and Michael de Klerk (1884–1923), whose antihistorical convictions veered toward expressionism rather than the unromantic, rectilinear geometry of *de Stijl*. The Amsterdam school was more directly under the influence of Berlage, since that city was the site of some of his major works; and in De Klerk's *Eigen Haard* apartments (1917) and Kramer's *De Dageraad* apartments (begun 1918; PL. 106) there is an emphasis upon subtly textured brick surfaces and undulating contours of attractive suavity. Similar qualities are apparent in the workers' houses by M. Staal-Kropholler at Amsterdam-Zuid (PL. 104). In contrast to the more utilitarian

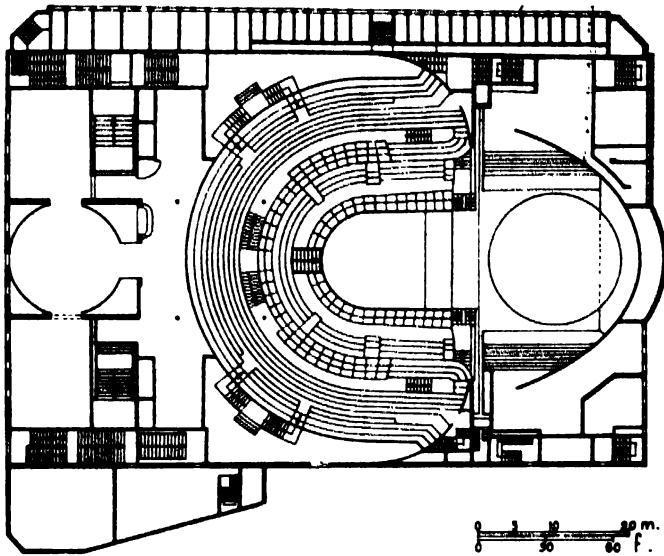


Hilversum, Netherlands, City Hall, plan of ground floor (architect: W. M. Dudok, 1924–30).

type of apartment being designed by Oud in Rotterdam about this time, the efforts of De Klerk and Kramer seem far more important as achievements in the development of a new architectural language. However, Oud's subsequent housing projects — the *Kiefhoek* apartments in Rotterdam and those at *Hook of Holland* (PL. 106) — and his contribution to the *Weissenhof* quarter at Stuttgart (1927) confirmed his early promise, despite his late start in actual construction; on the other hand, there was no significant sequel to the early postwar work of the Amsterdam school.

Paradoxically, Oud forsook the *Stijl* movement in 1921, on the eve of his stylistic maturity, and left Van Doesburg without an architectural collaborator. In 1923 the latter created a number of projects in collaboration with Gerrit Rietveld (b. 1888), a furniture designer turned architect, and the more youthful Cornelis van Eesteren (b. 1897), who had studied at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* after his initial training in Rotterdam. Van Eesteren and Van Doesburg were jointly responsible for several boldly conceived architectural schemes at this time, none of which got past the drawing or model stage. These earlier collaborations culminated in the project for the Léonce Rosenberg house (1923; FIG. 231a), in which Rietveld participated at least in the execution of the model. Viewed in the light of these joint efforts, Rietveld's single architectural masterpiece, the *Schroeder* house at Utrecht (1924–25) — a valid and historically significant design that he never again equaled — becomes more understandable as a somewhat suprapersonal rather than truly individual achievement. Nevertheless, the *Schroeder* house was not a collaboration in the literal sense, even though Van Doesburg's principles underlie this complex of interlocking horizontal and vertical forms with alternately transparent and opaque wall surfaces. Rietveld's design might also be interpreted as a monumentalization of his radical furniture designs of 1918–19, with their multicolored assemblages of severe yet finely proportioned geometric forms.

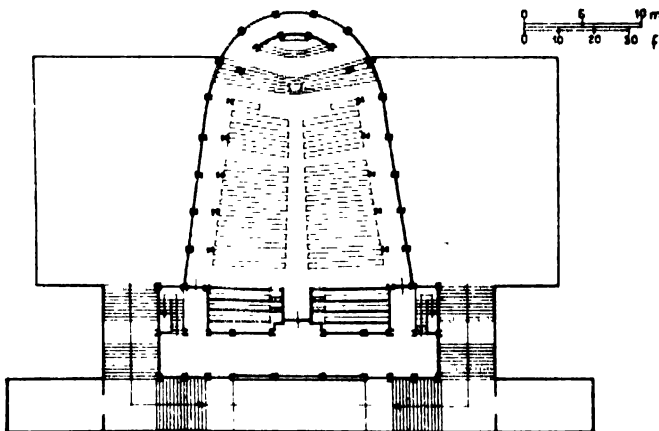
There can be little doubt that the work of *de Stijl* had great influence on the development of German architecture in the early 1920s and played an important role in deflecting



Berlin, plan of Grosses Schauspielhaus (architect: H. Poelzig, 1918-19).

the course of Central European architecture from the expressionist and neoromantic trends of the period. Van Doesburg's personal role in fixing this ultimate direction has been disputed; but his sojourn in Germany, more particularly in Berlin and Weimar in 1921, and his temporary position on the Bauhaus faculty in 1922 do furnish proof of his being physically present at a crucial point in the development of modern German architecture. It was not until the construction of the new Bauhaus at Dessau (1925-26) that Gropius's leadership in the architectural profession, so effectively advanced in the Alfeld factory of 1911, was firmly established.

One of the most important constructions in Germany after World War I was the interior of Hans Poelzig's Grosses Schauspielhaus in Berlin (1919; FIG. 235), in which a mysterious, cavernous type of stalactite decoration was introduced into an otherwise straightforward auditorium. While there are exceptions to these subjective, formalistic, and structure-concealing tendencies in expressionist architecture — such as Otto Bartning's (b. 1883) "star" church model of 1922, with its maze of parabolic arches and ribs suggestive of Gaudi structures — the general attitude of this movement was nonrational, that is, seeking effect through emotion rather than formal or structural logic. However, Bartning's earlier expressionist style eventually veered so far in a rationalist direction that in his "steel" church in Cologne (1928; FIG. 235) he achieved a fusion of his more subjective tendencies with the ultimately more assertive and geometrically grounded international style. The most remarkable achievements of expressionism include the earlier works

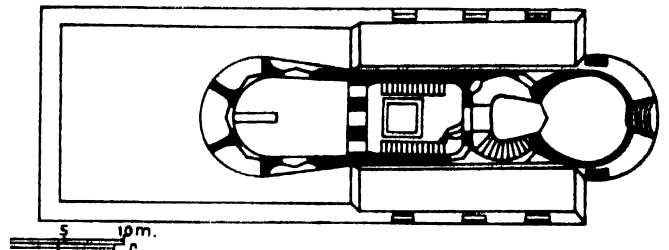


Cologne, plan of Evangelical Church (architect: O. Bartning, 1928).

of two men subsequently associated with the more rational tendencies of the international style: the early projects of Mies van der Rohe and the early constructions of Eric Mendelsohn.

Mies, who, like Gropius, was a former assistant of Peter Behrens, had exhibited a decided propensity for romantic classicism in his early houses dating from before the war. However, in a project for a glass-sheathed skyscraper on the Friedrichstrasse, Berlin (1919), triangular in plan with boldly detached prowlike corner angles of improbable acuteness, Mies produced an architectural form of great emotional impact. A subsequent project (1920-21) for another glass tower substituted an undulating wall for the sharp angularity of the first scheme. The earlier Friedrichstrasse project was very likely influential in the Fritz Höger (1877-1949) design for the Chlehaus at Hamburg (PL. 108; FIG. 223), at least in the prowlike forms it utilized. The glass towers of Mies have an unbroken wall surface, whose over-all transparency may reveal the skeleton but does not truly express it. Still, in one project for a concrete-framed office building in Berlin (1922), the glass is treated in recessed horizontal strips in such a way that the internal framework becomes more explicitly a part of the exterior design. With this development of a rational integration of structure and form, the expressionistic aspect of Mies van der Rohe's architecture definitely recedes.

Eric Mendelsohn's buildings of this early postwar period offer the same subjective approach to form that is manifest, if with a certain frigidity, in the early projects of Mies. The famous Einstein Tower of the Astro-Physical Institute at Potsdam (PL. 104; FIG. 236), with its seemingly pliant forms, was planned



Potsdam, Einstein Tower, plan of upper stories (architect: E. Mendelsohn, 1921).

in concrete but executed in conventional masonry with a stucco coating. Its style reflects the appearance of Mendelsohn's "bold" "inspirational" sketches (I, PL. 408), some of which are dated as early as 1914 and most of which studiously avoid right angles in piling up cyclopean, futuristic forms. His hat factory at Luckenwalde (1920-23) is slightly more prosaic, in that industrial requirements had to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, the high-pitched, reverse-sloped roof of the building containing the dye vats is provocative, both with respect to its structural system and in its unique formal elements. It was not until the construction of the *Berliner Tagblatt* offices in 1923 and the Haifa competition projects of the same year that Mendelsohn's work assumed a more rational, conventionally storied, and rectilinear approach that led to his most sensitive work of the 1920s, the Schocken store at Stuttgart (1926; FIG. 238), and a more refined and perfected design for the same client in Chemnitz (PL. 105). The latter building has the taut surfacing of glass and masonry (or stucco) characteristic of the fully matured international style, which was popularized in Germany by Gropius and Meyer with the new Bauhaus structure at Dessau.

The Bauhaus had been founded at Weimar in 1919 as an outgrowth of an arts-and-crafts school and an academy of fine arts, both of which were absorbed into the new institution. Its first home was a building erected in 1906 by the Belgian architect and designer Henri Van de Velde in a counter- or post-Art Nouveau style, consonant with some of the progressive architecture of that period but distinctly romantic in concept if compared with the more utilitarian work of Gropius and Meyer. Whether or not these surroundings exerted any direct



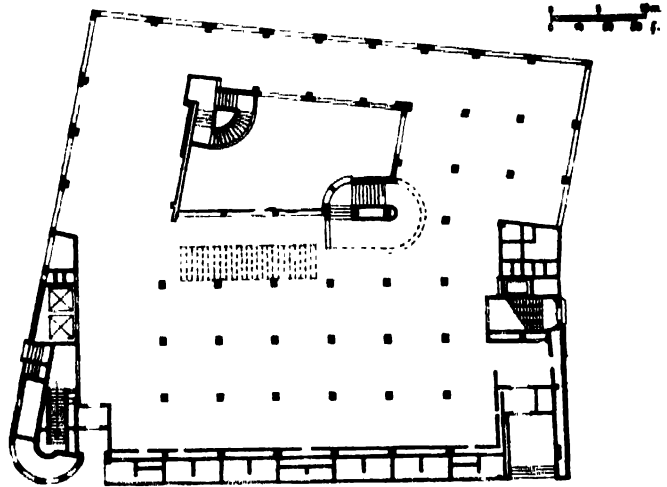
influence upon Gropius and his partner, the stylistic tendencies of their first postwar designs were ambiguous at the very least, when not altogether expressionistic. Two Gropius-Meyer works of 1921 — the Weimar Monument, a jagged, eerie concrete abstraction, and the equally romantic Sommerfeld house, Berlin — fall within the expressionist style. The latter, with walls built up of massive wood beams, was indebted to Frank Lloyd Wright for its design, while the forms of the monument suggested the influence of abstract painting. The façade that Gropius and Meyer executed for the remodeling of the municipal theater at Jena (1922) was somewhat undecided in style, for its severe rational surface and rectilinear layout were compromised by beveled corners that produced a molded, plastic, and hence slightly expressionistic flavor. However, in their project for the famous Chicago Tribune Tower competition of the same year, the two collaborators returned to a forthright rational style that recalled their prewar Alfeld factory. In contrast with the 1919-21 expressionistic tower projects of Mies van der Rohe, the exterior of this skyscraper was not conceived as an unbroken glass sheath; instead it was to be perceived as an exposed, or expressed, structural frame into which distinct tripartite window units were placed, thus echoing the new concern for integration of constructive and formal elements that was apparent in Mies's own 1922 design for a concrete-framed office structure. Certain details of the Chicago Tribune project, especially the finlike accents of the carefully disposed projecting balcony slabs, were probably not so much dictated by function, or even by purely structural expression, as prompted by a desire to incorporate some elements of a new formal vocabulary — quite possibly that of de Stijl. An alternative source for this formal device might be the constructivist sculpture of Kazimir Malevich, which dates from this period; but in view of Van Doesburg's presence at the Weimar Bauhaus that very year, de Stijl would seem to be the more plausible source.

The complete integration of these formal tendencies (irrespective of their origin in constructivism or de Stijl) in Gropius's style was not achieved until 1925-26 in the construction of the new Bauhaus at Dessau (VII, PL. 81), a building that epitomized the tenets and characteristics of the first phase of the international style. Its various interlocking horizontal and vertical elements, whether slab or block — latent in the Wright-inspired Dutch houses of the World War I period but more explicit in the projects of Oud and, subsequently, of Van Doesburg and Van Eesteren — were utilized here by Gropius in a more consistently architectonic fashion. At the same time, extensive areas of glass were employed as equivocal wall surfaces, thereby refining and implementing stylistic conceptions of the immediately preceding half-decade. By such extensive use of glass walls, which in varying lights provide, alternately, glimpses of the building's interior or reflections of its exterior surroundings, the illusion of interpenetrating and interlocking solid forms that was so effectively stated in various de Stijl projects became a spatial reality. The normal, clearly defined limits between interior and exterior space in relation to a building were here obscured, although not completely destroyed.

Much of the later work of Gropius does not measure up to the achievement of the Bauhaus, either with respect to quality or stylistic leadership, as is also the case with his Dutch contemporaries. Instead, the two figures who emerged as consolidators of the international style in the latter half of the 1920s were Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier. The architecture of Le Corbusier traced a rising curve of development and maturity from the early twenties through the early thirties, his sustained advance being slowed in the years just before World War II by a lack of actual commissions. Along with Frank Lloyd Wright, he has been the most provocative creator of new forms and spatial concepts in architecture since 1900; and if his output of actual buildings falls far short numerically of that of the older American architect, each of Le Corbusier's designs has almost inevitably been a landmark. Like Oud, Van Eesteren, and Rietveld, Le Corbusier's first post-World War I designs were done under the influence of contemporary painting; in fact, he was the cofounder, with Amedée Ozenfant,

of the Purist movement, whose relation to cubism was similar to that of the Stijl movement. Le Corbusier's Citrohan house projects (1919-22) are roughly contemporary with Oud's Purmerend factory project and Mies's above-mentioned expressionistic glass towers. The Citrohan schemes are not so arresting in form, but in their handsomely proportioned yet economical simplicity they proved to be a much more viable foundation for sustained development of a new stylistic idiom. From this scheme, which is oriented around a two-storied, studio-windowed living room, a whole series of home and apartment house designs were developed, culminating in the Marseilles *unité d'habitation* (1946-52; I, PL. 388).

In the second Citrohan project of 1922, Le Corbusier introduced another of his often-exploited devices, the raising



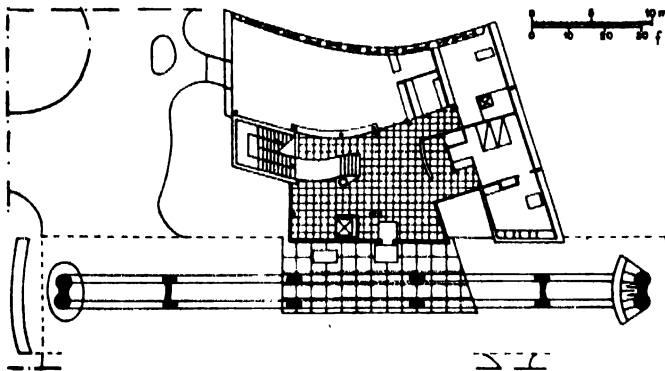
Stuttgart, Schocken store, plan of ground floor (architect: E. Mendelsohn 1926).

of the house on stilts, or *pilotis* (suggestive perhaps of prehistoric lake dwellings in his native Switzerland), used by its creator for both functional and esthetic reasons: to provide an open area on the ground and to display the starkly geometric design clear of the ground. His other ubiquitous device, the roof terrace (*toit-jardin*), which had already appeared in the 1919-20 Citrohan design, complements the quasi-enclosed space formed by the *pilotis* on the ground level, and the whole house presents a form analogous to a fragment of a modern ocean liner's superstructure. The nautical quality of Le Corbusier's architecture is unmistakable in a vacation house, the Savoye house at Poissy (1929-30), where the entire house becomes, in effect, a two-storied roof terrace set upon thin *pilotis*. Here the new concepts of space and form, of void and solid, so effectively conveyed by Gropius in the glazed and stuccoed surfaces of the Bauhaus four years earlier, are given a refined and sensitive reinterpretation. From the exterior, Le Corbusier seems to have created a simple closed cube on stilts; however, upon detailed inspection, its apparent solidity is belied by the continuous band of apertures on all sides, the same wall elevation without the glass being applied to the unroofed terrace area as well as to the enclosed (i.e., glazed) portions.

Of the other Paris-based architects of this period who practiced the international style, André Lurçat (FIG. 231d) and the Belgian Robert Mallet-Stevens (b. 1886) are notable, although the work of the former consists largely of rather transparent variations upon Le Corbusier's Purist style, and the designs of Mallet-Stevens are somewhat coarse and not always effective variants upon de Stijl themes. Much more important and original is the work of the engineer Eugène Freyssinet (b. 1879), whose hangars at Orly (1916) and locomotive sheds at Bagneux, near Paris (1929), represent the burgeoning use of reinforced concrete structure. Other significant concrete structures of this period in France include the market hall at Reims designed by Emile Maigrot and the less interesting shed for the train

station, also in Reims (1930-34), by Le Marec; both structures were the work of the Entreprises Limousin. Maigrot's market hall would seem to qualify as a forerunner for Pier Luigi Nervi's Turin exposition hall (1948-49).

The ambiguous or indeterminate relationship between solid



Paris, Cité Universitaire, Swiss Pavilion, plan of ground floor (architects: Le Corbusier and P. Jeanneret, 1930-32).

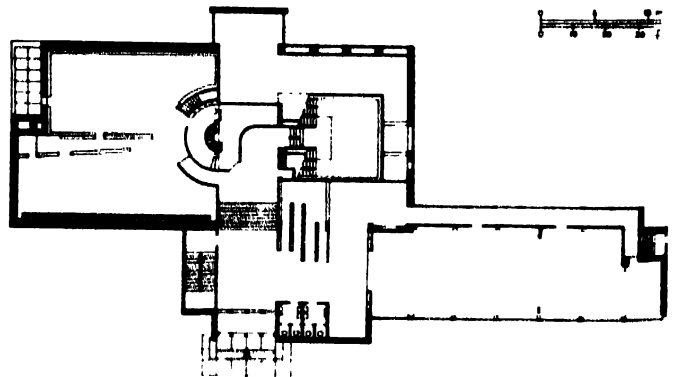
and void in Le Corbusier's Savoye house, a structure that represents the ultimate in aristocratic refinement for the international style (as opposed to the more forthright, robust works of the Bauhaus and de Stijl), is given even more sumptuous and visually delightful expression in Mies van der Rohe's masterpiece of the same year (1929), the German Pavilion at the Barcelona Exhibition, albeit in a more austere manner and with less ingenuity. Here the dry, abstract disposition of stuccoed surfaces common in most earlier work of the international style was replaced by jewel-like detailing in polished marbles, travertine, chrome, and glass. In plan and elevation the pavilion seems to be an elegant and mannered variation on some of the bolder, more vigorous formal inventions of Van Doesburg and his architect associates of the early 1920s. With its rich materials and fluid, deftly related segmentation of space and enclosing wall, the Barcelona pavilion lacks the geometric intricacy of the vigorous, though sometimes overinvolved, designs of de Stijl architects — Rietveld's Schroeder house, Utrecht (1924-25), being a case in point. Mies's subsequent Tugendhat house at Brno, Czechoslovakia (1930; FIG. 231c), is also a freely organized series of interior spaces, despite the need of conforming to a domestic program — whereas the Barcelona pavilion was a spatial and architectural invention having no specific functional requirements. However, the exterior envelope of the Tugendhat house is somewhat more simple, and from one vantage point it appears as a single rectilinear form, a reductive tendency developed to a greater degree in Mies's later designs and particularly in his work in the United States since his arrival in 1937.

Mies van der Rohe's interest in textured wall surfaces of more varied materials, as opposed to the uniform abstraction of stucco rendering, was also reflected in contemporary designs by Gropius and Le Corbusier. Gropius's Dessau Employment Office (1927-28) was faced with brick, a material that gave an entirely different texture and scale to the over-all form, even though the compositional principles were not far removed from the stuccoed Bauhaus of only two years earlier. The use of more conventional surface materials in otherwise radical designs became more and more noticeable as the 1920s came to an end. Le Corbusier's widely admired, albeit officially discarded, League of Nations project (1927-28) was designed with a thin revetment of stone panels rather than stucco. In his Swiss Pavilion at the Cité Universitaire, Paris (1930-32; FIG. 239), a new phase of the international style was definitely ushered in by a restrained yet unmistakable material contrast in which concrete, dressed stone, rubble masonry, and metal-framed glass sheathing were played off against one another. Besides the variation of materials and textural contrast — even though reserved and Cartesian alongside the romantic materials chosen by Frank Lloyd Wright — this structure was further distin-

guished from the austere and ascetic architecture of the earlier international style by the bold introduction of a sweeping curved wall into its façade. Although curves had appeared in interiors of houses by Le Corbusier and Mies, heretofore they had largely been concealed from exterior view. Whether deliberate or unconscious, the introduction of such subjective, undulating forms into the repertoire of the international style indicated at least partial assimilation of expressionism into the main current of modern architecture.

The most prominent and talented young architect to emerge in the late 1920s — an auspicious moment to contribute to this new, less doctrinaire phase of the international style — was the Finn Alvar Aalto (q.v.; FIG. 240). His first major accomplishment, the Paimio Sanatorium (1929-33; I, PL. 2), was composed and constructed on principles derived from the Dessau Bauhaus of Gropius, but with proportional refinements that suggest Le Corbusier's League of Nations project or Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona pavilion. In addition, it anticipates the freedom of plan and the irregular, nonrectilinear relationships of different wings found in Le Corbusier's slightly later Swiss Pavilion. In his group housing scheme at Kauttua (1938), Aalto displayed a fine talent for adjusting his buildings to the sloping terrain; and in the country house "Mairea" at Norrmäsk (1938-39), he created a softened version of the international style interior that employed warmer dull-textured materials such as wood and brick in place of the icy polish of Mies's marble, glass, and chrome and the impersonal stucco or plaster of Le Corbusier's pre-1930 interiors. In those designs Aalto seemed unconsciously to be reiterating the evolution of Wright's style at this same moment, the development of a more rustic and organic, even romantic, alternative to the often brutal rationalism and objectivity of the early international style.

Most of the significant and progressive achievements of architecture in the half-decade before the outbreak of World War II took place in peripheral areas of Europe and in North and South America. The climate for progressive architectural creation in France and Germany became increasingly inhospitable. The coming of the Nazi regime in 1933 effectively cut off the development of modern architecture in Germany. The voluntary exile of Gropius and Mies followed promptly, and both soon received professorships in American universities. The reactionary atmosphere in France was more subtly pervasive, but no less effective. Le Corbusier's most important efforts at this period were related to his vast urban schemes for the development and reconstruction of Algiers — significantly, not a part of metropolitan France; these planning schemes were rejected by the governmental authorities, both local and national. Two monumental structures, the redesigned museums on the Trocadéro resulted from the Paris Exhibition of 1937: the Palais de Chaillot, (Musée des Monuments Français), by a team of academicians, and the edifice now occupied by the Musée d'Art Moderne,

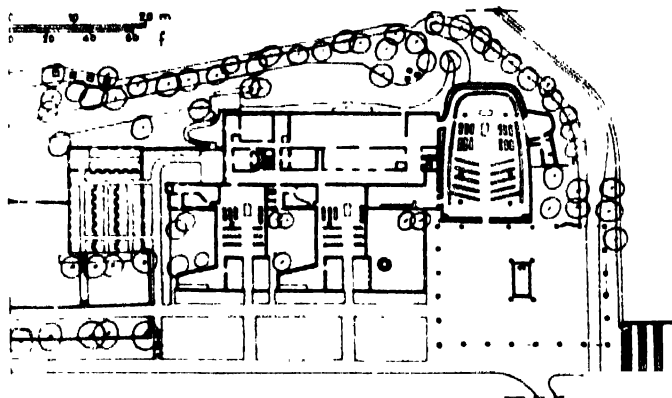


Viipuri, Finland, plan of Library (architect: A. Aalto, 1927-28).

also the result of a group effort. Both were conceived in a dry, stiff, and modernized classicist manner that tried to reconcile the conventional official styles with more up-to-date decorative fashions. Auguste Perret's nearly contemporary Musée des

Travaux Publics offered a similar compromise but with interesting, if not always effective, surface details and a sensitive relation of decoration to structure. This official architecture of the 1930s, a modernized neoclassicism, was much more successful elsewhere — in Germany in the works of Paul Ludwig Troost and Albert Speer, in Italy with the work of Marcello Piacentini, and in Russia with the work of B. M. Iofan — than in its nominal home, Paris. While this style derived from some of the pre-1914 work of Behrens and Hoffmann, it directly challenged the genuinely novel qualities of the international style in its distinctive formal and spatial devices, its "functional" composition, and its strongly emphasized technological determinism. The works of the Swede Gunnar Asplund (1885–1940) dating from the 1920s, such as the Stockholm City Library (1921–28), prefigured much of the simplified, stripped academicism that became fashionable throughout Europe toward the end of the 1930s. However, Asplund's own works of the 1930s — his extensive constructions for the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930, the enlargement of the Göteborg Town Hall (1934–1937), the Woodland Crematorium, Stockholm (1940; FIG. 241) — paradoxically manifest a partial, and sometimes complete, rejection of modernized academicism in favor of the liberal and inventive "late" international style, a development that was in sharp contradiction to reactionary architectural developments in Germany and France in the same decade.

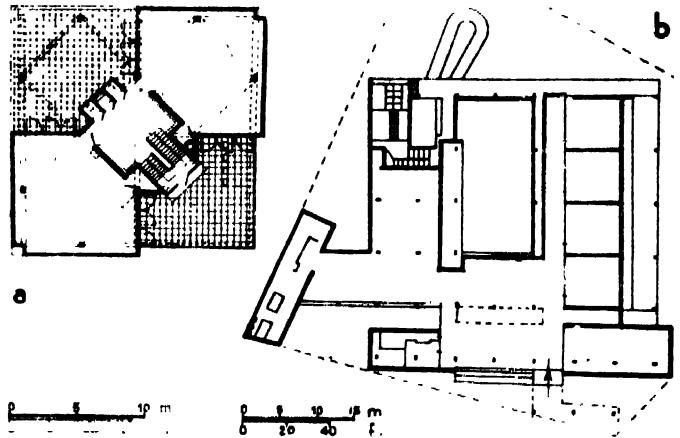
In Italy, however, the situation allowed for the emergence of several architects who practiced the international style with



Stockholm, Woodland Crematorium, plan (architect: G. Asplund, 1935–40).

perspicuity and sensitivity, if without notable innovation. The work of Giuseppe Terragni (1904–43; PL. 112; FIG. 242b) during the 1930s was especially significant in this mode, as were the contemporary designs of Luigi Figini (b. 1903) and Gino Polini (b. 1903). These works stand clearly apart from the more academic, superficially modern designs of the same epoch. Italy's most original contribution in this period is found in the early work of Pier Luigi Nervi (b. 1891), first in the "flying" stair ramps of the Municipal Stadium in Florence (1930–32), later in the aircraft hangars at Orbetello (1939–41; I, PL. 415), works that prefigure Nervi's striking contributions to the rapid development of concrete architecture since 1945. In the subtlety of his structural expression and the illusively "free" (i.e., non-rectilinear) forms of his designs, as well as their gravity-defying appearance, Nervi diverges greatly from the stark cubic geometry of the "classic" international style; these tendencies furnish early indications of the less restrictive formal discipline of the post-World War II period. Another major construction in Italy was the FIAT plant of Matte Trucco at Turin (1927), whose bold structure, ramps, and roof design have had at least an incidental influence on Le Corbusier's later works.

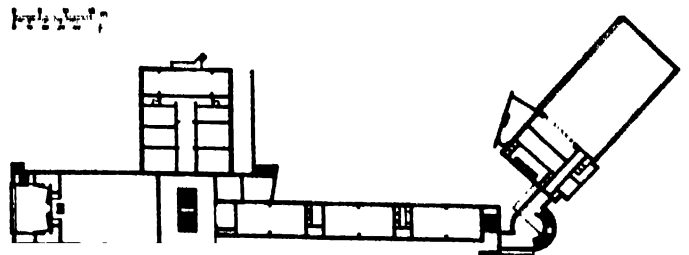
Some of the finest variations upon the classic international style, designs indicating a desire to expand the range and possibilities of the modern manner, were executed in England by the Tecton group (presently the firm of Skinner, Bailey, and Lubetkin). With their penguin pool at the Regent's Park Zoo (1933–35), followed by another at the Dudley Zoo (1938),



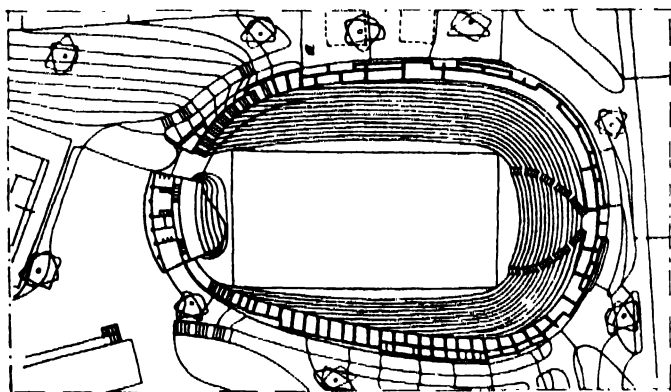
School plans: (a) Amsterdam, open-air school upper floor (architect J. Duiker, 1930); (b) Como, Italy, kindergarten (architect: G. Terragni, 1934–36).

the innovations of modern architecture were presented to a wide segment of the English public, and at the same time the designers illustrated the possibilities inherent in novel, curvilinear forms akin to recent Continental architecture. As such, these Tecton designs follow in the path opened by Nervi's spiral ramps in the Florence stadium and the curved wall of Le Corbusier's Swiss Pavilion in Paris. In fulfilling a more ambitious program, the Tecton group introduced another modification of "functional" international style composition and layout in the Finsbury Health Center, London (1938), where individual wings accommodating a variety of services were incorporated in a complex yet symmetrical scheme on a trapezoidal site. Other work of distinction was done in England at this time by several German exiles — Eric Mendelsohn, in collaboration with Serge Chermayeff, and Walter Gropius (before his departure for America) with E. Maxwell Fry (PL. 110).

*From 1945 until the present.* The course of European architecture since 1945 is more complex than that pursued by the radical styles during the period 1918–39. As the new manner was taken up by a larger segment of the profession, increased diversification was a natural consequence. At the same time, certain modifications and compromises with tradition were to be expected, along the order of the modernized academic style that was prevalent in Europe during the 1930s. The shifting of leadership from Europe to the New World, an important phenomenon of the thirties, became even more pronounced in the forties and fifties. The history of American architecture in these decades represents not simply a local phenomenon but, in some ways, the fulfillment of earlier European modern styles. The relationship of post-World War II trends in European architecture to the immediate past is similarly complex. Disenchantment with the reputedly more "functional" and materialistic aspects of the international style is apparent; nevertheless, the repertoire of architecture since 1945 is based more upon the formal inventions of the 1920s than upon the novel motifs that a truly negative reaction might elicit. The continuity between the interwar and post-World War II periods is further emphasized by the continuing prom-



The Hague, school, plan of ground floor (architect: J. J. P. Oud, 1955).



Oslo, Ice Stadium, plan (architects. F. Rinnan and O. Tveten, 1955).

inence of at least three major figures of the older generation — Wright, Le Corbusier, and Mies van der Rohe, who continued to be the leading innovators and radicals of the forties and fifties rather than merely purveyors of an established modernism. No young architect who has reached prominence in these two decades can challenge these almost mythical reputations.

As for the over-all "style" of architecture since 1945, the keynote has been an almost irreconcilable diversity of formal and structural accomplishments; yet this diversity grows out of an earlier unanimity of stylistic intent. In 1929 the productions of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe were closely related, although certainly not identical; but by the early 1950s they had moved a considerable distance in opposing directions. The precise geometric forms, elegant impersonal detailing, and unrelieved glazed surfaces of Mies's Lake Shore Apartments in Chicago (1949-51) contrast sharply with the multifarious forms and robust, accidentally textured concrete surfaces of Le Corbusier's *unité d'habitation*, Marseilles (1946-52). However, these differences should probably be viewed as variations of mode, key, or means of expression, rather than as indications of a basic stylistic dichotomy. The glass box and the concrete cliff dwelling are logical and equally valid outgrowths of the earlier, more obviously collateral work of their respective architects. While Mies has tended to geometricize and simplify his once-complex designs, Le Corbusier's work has moved away from the very simple forms of the early Citrohan projects toward the diversity of shapes (some implicitly expressionistic) evident in his post-World War II designs.

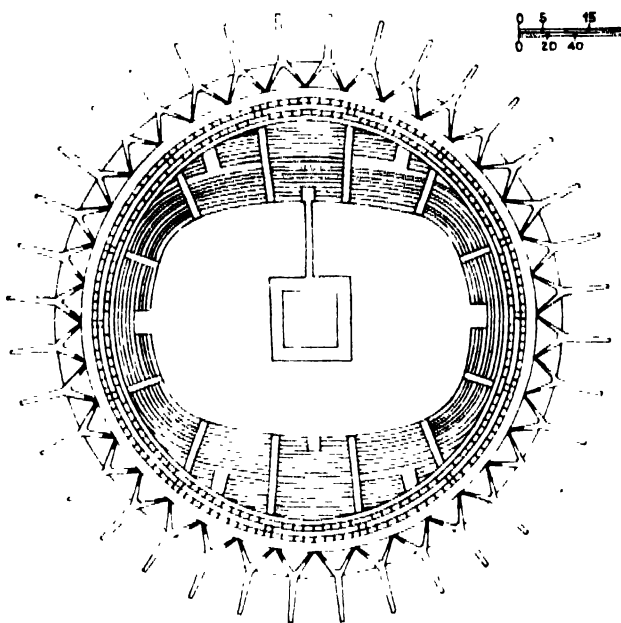
Le Corbusier's afore-mentioned *unité d'habitation*, the chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp (1950-54; I, PL. 381), and the Dominican convent at Eveux (1957-59) are among the most important European buildings of this period, particularly since the postwar work of Mies has not included any commissions executed there and since Wright's single European project, a house on the Grand Canal in Venice, was not built because permission was denied by the city authorities. Perhaps Le Corbusier's most notable and ambitious work of the 1950s is the master plan and governmental buildings for Chandigarh, the new capital of the Punjab (India). Still European in conception, this work illustrates through its remote location that, although modern architecture since 1945 may have departed somewhat from the original principles and canons of the classic international style of the period 1918-39, it has become — even more than in the past — a style of international distribution and appropriateness. In short, it is no longer practicable or meaningful to regard European architecture as a stylistic entity apart from the new building of other, non-European lands; whereas such a distinction was largely justifiable before 1939.

The only architects active on the Continent whose work since 1945 in any way rivals that of Le Corbusier are two other veterans, architects with reputations already well established in the 1930s: Aalto (PL. 118) and Nervi. Aalto's work is somewhat uneven in quality; but at his best — in the sensitive disposition of masses in the municipal center at Säynätsalo, Finland (1951-52; I, PL. 3); in the irregular, curving walls

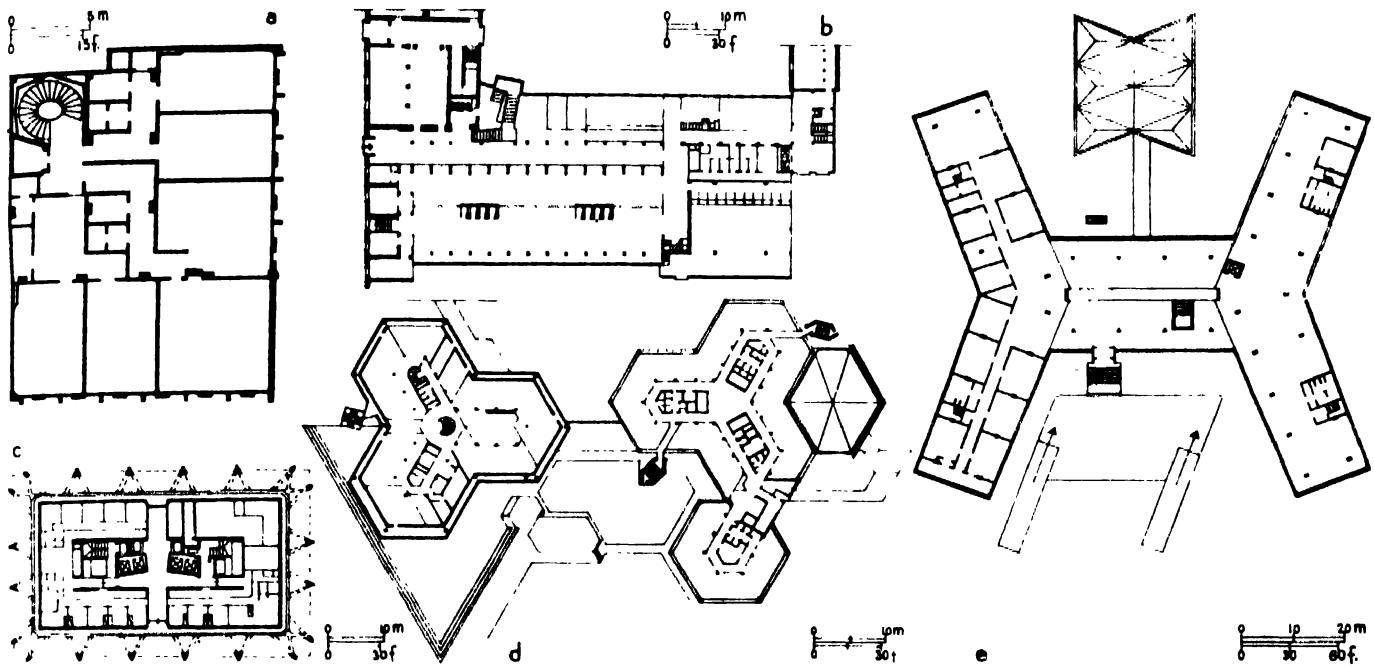
of the House of Culture, Helsinki (1955-58); or in the more recent house built for Louis Carré at Bazoches, near Paris — he has made a truly distinctive contribution to the formal vocabulary of European architecture, which in countries such as France, England, and Germany was generally static throughout the 1950s.

Italian participation in the development of post-World War II architecture has perhaps been more inventive, and certainly more controversial, than that of most other European countries. Nervi, an engineer by training and profession, is one of Italy's most renowned creators of new architectural forms, but his work does not overshadow the whole of the Italian contribution in the late forties and fifties as does the work of Le Corbusier in France. Nervi's Turin Exhibition Hall (1948-49) was one of his major postwar efforts toward achieving a personal mode based on exploiting concrete structural forms. In the *Palazzetto dello Sport*, Rome (PL. 117; FIG. 244), and the Naples Railroad Station (projected, 1954; under construction, 1961), this personal idiom has attained a virtuoso maturity, although in other recent works a shallow academicism is occasionally apparent. Less effective, but nonetheless a striking example of Italian proficiency in dramatizing structural devices, is the undulating canopy of the concourse of the Termini Station, Rome (1950), by Eugenio Montuori (b. 1907) and others.

Noteworthy if unspectacular contributions to the contemporary architectural idiom have been made by Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini for the Olivetti Company at Ivrea (begun 1942); the main factory and administrative building (1948-50) features a glass curtain wall along the north front, and the west and south walls incorporate recessed sun-breakers (as opposed to Le Corbusier's manner of projecting these forms from the actual wall plane). The later work of this team includes the robust, "neobrutalist" Church of the Madonna dei Poveri, Milan (1952-53), whose sturdy forms and coarse textures are far removed from the more precise international style works executed by this firm in the 1930s. Another important building for Olivetti was its Milan headquarters (1954); designed by Gian Antonio Bernasconi (b. 1911), Annibale Focchi (b. 1915), and Marcello Nizzoli (b. 1895), it is an edifice that manages a sophisticated compromise between the late styles of Mies and Le Corbusier (and their followers) without descending to a mere pastiche of architectural quotations. Equally noteworthy are the Milanese skyscrapers, original and provocative if not altogether satisfactory; the Torre Velasca (1956-58; FIG. 245c) by Lodovico Belgioioso (b. 1909), Enrico Peressutti (b. 1908), and Ernesto N. Rogers (b. 1909) and the Torre Pirelli (1955-59), the work of a group headed by Gio Ponti (b. 1897), with Nervi



Rome, Palazzetto dello Sport, plan (architects: A. Vitellozzi and P. L. Nervi, 1958).



Plans of financial and commercial buildings: (a) Parma, I.N.A. offices, upper floor (architect: F. Albini, 1953); (b) Florence, Savings Bank, ground floor (architect: G. Michelucci, 1957); (c) Milan, Torre Velasca, service floor (architects: L. B. Belgioioso, E. Peressutti, and E. N. Rogers, 1958); (d) Milan, San Donato, E.N.I. offices, upper floor (architects: M. Nizzoli and C. Oliveri, 1958); (e) Amsterdam, office block, upper floor (architect: M. Breuer, 1959).

as engineer. Other significant tendencies of a decidedly romantic character are found in the often quasi-traditional or regionalist work of Ignazio Gardella (b. 1905; FIG. 246), such as his various buildings for the Borsalino firm in Alessandria and the freely handled Gallery of Modern Art, Milan (1954).

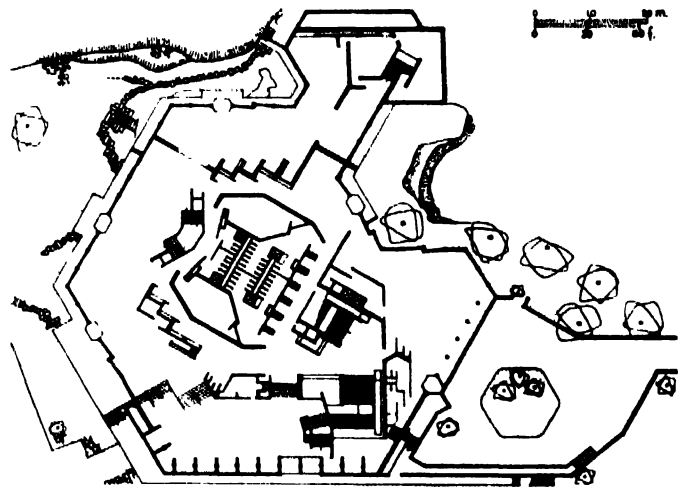
In contrast to the inventive and frequently striking achievements of Italian designers, British architecture in the post-World War II period appears earnestly up-to-date in style, yet infrequently arresting or memorable. The fussy, overdesigned Royal Festival Hall, London (1951), by Robert H. Matthew (b. 1906) and Sir John Leslie Martin (b. 1908) illustrates the somewhat uninspired conscientiousness of much English modern architecture. The best efforts appear in apartment design, where the work of Philip Powell (b. 1921) and J. H. Moya (b. 1920) of the former Tecton group — now Skinner, Bailey, and Lubetkin (PL. 113) — is often distinguished in its massing or overall composition but generally lacking in detail or distinctive features. Mention should also be made of the pioneering work in large-scale housing and in the planning of the New Towns, such as Harlow, Essex, by Frederick Gibberd (b. 1908). This otherwise bland picture of English architecture is greatly modified by the widely publicized doctrine of the "new brutalism," largely the creation of Alison (b. 1928) and Peter (b. 1923) Smithson; their Hunstanton School, deriving in part from the more severe aspects of Mies's late style, manages to avoid the common pitfalls of post-1945 English architecture.

Other than the *œuvre* of Le Corbusier, French architecture in the postwar period has produced almost no work of distinction. Exception to this judgment can be made for the work of some of his followers in North Africa, in particular the achievements of the ATBAT team under the leadership of Vladimir Bodiansky. Perret's reconstruction of Le Havre is in some ways more conventional and routine than his least effective pre-1939 designs; although his career — like that of Frank Lloyd Wright — lasted more than a half-century, his late style does not compare with Wright's ultimate efflorescence.

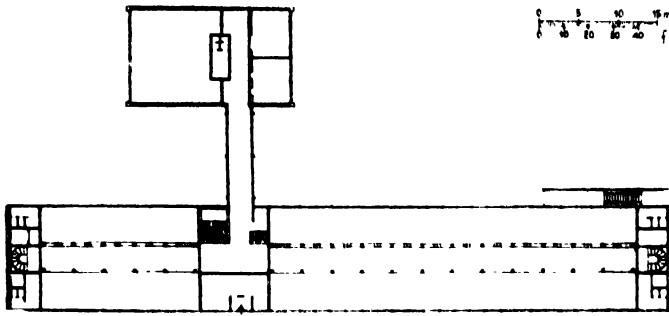
While Germany has not yet produced any major or distinctive talents in conjunction with its revival of modern architectural styles following 1945, the general level of accomplishment seems higher than in France or Britain. Much of the commercial work suggests the influence of Mies, in its large areas of glass and neat, sharp metal detailing. With the

planning of the Hansa quarter in Berlin (PL. 119), which entailed the summoning of an international group of architects to design individual apartment slabs or towers, there appeared to be a conscious effort to recapture the ethos if not the style of the 1920s, as manifested in the Deutsche Werkbund's Weissenhof housing exhibition at Stuttgart (PL. 109; PL. 111, original structure altered). Gropius (VII, PL. 83) and Le Corbusier were veterans of this earlier collective manifestation who contributed to the new Hansa scheme, along with such younger figures as Aalto, Oscar Niemeyer (b. 1907; q.v.) of Brazil, and Pierre Vago (b. 1910) of France — the last-named a dry, mannered follower of Le Corbusier.

The influence of Mies is detectable in the post-World War II works of the Dane Arne Jacobsen (b. 1902), whose City Hall at Rødovre (PL. 114; FIG. 247) and Jespersen offices, Copenhagen (1956), are brittle and elegant. However, Jacobsen's domestic work is less abstract in its elevations and less spare in detail, as is evident in the accidental composition and varied textures of his row houses at Søholm (1950). The large-scale



Ivrea, Italy, Olivetti cafeteria, plan of ground floor (architect: I. Gardella, 1960).



Redovre, Denmark, City Hall, plan of ground floor (architect, A. Jacobsen, 1956).

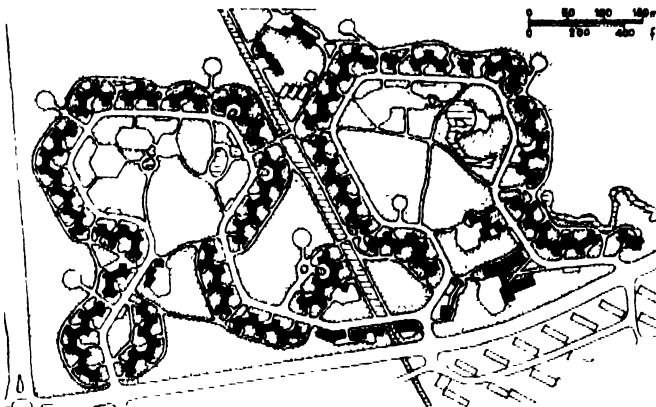
Swedish housing developments, such as those by Sven Backström (b. 1903) and Leif Reinius (b. 1907; PL. 113; FIG. 247) at Örebro (1948–50) or those for Vällingby (begun 1953) by the Stockholm City Planning Office under the direction of Sven Markelius (b. 1889), feature star-shaped or otherwise unusual and picturesque tower and row-house schemes; these plans may lack the geometric boldness and elegant detail found elsewhere, but they avoid the danger of a too-regular or repetitious formal scheme by means of more random arrangements and rhythmic alternations.

Walter Gropius's best-known pupil and his associate from the Bauhaus days, Marcel Breuer (PL. 119), while working almost exclusively in America, has designed two noteworthy buildings in Europe in the 1950s: the De Bijenkorf department store in Rotterdam (1957) and the UNESCO Building in Paris, the latter in collaboration with Nervi of Italy and Bernard Zehruss of France (PL. 119). In style as well as geography, Breuer's works demonstrate the reciprocal internationalization of European and American contemporary architecture.

Many of these developments in European architecture — French, English, Italian, German, and Scandinavian — may appear secondary, though not inconsequential, in contrast to the post-1945 contribution that the architects of the Western Hemisphere, native and European expatriate alike, have made to the germinal international style of the twenties and thirties. Nevertheless, credit for initiating the new architecture of the 20th century resides primarily with the pioneering efforts of two generations of German, French, and Italian architects spanning the half century from 1890 to 1940.

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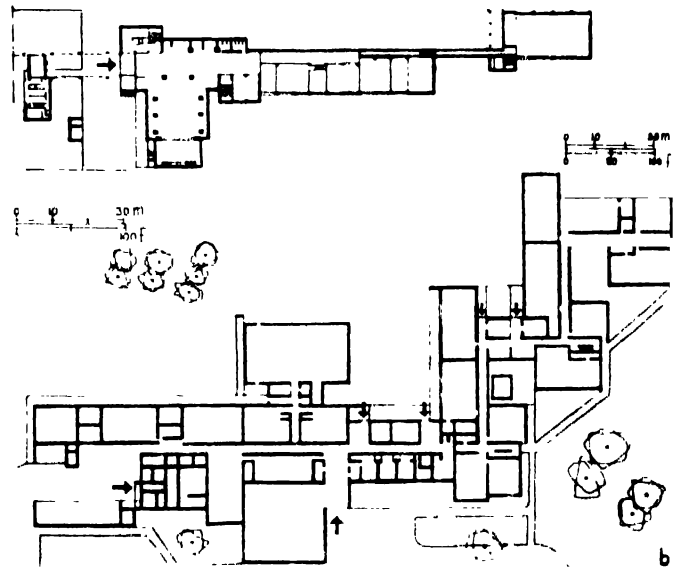
*Aspects of the modern renewal of architecture and industrial design.* The 20th-century architectural renewal in Europe is integrally related to the vast economic, social, and cultural changes arising from the Industrial Revolution. Industrialization affected architecture not only through technical inno-



Rostamrâdet, Sweden, residential quarter, plan (architects, S. Backström and L. Reinius, 1957)

vation (the introduction of new materials such as cast iron, steel, and cement, as well as more scientific and economical use of traditional materials) — that is, not only by modifying the means — but also by conditioning the basic demand for good architecture. Mass production made available to the general public many goods and services previously reserved for a privileged class, thereby transforming the latent ideal of equality into a realistically attainable objective. This radical democratization of opportunity amplified and quickened transformations already in process in both urban and rural society; above all, the increasingly realistic prospects of fulfillment of general needs and ambitions excited new and lively hope that in turn stimulated original, up-to-date developments in architecture. Reasoned appraisal of important contemporary economic and social changes is essential in weighing the merit of material gain against probable cultural effect. Astute critics should endeavor to conserve values inherited from preindustrial society when they remain valid and, if necessary, to reconcile them with the new systems of material distribution.

The immediate result of the impressive development of technology and industry was a loosening of the close-knit



School plans: (a) Rotterdam, Montessori school (architects, J. Bakema and J. van den Broek, 1950). (b) Shrewsbury, England, St. Martin's school (architect, B. Spence, 1958)

bonds between the various phases of architectural creation characteristic of the older system of values. The realization of the architectural undertaking was divided into areas of specialization that gave rise to well-defined professions — engineers, architects, critics, and so on. This division of labor, the result of tacit agreement between its members, encouraged greater experimentation in each area. Arising from the economic circumstances and technological advances of the 19th century, such departures were implemented with varying force and speed; but these primal innovations became more and more ingrained and conventional, for they were conditioned by preconceived analytical schemes rather than truly pragmatic individuation. Even the qualities of the "structural" architecture of the engineers became somewhat predetermined by the traditional correlation of historical styles with visual conventions. The new technology was inevitably burdened with an inherited stylistic repertoire. Therefore, the creation of a new cultural synthesis, one that soundly incorporates both the technical advances and the preexistent psychological conditions affecting the practice of architecture, demands reappraisal of accepted values and even a climate of controversy — disruption of the ordinarily cautious adjustment between old and new considerations and deliberate upset of the cultural equilibrium.



The origins of modern architectural theory are numerous. It arose in the first half of the 19th century with the experiments of the Utopians, especially Owen and Fourier; with French rationalist theories, from Labrouste to Viollet-le-Duc; with the first reforms in the applied arts, about the middle of the century (H. Cole, L. de Labord, G. Semper); and above all with the English artists of the following generation, William Morris and his contemporaries, who were inspired by the theories of Ruskin.

Morris was the first to perceive that improvement of the urban environment and the formal lexicon of industrial production was not an independent problem but was inextricably linked with the means of production and distribution of manufactured objects. Only by changing these systems would it be possible to bring about a change of formal taste and to transform the entire way of life that followed upon industrialization. Morris concluded that industry itself and the methods of modern capitalism would have to be rejected, and he advocated a return to the craft system. While engaged in this anachronistic battle, however, he discovered — if in reverse order — the enormity of the problem. Above all, Morris had the courage to proceed from theory to practice by testing his ideas at the empirical level. Thus he opened an avenue through which his own errors were ultimately corrected, both by himself and by his successors — Ashbee, Voysey, and Lethaby.

The experiments of the avant-garde that continued on the Continent from the 1890s to World War I (except, perhaps, those of Perret and Garnier, which were dependent to a certain extent on the English movement) offered for the first time a substantial alternative to the historical styles. But since formal novelty *per se* became the principal factor of discrimination, this alternative rapidly came to be the province of a limited social class, namely, an educated elite capable of discerning and appreciating such sophistication of form. Within the social context, this progression indicates that successful innovation has been associated with the support of one social class, the enlightened middle class. Although this group often joins with the artists in the conflict and favors some of their aims, it is inclined to withdraw its support as soon as its own interests are threatened. This increasing alienation explains why some of the Art Nouveau masters, such as Mackintosh, suddenly found themselves isolated after 1910. Others yielded to the middle class in its withdrawal and assumed more and more reactionary positions, as was the case with Horta.

About 1910, as social contrasts became more glaring, avant-garde cultural tendencies also reached a decisive point in their development. Fundamental at this time was the contribution of the painters; proposing radical visual reforms, they effectively refuted the long-standing parallelism between technique or structure and the stylistic models of the past by removing conventions remaining from preindustrial society, primarily in matters of scale and design procedure. Only by temporarily reverting to a cultural "desert" or *tabula rasa* was it possible to start anew, to bring European art into correspondence with advances in technology, to renounce conventions representative of ideals no longer valid, and to begin earnestly to construct a better world.

These aims had hardly been pronounced when the traditional distinction between painting and architecture also became untenable. In the movements derived from cubism between 1915 and 1920 (neoplasticism, suprematism, Purism), pictorial experimentation was channeled into a new architectonic direction, which in turn gave new impetus to architecture — with consequences that continue to be evident. At precisely the right moment, Gropius assumed a dominant position and brought together exemplars of the most important avant-garde trends, in order to clarify their aims and increase their effectiveness, to make their qualities communicable and lasting. The Bauhaus, established in 1919 at Weimar in the wake of Henri Van de Velde's Kunstgewerbeschule, in the following decade became an effective rallying point for European avant-garde culture. Schlemmer, Feininger, Klee, Kandinsky, Meyer, and Mies van der Rohe actively participated in the school, and Breuer and Bill completed their education there. Le Corbusier,

Oud, Mondrian, Malevich, and Van Doesburg helped spread Bauhaus doctrines outside Germany; and some of the major representatives of European culture at that time — Berlage, Behrens, Chagall, Einstein, E. Fischer, Hauptmann, Hoffmann, Kokoschka, Poelzig, Reinhardt, Strzygowsky, Werfel — united as the "Friends of the Bauhaus," an association that offered valuable support to Gropius in his difficult moments.

Gropius resolved the sterile dilemma into which the reformist Deutsche Werkbund had fallen: that is, industry or craft? He nullified the mythical dichotomy of these concepts with his view that industry and craft are not antithetical ideals but instead two necessary and complementary elements to be united into a fruitful whole. The artisan must duplicate and continually renew the prototype that industry takes upon itself to multiply and distribute. Quality is not categorically opposed to but may be concurrent with quantity, for the more numerous the products, the more time and money can be devoted to improvement of the prototypes. Thus the intensity of the ideological work was to be proportional to the diffusion of products, and the Morris formula ("Art of the people, by the people") finally acquired concrete significance — progress, and the very survival of art, being precisely related to amplification of the public that would benefit from it.

With this recognition, the possibility of a different relationship to tradition was born. The formal heritage of European art was identified historically with craftsman methods. This accumulation of forms could be resorted to not merely as a repertory of prototypes but also as a vital source of industrial techniques, that is, careful study of the relation between finished object and its materials and method of production could conceivably reveal how these factors conditioned its design. Hence new canons of industrial design (q.v.) could be formulated from discerning appraisal of the standards and techniques of craftsmanship. This revolutionary experiment was thus an extreme attempt to maintain contact with the heritage of the past, breaking with its methods — at least for a certain period — in order to preserve the historical continuity and values of its cultural content. Only by divesting this heritage of the restrictions involved in the hierarchic structure of preindustrial society was it possible to transmit it to the new society.

One can no longer speak in terms of a European architecture as such, since the European movement has become so markedly international. At the same time architecture has lost its position of relative artistic autonomy in the light of great social and political changes, which nonetheless have thus far safeguarded it from more serious confusion. The masters of the modern movement have accepted the responsibility of the general order of society, and architectural problems have become inseparable from the general problems of democracy all over the world. In Germany of the Weimar Republic, this relationship between architecture and society became particularly acute. The grave social conflicts and the frailty of the political system imposed a necessarily cautious approach on the architects, along with a clear-cut distinction — more rigid than admitted at present — between their functions and those of the politicians and entrepreneurs. Gropius himself very likely realized that he had to intensify his personal efforts, for in 1928 he abandoned the Bauhaus and resumed the practice of his profession; but the times and political developments made this last attempt short-lived.

In 1929 the ordeal of world depression began and thereafter grew increasingly severe. In Germany the economic crisis served to heighten the interparty struggle, and the National Socialists of Hitler emerged victorious in 1933. Their triumph meant radical curtailment of the modern movement in Germany. This setback arising from the economic situation had repercussions throughout Europe, and even architects of great repute, such as Oud, were not spared its unsettling effects. However, the experience of the Great Depression did give decisive proof of the indissoluble bonds linking architecture with political vicissitudes. The major Bauhaus figures (Gropius, Breuer, Mies van der Rohe, Mendelsohn, Albers, Bayer), and later Mondrian and Ozenfant, established themselves in the United States and made important contributions to the American movement.

This artistic emigration hastened the transfer of architectural leadership from the Old to the New World.

After World War II, European cultural life was even more disrupted and destitute than after World War I. Only one large-scale architectural experiment had consequences and dynamic value comparable to innovations after World War I: the English town planning, with the creation of the so-called "New Town," which allowed the architects to intervene in the economic life of the country and establish direct contact with the political powers. Elsewhere the haste of the reconstruction and indecision of cultural forces rapidly extinguished the early postwar hopes; therefore the over-all situation of European architecture has been more confused and less cohesive during the period since 1945 than it had been in the preceding decades. One of the causes of the present disequilibrium is probably the altered relationship between European and world culture. Just as Europe no longer controls the general situation in politics, it is also no longer in the forefront in architecture, at least not to the degree attained before the war. Although the reality of non-European influences playing a major role in post-World War II architectural developments must be acknowledged, the European scene is not entirely bleak and without consequence. On the contrary, one of the fundamental artistic aims proposed some forty years ago in European circles, particularly with respect to architecture, has been realized: that is, the dissolution of traditional barriers, both historical and geographical, thereby encouraging the free exchange of ideas and artistic interests throughout the world.

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This article was prepared with the collaboration of L. R. Lippard

Illustrations: PLS. 99-150, 31 figs. in text

**EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY.** The term "protohistory" describes those stages of human culture beginning with the Neolithic and ending with the metal ages at approximately the Roman historical era (with certain local variations). Protohistory followed the close of the prehistoric period (Paleolithic and Mesolithic stages).

The neolithic revolution was characterized by deliberate cultivation of the soil and plant life. In Europe, neolithic cultures replaced the earlier prehistoric phases at a relatively recent date. European neolithic cultures developed rapidly, along the same lines as protohistoric cultures in Asia, with which they were fundamentally linked in various ways. The East constantly nourished Continental European traditions, as did the Mediterranean. These cultural linkages between east, west, and the Mediterranean area help explain various developments in Europe during the final millennia preceding the Christian era, when the high points of the European cultures were concurrent with the flowering of the great ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean civilizations. Continental traditions became, from the time of the great migrations until the end of the classical ancient world, the basis of the art of such peoples as the Iberians, the Celts, and the Germanic tribes living on the outer fringes of the Greco-Roman world (see also ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY; CELTIC ART; EUROPE, BARBARIAN; MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN; PREHISTORY).

**SUMMARY.** The Neolithic age (col. 254): *The Aeneolithic age*. The Bronze Age (col. 264): *The Urn-field culture*. The Iron Age (col. 271): *The Hallstatt epoch*; *The La Tène epoch*.

**THE NEOLITHIC AGE.** We usually interpret the first stages of European protohistory as a series of influences proceeding in waves from the Near East. The late-paleolithic traditions in Europe, handed down through neolithic cultures, were of lesser significance for protohistory, and have relevance chiefly for the cave drawings of the Iberian peninsula; these drawings evidence a certain continuity all the way from the late, or Upper, Paleolithic age to the very threshold of the Bronze Age.

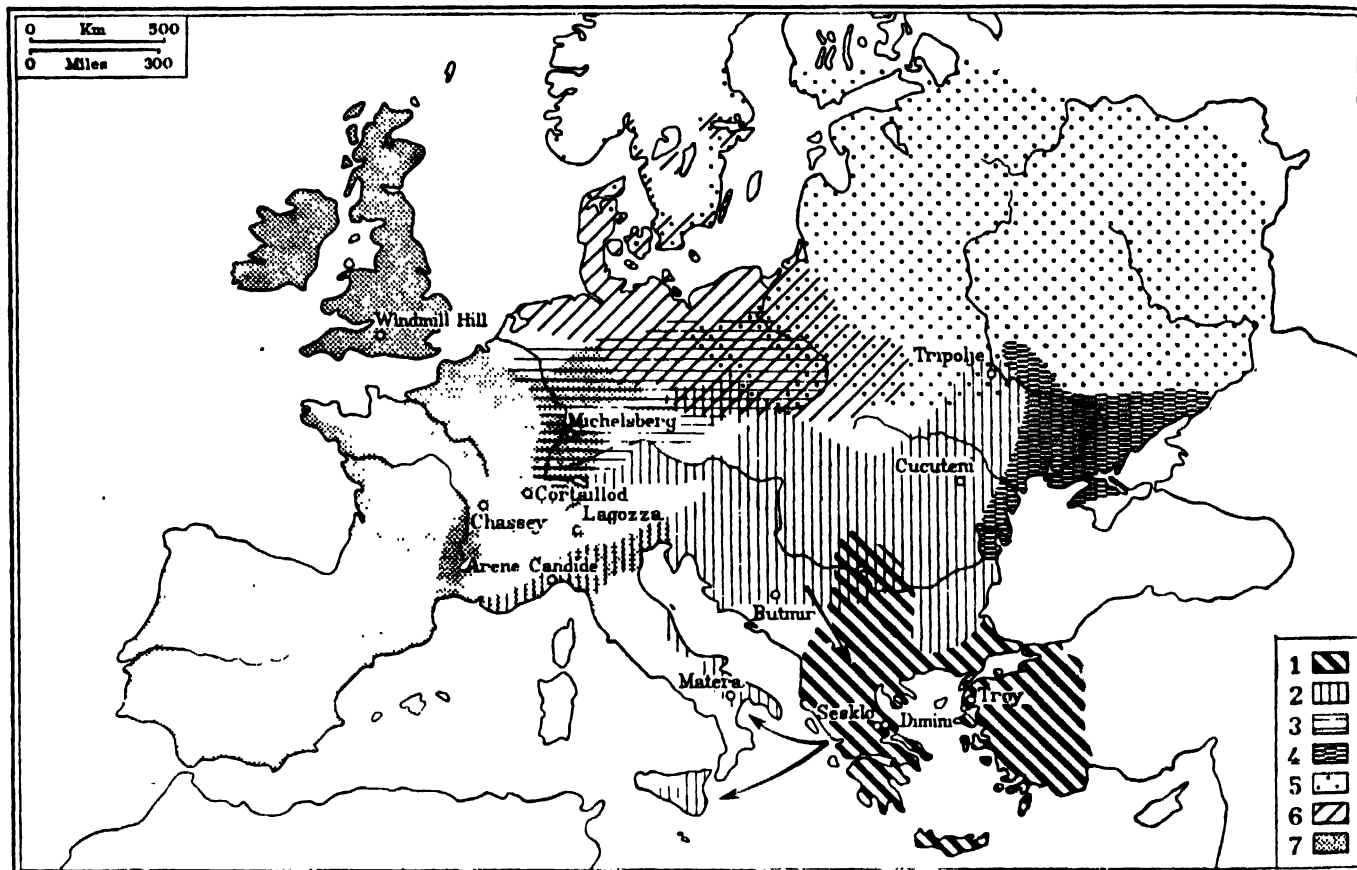
The earliest genuinely neolithic cultures in Europe are clearly distinguished by their pottery decoration, made by pressing various molds on unbaked clay, particularly spiral shapes from

mollusk shells (cardial pottery). This impressed pottery first appeared in the northern Aegean and Macedonia during the 6th and 5th millenniums B.C., in so far as we can judge from radiocarbon dating. The decoration, which consists of a simple juxtaposition of motifs, lacks real formal coherence. Similar neolithic groups such as Starčevo and Körös flourished more or less concurrently along the Italian coast, the coastal regions of France and the Iberian peninsula, and in certain inland regions of the Balkan and Danube areas (III, FIG. 197).

At the high point of the development of impressed pottery, the first painted ware appeared in these areas, using, as did the earlier pottery in the Greek peninsula, white or black on a

Impressed patterns (Rössen culture in central and southwest Germany; PL. 158) suggestive of braiding were also introduced, as well as patterns of lines together with marks suggesting the heads of musical notes (*Notenkopfkeramik* culture along the middle Danube). East of this area (Bükk culture in northern Hungary and Czechoslovakia; PL. 153) a more sumptuously detailed decoration appeared together with a class of painted pottery.

A new wave of eastern influences, emanating mainly from the chalcolithic (Bronze Age) cultures of Anatolia (Alishar Hüyük, Troy, Thermi on the island of Lesbos), helped to diffuse a new cultural stream over a region stretching from Thessaly and Macedonia (cultures of Larisa and Rakhmani) as



an cultures at the height of the Neolithic age: (1) Cultures of the Anatolian sphere; (2) Danubian cultures with painted pottery; (3) Danubian cultures with incised pottery; (4) cultures of southern Russia; (5) cultures of northern Eurasia; (6) northern culture (characterized by funnel beaker); (7) cultures of the western orbit.

reddish ground or brown on a light-colored ground. The designs were mostly linear (including lattice patterns), but there also appeared ribbon and spiral motifs. Originally Asiatic, and rare at first, were the *pintaderas*, or clay stamps, as well as small cylindrical figurines of women, steatopygous or dressed in conical skirts, clearly connected with fertility cults.

Works of art from middle Neolithic times are more interesting, beginning their evolution when the *Bandkeramik* culture began to flourish. This culture derived its name from its distinctive way of decorating pottery with ribbon patterns, primarily spirals or meanders bounded by pairs of parallel lines. It spread over an enormous area comprising most of central and eastern Europe (PLS. 153, 167; III, 123, FIG. 199). The *Bandkeramik* people constructed true houses, rectangular in shape and supported by thick wooden stakes (FIG. 258).

The initial uniformity of the *Bandkeramik* culture was later followed, in a number of areas, by a remarkable diversity of forms often influenced by the local mesolithic substratum. The former linear style, consisting of meanders and spirals, was broken up and altered by the introduction of unconnected cross-hatched designs (the *Stichbandkeramik*, or stroke-ornamented-ware cultures, in Bohemia and neighboring areas).

far as Serbia (culture of Vinča); and Slavonia (cultures of Sarvas and Vučedol) and Hungary (Tisza and Lengyel cultures). Permanent dwellings were constructed, consisting of two or three rooms with clay ovens (FIG. 257). Globular "fruit-stand" pottery, carinated and high-pedestaled (III, FIG. 201), is distinctive for its highly polished black surfaces and for its frequent engraved and dotted designs (PL. 154) or decoration with raised knobs and lugs. Also typical were lids in the form of animal heads found on some of the larger vessels, as well as the female figurines, which were far more abundant at this time and less stylized than in the preceding period (PLS. 155-57). Later a new decorative technique arrived on the scene, which superimposed red or yellow color on the vessel surface after it had been baked. During this later cultural stage the spiral patterns peculiar to the earlier Neolithic were revived.

Meanwhile, in northern Romania and in the Ukraine up to the Dnieper River, the Tripolje culture was evolving. It too produced painted pottery, at first with engraved designs, later adding white or red (Tripolje A). Still later these were replaced by a pottery initially painted in white or red on reddish-yellow clay, then afterward with a tricolor mixture of red and black on a white background (Tripolje B). The reper-

tory of decorative patterns was rich and imaginative, appearing not only in the various vessel patterns, but also in the form of lids, supports, high-pedestaled vessels, the distinctive "binocular" vessels, and on ladles and elegant slender figurines of women (PL. 167; III, PL. 122 and FIG. 199). During the final phase of this culture (Tripolje C), in the 2d millennium B.C., there was a stiffening of the decorative style. The villages of Tripolje C consisted of long, solid houses subdivided into several rooms and furnished with clay ovens, seats, and tables. The walls were painted (see also ASIATIC PROTOHISTORY).

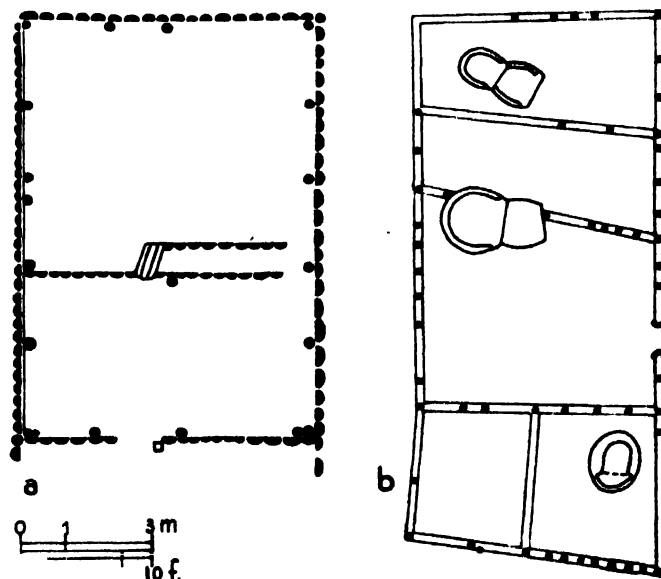
In the Po Valley in Italy, the impact of this Danube-Balkan environment that we have been discussing was especially intense, stimulating cultural manifestations such as the Fierano culture and later the Chiozza culture, which produced, for example, the spiral motif, ladles, clay statuettes of women, *pintaderas*, individualized shell patterns including the Spondylus shell, and vessels with quadrilobed mouths. In southern Italy the middle Neolithic phase is distinguished by its "forts" protected by flat-bottomed ditches, as well as by its separate stone-bordered graves and its fine painted pottery. In Sicily, on the other hand — in the Stentinello culture, for example — these elements were all synthesized into early-neolithic traditions and fused with an advanced type of impressed pottery similar to various late forms in the Iberian peninsula and southern France (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY).

During late Neolithic times, after these local developments, a finer kind of pottery with smooth surfaces spread over enormous areas of western Europe. Such pottery was found in Spain in the El Gárcel culture; in England in the Windmill Hill culture, and in Germany in the Michelsberg culture. Usually without decoration, the pottery sometimes appeared with a decorative pattern engraved on it after firing (*agraffito*), as we find in southern Italy as early as mid-Neolithic times. In certain ways this technique supplanted vase painting by suggesting color effects through dense cross-hatched geometric designs. We find an especially interesting development of this decorative taste in France in the Chassey culture, appearing on bowls, plates, and cylindrical and square vessel supports with concave tops and perforated sides. Later this type of decoration disappeared from the Chassey culture, which is particularly well documented in southern France. Carinated forms were added to the rounded ones in this area. Also lugs pierced for hanging purposes become numerous, both as Pan-pipe handles and as multiple tubular lugs perforated vertically.

We find similar pottery in the lake regions of Lombardy (Lagozza culture) during late Neolithic times, in Pescale during the Emilian cultural stage, and in Switzerland in the Cortaillod culture. This last has its own distinctive qualities as well, such as incrustated designs made with birchbark. The Swiss Neolithic age, however, is less known for its pottery than for its wooden artifacts (such as trays, sickle and ax handles, and various implements), products made from antlers, and — even more important — its lake forts defended by palisades constructed with upright wooden stakes and lined with bark.

In southern Scandinavia and along the western Baltic, an independent line of development was apparently unfolding.

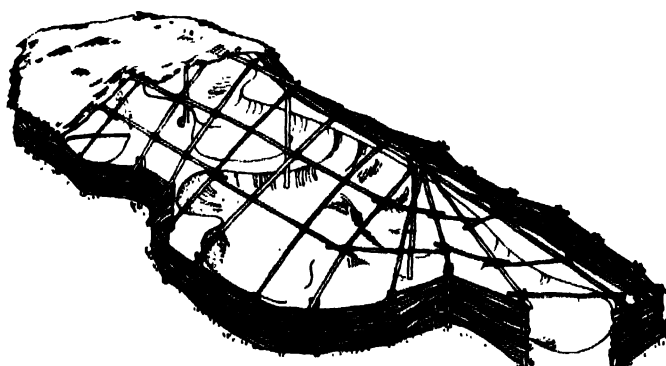
The Ertebølle culture, although belonging to the mesolithic tradition, was clearly set apart by its unpolished pottery whose background consisted of sharp points (III, FIG. 197). Shortly before the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., this was supplanted by a cultural stage during which the first agricultural



Ground plans of neolithic wooden houses in Europe: (a) House at Aichbühl, near Schussenried, Germany. (b) House from Vinča, Serbia (from HA, VI, a).

developments were synchronous with the appearance of a new kind of pottery: the funnel beakers, a type widely evolved in Poland and in northern Germany (III, FIG. 203), at first with only imperfectly defined forms. Later, however, the upper part of the beaker — the funnel — became more clearly detached from the lower area. At a still later stage, other extremely variegated and elegant forms were added, such as the collared flasks whose distinct swellings in the middle of the neck are decorated with vertical lines on the lower rounded areas (PL. 158). Still other vases appeared with a complicated whipped-cord decoration.

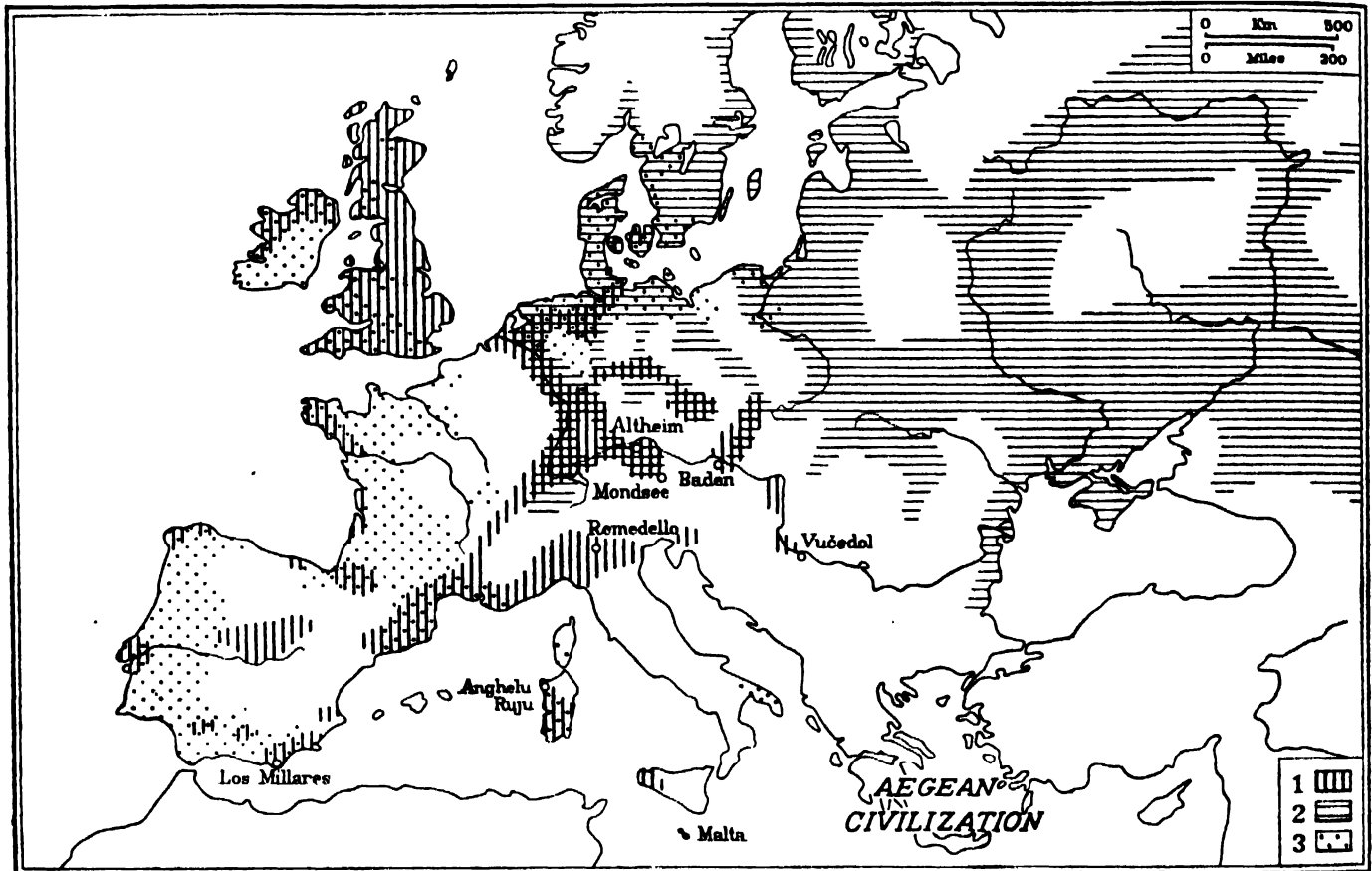
During the late Neolithic in northern Scandinavia, the hunting cultures continued to have a highly individualized art rich in animal representations: schist knives whose handles are in the form of animal heads and hatchets terminating with a bear or elk head (PL. 152). This era also produced many engravings and cave paintings, such as the remarkable painted moose heads from Hinna, Norway, and the geometric designs always done in red. Elsewhere purple and brown were also used. We can frequently discern two styles in these animal representations: the schematic style and the naturalistic style; the latter held sway in Norway and is considered the older of the two. Among the finest examples of the first stylistic stage



A village of the Bandkeramik culture, Köln-Lindenthal, Germany. Left: Panorama, reconstruction. Right: reconstruction of hut no. 36 (from HA, VI, a).

we must single out the bear incised on a rock wall at Finnköping in northern Norway and the whale from Skogeroeien, Buskerud (PL. 151). Common to both styles of animal portrayals, the so-called "life line" is often depicted joining the mouth to the heart or lungs, obviously meaningful for magic and hunting. Human beings as well as birds and trees have also been depicted in this way, especially in Russia. Among the widely used pat-

structed with stone slabs forming two chambers joined by a passageway; as was usual in this culture, the graves were covered by a barrow (kurgan) and were surrounded by a ring of orthostats. They contained gold and silver jewelry, as well as crystal and agate beads; weapons and implements (daggers, spearheads, flat and perforated axes) mainly of copper, but also others of stone; tridents; and bowls and other receptacles



Distribution of Aeneolithic cultures in Europe: (1) Bell Beaker cultures; (2) Battle-ax and *Schnurkeramik* cultures; (3) spread of megalithic cemeteries.

terns in this area are also figures interpreted as skiers and men with animal heads.

*The Aeneolithic age.* From the middle of the 3d millennium on, almost all the European neolithic cultures began to change profoundly. In delineating these changes we must look again for Near Eastern influences, by this time urban. But the paths followed by these influences were now clearly separated and more devious: one route led from the Caucasus to the Carpathian Mountains through southern Russia; the other was a sea route through the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

The aristocratic splendor of the Middle East was mirrored in the earliest Caucasian culture, the so-called "early Kuban." Here we find luxurious royal and princely graves, among the most splendid of which was the tomb uncovered near Maikop, consisting of a deep subterranean shaft with a wooden chamber divided into three parts. Three bodies, covered with red ochre, were placed in the tomb. One of the corpses belonged to a prince, who was buried beneath a canopy adorned with lions and with bulls of gold and silver. At the side of the prince were found stone vessels; remarkably fine clay objects; gold and silver objects with engravings showing landscapes, birds, and animals (panthers, mouslons, wild boars, oxen, and a horse); exotic beads and jewelry; arrowheads that were partly microliths and partly rhomboidal in shape; copper blades, chisels, and perforated hatchets; hatchets and battle axes similar to Mesopotamian and Iranian weapons. Slightly more recent are two graves from Tsarevskaya (mod. Novosvobodnaya) con-

used for cult purposes, derived mainly from Mesopotamian and Iranian prototypes. One of the ochre-sprinkled bodies in the graves wore clothes of hide and camel's wool and linen dyed with fern leaf. In other similar tombs the large stone slabs forming the outside of the tomb are engraved or painted with designs schematically rendering mountains, rivers, and the sun (a disk shape). Burial with the two-wheeled wooden funeral chariot also occurred, but small clay models later replaced the chariot. Other artifacts such as hammer-heads and battle axes, mostly stone, pins with double spiral heads, and hammer-head pins made of copper were clearly linked with the Anatolian as well as the Mesopotamian-Iranian areas. Then — and even more during the following period, middle Kuban — there was an expansion of this cultural stage toward the west through the steppe lands (the Pontic cultures). The middle Kuban continued down to the beginning of the 2d millennium, and was distinctive for its catacomb graves similar to the pit-cave tombs from the Aegean (the Cyclades) and the Mediterranean; unlike those, however, the catacomb graves were covered by barrows. Also characteristic of middle Kuban was the more widespread use of weapons and copper artifacts, numerous animal sacrifices, whipped-cord pottery with concentric circles symbolizing the sun, and special ritual objects such as the clay "braziers" divided into compartments standing on a cruciform base, showing traces of ritual fires.

This cultural influence extended through the Russian steppes to the plains of Poland, where it was crystallized in the cultural stage of the globular amphoras, so called from its most distinc-



tive vase form. Here we can single out many of the aforementioned elements, including the barrow graves making common use of red ochre, the stone battle axes, the hammer-headed pins (here made of bone), and the whipped-cord pottery. There was also an interesting development of sculpture in this area, with animal forms such as horses, wild boars, and bears all made of amber.

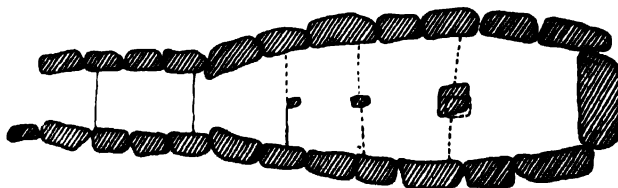
This globular-amphora stage was decisive in shaping a later culture of somewhat mixed origin, the *Schnurkeramik* (whipped-cord ware) culture (FIG. 259). The *Schnurkeramik* incorporated a sizeable northern element and rapidly spread from Poland, Saxony, and Thuringia; it moved toward the east (Czechoslovakia), the north (Holland, Denmark, eastern Scandinavia), and the south (southern Germany, Switzerland). Its distinctive clay forms included cylindrical collared flasks and amphorae derived from the globular shapes. Along with this work in clay we also find thick-handled flint axes and perforated battle axes made of polished stone, elegant and curving slightly inward. Graves connected with these objects contain contracted skeletons and are covered by barrows. They house individuals (rather than groups), as do the Scandinavian cist graves (FIG. 263).

This new influence penetrated the Danube area more slowly than other areas. Among the Danubian cultures were the culture complex represented at Pécel in Hungary, at Vučedol and Ljubljansko Blat in Slovenia, at Baden and Mondsee in Austria, and at Altheim in Bavaria. These cultures were more closely linked with neolithic traditions, especially in their pottery. Here a dark-brown pottery predominated, with recessed handles or high ribbon handles, often raised above the rim, sometimes on top of a semilunate projection. The handles were usually marked with shallow furrows or incised and incrustated with white material (III, PL. 123). Also used in the incrustation technique were circular and concentric semicircular designs recalling typical Pontic patterns. Among the vessel forms, the cross-footed brazier divided into separate compartments was also used in the steppes. The use of fire for funeral rites, corroborated here by similar receptacles, may be connected with the custom of burning corpses. This custom seems to have appeared in this phase in a certain area of western Hungary as well as in part of Austria, though less commonly in the latter area. Certain Danubian tombs also suggest other links with the Pontic cultures, for example, depictions of funeral chariots; although the Danubian chariots had four wheels and were drawn by oxen, they are nevertheless similar to the small Pontic clay chariot models. The Danubian proclivity for producing models in miniature is also documented in ship models, houses and tables, the sacred horns often found among the objects left in the tomb, and small portrayals of animals. The small figures of women were uncommon. Arrowheads and flint blades appear throughout all the Danubian cultures, along with polished-stone battle axes with notched butts — a shape enabling copperwork to come into its own at this time. Several contemporaneous manifestations in northern and central Italy resemble this culture complex, such as the Rinaldone culture (flask vessels in dark polished pottery with recessed handles) and the Remedello culture (battle axes, hammer-headed pins).

The western Mediterranean world was the stage where the main drama of another enormous cultural diffusion occurred. This diffusion introduced a whole nexus of Anatolian and Aegean designs, including the collective beehive tombs excavated from rock (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). These influences reached the Iberian peninsula, where they stimulated the development of megalithic art, there becoming fused with still another trend. The circular corbeled tomb — a collective grave derived from the tholos, an Aegean prototype — spread in southern Spain through a genuine movement of cultural colonization (the Almería-Los Millares culture).

Elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula, especially in Portugal and Catalonia, the simple individual graves (the stone-walled cists typical of local neolithic cultures) were transformed under the new influences into megalithic graves (or dolmens; for examples in other regions, see PLS. 160-61). The graves were constructed aboveground, covered by a barrow, and had a

short corridor entranceway, thus imitating the Mediterranean beehive tombs. The room for the bodies was detached from the entrance passage; these "passage" tombs were most common throughout the peninsula and were also altered to a kind of bottle shape. A different practice favored joining the passage-way and chamber into a single megalithic gallery which then could be subdivided later into separate rooms by using slabs (FIG. 212). These "gallery" graves clearly originated in France,



Ground plan of a covered gallery tomb of the Aeneolithic age in the Iberian peninsula, Antequera, near Málaga, Cueva de Menga (from RLV, pl. 22c).

where they are particularly abundant. We also find passage graves in France — in Languedoc, stretching from the Mediterranean coast as far inland as the limestone plateaus along the Gard and Hérault Rivers. Here too we find rectangular chambers constructed with large slabs, covered by barrows, often furnished with pierced slabs for entrance through the passage. In France, as in Spain, a goddess image was often linked with the custom of collective burial. In southern France we find the face and arms of the goddess herself rendered in bas-relief on upright slab statues. Occasionally her bosom, a ruffled collar, a hatchet, or club are rendered. Two of these statue menhirs, which we find from the Rhone throughout the Aveyron and Tarn River valleys, were used again in building the corbeled passage tomb at Collorgues, Gard.

Also in northern France, particularly in Brittany, megalithic passage tombs have been found. Usually they consist of a polygonal room and predominantly circular barrow forms, although occasionally they are long and narrow. When long and narrow they sometimes contain a number of passage or cist tombs (the cist tombs handed down by the Chassey culture). One round barrow grave has been found containing 12 passage tombs. Other tomb types show corbeling, with the rooms either asymmetrical and containing a passageway, or cross-shaped with lateral cells. Elsewhere the tombs spread out at the sides to form a T shape or an elbow gallery (FIG. 263). Simple gallery or transept graves, frequently constructed with rectangular or oval barrows, have also been found in northern France. Sometimes, as in Spain and southern France, these graves are surrounded by a circle of upright slabs. But we sometimes also find stone rings which do not encircle any central grave. Instead, each stone marks cremated remains at its foot, accompanied by ornamented "vessel supports" (Erlanic culture), as at Carnac (PL. 163). The inner stones of certain passage tombs bear symbolic engravings such as zig-zags, radial or concentric circles, semicircles, ships, axes,



Exterior view of the barrow on a megalithic grave of the Nordic "Passageway" culture, Hünenbett, reconstruction (from HA, VI, 2).

croziers, and very stylized human forms. Less frequently we encounter statue menhirs as at Guernsey, England, and at Kerméné, Brittany, more simply carved than in the south. Here the breasts and other distinctive traits of the goddess appear, as they also do on the walls of certain gallery graves.

In Great Britain the peoples of the Windmill Hill culture had at first only long rectangular barrows like the early tombs of northern Europe. But by the 3d millennium B.C. they were

building tombs influenced by European collective graves from the Atlantic area. Later genuine passage tombs were introduced into eastern Ireland and among the northern Welsh; these were monumental tombs built beneath barrows. Such graves were sometimes isolated and sometimes concentrated in cemeteries. Of the latter group the most important architecturally and sculpturally have been found on the hills of Lough Crew and beside the Boyne River, in Ireland. Gallery graves also



Section and plan of a Nordic cist grave of the Aeneolithic age (from *RLV*, IX, pl. 61a).

appeared later in this area. Megalithic architecture in the British Isles was adopted not only for burial purposes but also for other social uses. Thus in the Orkney Islands, at Skara Brae, where wood was scarce, the houses and furniture were made of stone. Stone was also used for ritual purposes, as in the great stone rings, where for religious reasons the largest stone always faced the sun. The ring of orthostats could thus be used with circular fosses having one or two entranceways. At Avebury, Wiltshire, we find a circular "sanctuary" on top of a hill, connected by a long row of orthostats with at least two other stone rings. The entire group is encircled by a larger circle consisting of a vast fosse and an outer bulwark, probably equipped with four entrances. The Avebury structure is the largest prehistoric monument in Europe (PL. 164). At Arminghall near Norwich, a penannular ditch encloses wooden uprights arranged in horseshoe shape. Another such ditch at Woodhenge, Wiltshire, encloses concentric stone circles, probably covered and arrayed around one central open circle. At Stonehenge a double stone ring was erected, carried expressly from western Wales (about 250 mi. away) mostly by water, then transported from the river via a ditch about 11 yards wide and 2,900 yards long (PLS. 164, 165).

In northern Europe a new kind of grave replaced the older dolmen graves, which had consisted of a rectangular room constructed with stone slabs, then covered by a barrow or oval mound grave. These so-called "giants' stones" of the new type had huge rectangular or oval rooms with long passageways set on an axis, and were adopted in many cemeteries (FIG. 262). Monumental dolmens also have come to light; connected with these megalithic tombs there was a kind of independent rectangular stone building, probably some sort of temple for the cult of the dead. Here again we find typical "fruit-stand" receptacles rich in zigzag designs, with engraved rhomboids, and clay ladles probably used for ritual libations.

At this time a clearly discernible stylistic change occurred in the pottery of this phase, beginning at first with the funnel-necked beaker; new stylistic innovations later developed. A fine example of these new changes is a vessel from Skarpsalling (northern Jutland) decorated with engravings and impressions using shells at certain points (PL. 159).

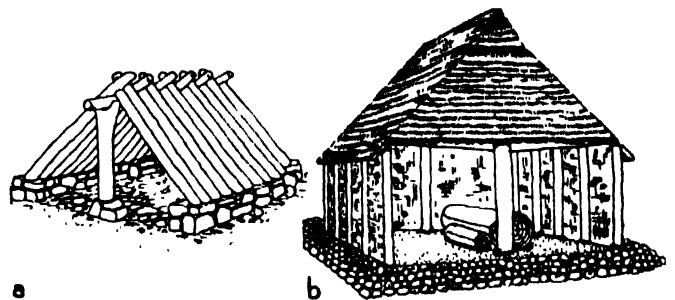
Parallel but not necessarily always linked with megalithic art (and often appearing even later) was the dissemination of the so-called "Bell Beaker" culture. Its distinctive trait was a particular vessel form whose profile resembled a bell. The vessel contained its own decorative style, mostly by the impression technique, in horizontal zones (PL. 159; III, PL. 123). We must seek the origins of this pottery in the Iberian peninsula, where a linear style adorned with deep incisions appeared but did not occur elsewhere, so far as we can judge. We also find, in the Bell Beaker culture, a stab and drag style, which was considerably more widespread. Bell beakers decorated in this style even appeared overseas in Sardinia and western Sicily, as well as in southern and western France and throughout the two ranges of the French Alps. Everywhere these vessels were connected with the occurrence of broad-handled triangular

copper daggers, buttons showing V perforations, and the use of the bow, corroborated not only by flint arrowheads but also by stone wrist guards.

The Bell Beaker cultural stage reached even beyond those areas where megalithic graves had spread, to regions where people still buried their dead traditionally contracted in simple pits. Thus in northern Italy (the Remedello culture), for instance, and in central Europe, most probably via the Rhone River, we find manifestations of Bell Beaker culture. Contracted skeletons have been found in pit graves furnished with bell beakers; bell beakers have been found as well in rarer traces of inhabited centers all the way from the mouth of the Rhine to its source, and from Basel as far as Holland. Here the vessels preserved their graceful S profile for some time, but later became stumper, growing continually broader with a short straight neck. The "pointillist" decoration achieved by indented molds (rouletting) was at first confined to limited areas only. Later the lines were fused into wider stripes. Partial or total use of impressed ribbon lines may have been influenced by the neighboring *Schnurkeramik* people, who also used individual tombs. Thus many Rhineland vessels suggest a synthesis in shape and decorative styling of Bell Beaker and *Schnurkeramik*.

Along the Danube — in Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, as far as Hungary — and even along the Elbe in Saxony and Thuringia, the Bell Beaker culture was further diffused. In these places the pit graves as well as the typical vases occasionally disclosed western-styled daggers, wrist guards used in drawing the bow, and even buttons with double V perforations. The vessels, frequently associated with the multipedestaled bowl, preserved the classical designs as well as the reddish-brown color, however much unornamented local patterns copied them. Sometimes the vessels also had handles.

THE BRONZE AGE. In a particularly vital way the Bell Beaker culture stimulated central Europe to develop a metal industry in the areas rich in mineral resources. Thus was born the Aunjetitz (or Unétice) culture (FIG. 266), which, owing to its copper and tin reserves as well as its central geographical location, disseminated throughout Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Austria one of the most vital cultures of the earliest Bronze Age in Europe. Typical of this stage were semicircular necklaces made of copper wire, knot-headed and flat disk-headed pins decorated like triangular daggers, as well as halberds with an engraved pattern reminiscent of the bell beakers. Work in clay, however, was marked by distinctly swollen or neatly carinated shapes. The decorative techniques of engraving and



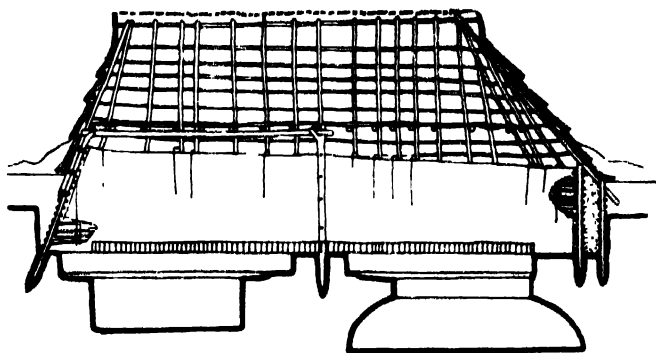
Reconstruction of barrow-covered wooden tomb chambers built in imitation of Aeneolithic and Bronze Age houses: (a) *Schnurkeramik* culture, Sarmenstorf, Switzerland; (b) the northern Bronze Age, Grünhof-Tesperede, Lauenburg, Germany (from *HA*, VI, 2).

impressing tended to vanish; Danube traditions of pottery, prescribing highly polished undecorated surfaces, held sway. Closely linked with the Aunjetitz complex were other groups widespread through central Germany (Leubingen culture) and Poland (Iwno culture). Here, besides the pit-grave cemeteries of contracted skeletons, we also find enormous wooden rooms covered by large barrows (FIG. 264) for burying princes. These rooms contained tomb furniture rich in gold and amber. Local

cultural forms along the middle Rhine Valley (e.g., Adlerberg culture) were also influenced by Aunjetitz culture, as were the Vallais and cultures of eastern France (Rhône culture), Bavaria (Straubing), and Austria (Wieselberg). During the first stages of the Bronze Age all these cultures developed techniques for laminated work and for welding in the round, the latter process for ornamental objects and weapons. Thus we find dagger blades welded in a single piece to a massive bronze hilt and halberds welded to metal shafts.

The Hungarian plainlands were invaded by the Kisapostag culture, which inherited its cremation rituals from the local Baden and Pécel cultural groups, as the enormous Kisapostag cemeteries clearly indicate. Further to the east, the Pécsa culture was advancing. There, new objects imported from the southeast were especially abundant, including many star-shaped beads and segmented beads of eastern faience. We also find beads from the Slovakian mountain regions rich in copper. Probably from these mountain areas the beads reached Denmark, where they could be exchanged for Baltic amber. The most significant imports of northern Europe were bronze objects (daggers and axes) obtained from central Europe. Although work in flint still continued during the Bronze Age, it was often an obvious imitation of metal prototypes produced by an extremely refined method of precision retouchings. The elegant fish-tailed daggers of flint were particularly remarkable. Northern local metal industries, however, were developing very rapidly. Among their oldest Bronze Age artifacts were enormous bronze axes and two single-edged curved swords, all finely decorated with elaborate geometric designs. One of the swords depicted a boat with many oars and a raised prow as seen in several northern cliff drawings (PL. 181).

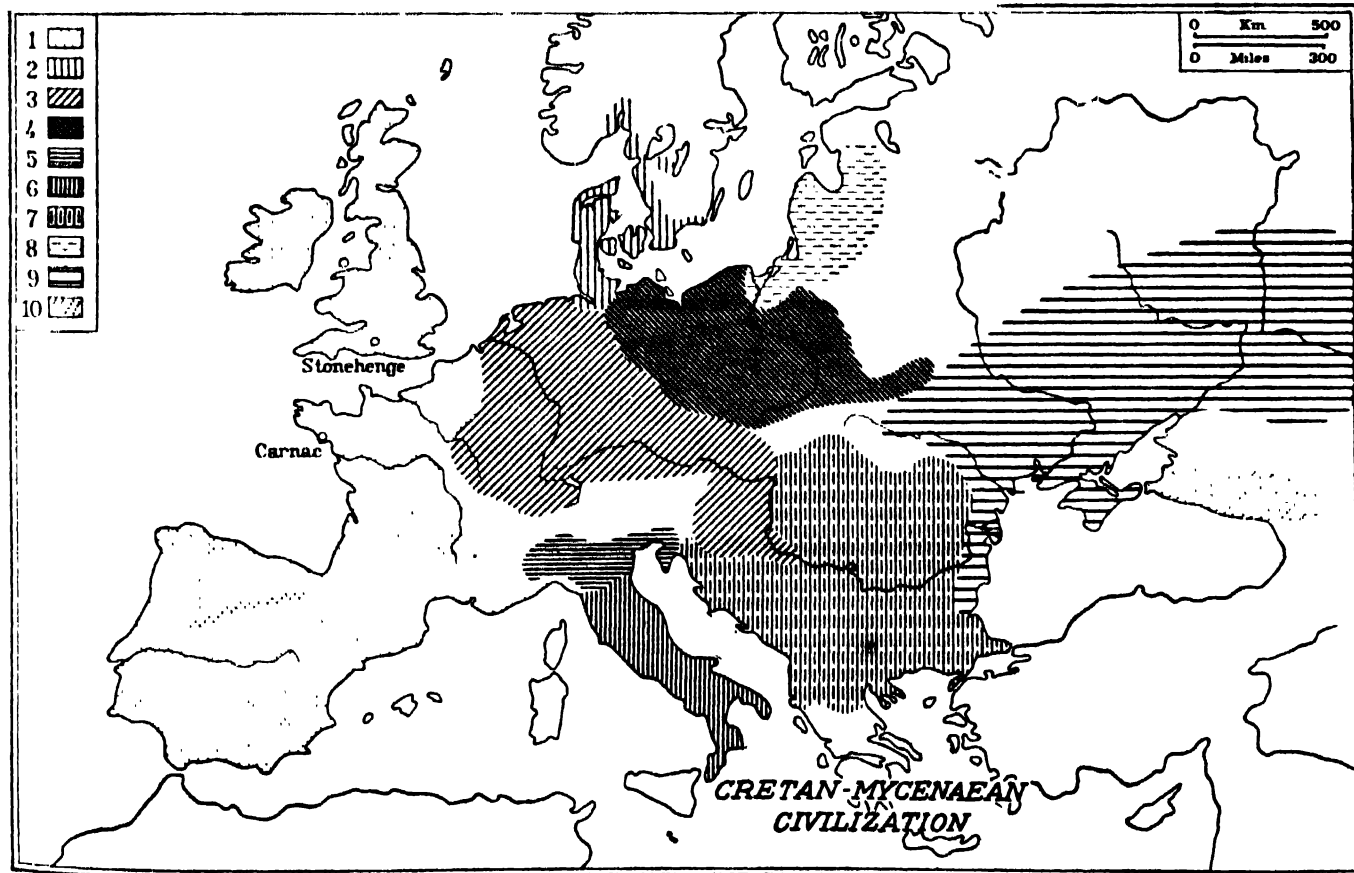
In the Iberian Peninsula (El Argar culture) the earliest Bronze Age continued essentially detached from Continental cultures, although in contact with the Mediterranean world by sea. In the Po Valley, Aunjetitz-inspired bronzes have



Section of an Early Bronze Age house, Aunjetitz culture, Gross Muhl, Austria, site (from *IIA*, VI, 2).

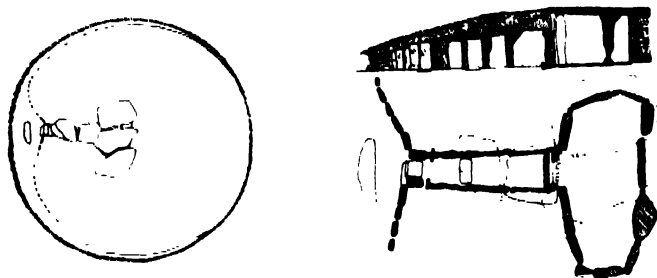
come to light in Polada culture contexts. By far the most important Bronze Age artistic evidence to survive in northern Italy and adjacent areas comes from the cliff drawings of Monte Bego and the Valcamonica, where farming scenes (e.g., ox-drawn ploughs) were depicted. Weapons in this area also are revealing, especially the shaft-tube halberds and the triangular daggers, which reappear on the anthropomorphic statue menhirs of the Lunigiana region, bordering Tuscany and Liguria, and the upper Adige River area (IV, PL. 450).

Toward the end of this period the Wessex culture of Great Britain began to flourish, probably stimulated by the discovery of tin in that area. Some connection between the Wessex culture and certain Continental influences must have existed. This is clear both from the Wessex bronzes (similar to later Aunjetitz types of bulb and knot-headed pins, flange axes, and spearheads) and from Wessex vessel forms. Owing to its mineral



Distribution of European cultures at the height of the Bronze Age: (1) Western cultures; (2) Nordic culture; (3) Barrow culture; (4) cultures in the Aunjetitz orbit; (5) Po Valley cultures; (6) Apennine cultures; (7) cultures of southeastern Europe; (8) Baltic culture; (9) culture of tombs where ochre was used; (10) Kuban culture.

resources, the Wessex culture very soon entered into trade with the Aegean world. The Wessex culture also became one of the links in the Scandinavian amber trade. Amber was fashioned in the north into necklaces and buttons, circular gold-rimmed plates (exported even as far as Crete), and halberd-shaped pendants. The main easterly direction the worked-amber trade took is evidenced by a necklace of tin beads, faience, and amber found in Holland beyond the Rhine. Fa-



Megalithic grave with T-shaped passage and barrow, Bockenäs district, Bohuslän, Sweden: (a) Plan of barrow; (b) section of tomb; (c) plan of tomb (from *RLV*, IX, pl. 70)

ience artifacts from southern France as well as from French regions along the Atlantic coast suggest the same direction. But these artifacts appear even more abundantly in southern and western England.

A Cornish tomb at Rillaton has given us a gold cup with a wrinkled surface and handles like the gold vessels from the tombs at Mycenae (IV, PL. 73). Thus a "tin" route had been established, joining Cornwall to the Mediterranean world along a path crossing France near Carcassonne. Brittany itself, a useful link in this trade, influenced the people of Wessex: The stone-slab ritual monuments, already crystallized in Britain in Bell Beaker times, attained their final forms when Stonehenge was rebuilt by the Wessex people. This monument was composed of sandstone slabs (carried overland from more than 30 miles away) with which an outer circle was constructed, covered by a continuous series of horizontal elements joined together. An inner horseshoe was formed of separate pairs of upright stones. Each of these had a single horizontal element. The stones were carefully dressed and arranged. Some of them even bear engravings depicting Wessex-type axes as well as Mycenaean hilted daggers. The top stones of the monument surviving from its earlier phase were set in a circular horseshoe within the sandstone one, after an unsuccessful attempt to arrange them in an inner oval or circular arrangement.

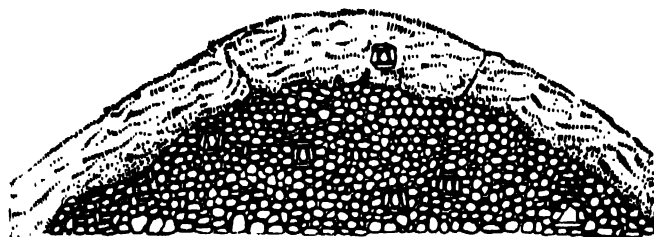
Along with this new tin route there still survived the artery through central Europe for the traditional amber trade. In the 16th century B.C., with the rise of Mycenaean civilization, relations between the eastern Mediterranean and the basin of the Carpathian Mountains apparently became closer than ever. In eastern Hungary this development coincided with the zenith of the Pécsa culture. The Pécsa people produced a kind of "baroque" pottery having two handles and the typical four-lobed mouths reminiscent of an Anatolian type of kantharos, as well as relief ornaments created by furrowing and protruding bosses. Mycenaean influences were reflected especially in the bronze decorations of delicate figures in curved or spiral shapes, used as laminated metal ornaments and on blades, most impressively on handles of huge bronze battle axes. These decorations also appeared on swords which were really elongated daggers (modeled perhaps on the large Aegean sword) with hilts of fused metal and heavy leaf-shaped blades (as at Apa and Hajdusámson).

In the north too, during this second phase of the Bronze Age, the spiral became the favorite decorative motif and was used with great skill to fill the empty space on axes and to adorn the metallic plates on belts, creating striking effects in a flowing decorative pattern. Later we also find rows of concentric circles (PL. 166). The finest metalwork of this phase

is the horse-drawn Trundholm chariot, with its striking representation of the solar disk (PL. 169). The group is supported on six wheels and is thought to be a miniature replica of a ritual chariot. Made of bronze coated with gold leaf, it is delicately ornamented with concentric circles and rows of lines. The horse is modeled in the round, its head delicately formed, the mane rendered in light parallel strokes, and the eyes accented by dots and by lines radiating outward. The arc from the ears to the mouth has a similar decoration; under the muzzle and across the neck are two more strips of lines and dots. During this second phase of the Bronze Age, tombs were often constructed with an inner chamber covered with large high barrows; these are commonly found in southern Scandinavia. The barrows excavated from peat on Danish soil have brought to light burials in oaken coffins, enabling the period costumes to be preserved. Thus we find that the man wore a gown, mantle, and cap, while the woman wore a striped skirt, blouse, and hood. By this time brooches were also commonly used, fastened on the principle of the safety pin; springs to give tensile force had not yet appeared.

In central Europe, meanwhile, the so-called "Tumulus culture" was flourishing. Its arrival heralded the middle Bronze Age. The Tumulus culture — stretching from Bohemia and Moravia to Alsace, and from Switzerland to central Germany — spread over precisely the same regions that the Aunjetitz and connected cultural stages had occupied. The name "Tumulus" itself suggests how widespread was the practice of burying in often impressively large barrow graves (FIG. 268). Tumulus pottery included goblets, bowls, and vessels, mostly with dark, smooth surfaces. In southern Germany, Alsace, and the middle Danube, however, the pottery was often decorated with carved motifs, furrowing, and bosses, inspired by Hungarian models. In bronze work, Hungarian or Carpathian influence was also active, and merged with the local heritage from the preceding period to help stimulate a variety of developments. Thus the flange ax was widened out and elaborated until it took on characteristics of the winged ax. The large pins with holes for thread with which to attach them were now made with a twisted, curved bar. Weapons were modeled on the poniards and long daggers made in the Carpathian basin (Boian culture), decorated with delicately engraved double spirals. Standardized in an adapted form in central Europe and northern Italy (as at Cascina Ranza), this spiral style was used mainly for the fused-bronze hilts of swords. A technique of repoussé decoration on gold leaf with circular bosses also began to flourish, appearing on certain peculiar conical artifacts known in France, Franconia, and on the Rhine. The "Golden Hat" from Schifferstadt is an impressive example of this.

Italian culture at this time was largely dominated by continental influences. Thus in the Po Valley the Terramara culture of Emilia, as well as related cultural manifestations beyond the Po, produced a range of bronze artifacts identical



Exterior view of a stone barrow with various cinerary cist burials of Nordic Bronze Age culture, Kongstrup, Zealand, Denmark (from *RLV*, IX, pl. 143).

with those of central Europe. In the older art of pottery making, the Italian ware, with its shiny black surfaces decorated with channeling and protruding bosses, closely resembled the Pécsa ware from Hungary. Among Italian bone and horn artifacts, however, we find original qualities. This craft expressed itself in an amazing variety of forms and created an exuberant decorative art. A number of works, such as the solar disk from Castione dei Marchesi, were on a fairly high artistic

level. Original qualities were also evidenced in Italian cultures in techniques of construction of the dwellings, sometimes roughly circular (as at Montale), or with an oblong ground plan (as at Castione dei Marchesi and Castellazzo di Fontanellato) containing a wooden bastion surrounded by a water-filled moat. The culture of the Apennines was disseminated over the entire peninsula, and apparently also remained in contact with the mountainous region on the other side of the Adriatic. This is reflected in the prevailing custom of ornamenting pottery with carvings or incisions and filling the grooves with white paste. Such decorations assumed forms in Italy different from those in western Hungary or Bosnia. The Italian forms included spirals and meanders along with other dotted motifs and simpler linear designs (III, PL. 124). Subsequently, at a time corresponding to the late Bronze Age, an interesting spontaneous evolution in pottery making occurred in the Apennine culture as well as in the Terramare regions. This development sprang from a heightened taste for three-dimensional works, which was particularly well expressed in the imaginative diversity of handles with surmounting projections in the shape of crescents, horns, cylinders, or ribbons. Rope decorations attached to the sides of the larger vessels were also excellent examples of this new three-dimensional interest.

A transitional stage between the middle and the late Bronze Age includes those cultural phases connected with the sites at Dubovac and Vattina lying between the Drava River and the lower Danube in Serbia and Banat. Essentially conservative, these phases were interesting mainly because they revived the clay modeling practiced in the early-neolithic tradition. They added to it, however, certain new elements such as decorative incising with white incrustations, similar to decorations used on pottery, to delineate the facial features and to embellish the garments on figures. The most famous examples are the idol from Kličevac, with low headgear and collar, long robe, arms bent, eyes and mouth suggesting the motif of the solar disk, and a variety of ornaments on the breast; and the Dubljaja chariot, provided with three wheels but drawn symbolically by three sea birds over which a divine figure stands erect.

*The Urn-field culture.* During the late Bronze Age a ferment among the people living in the northern Danube area developed rapidly into the vastly important phenomenon known as the Urn-field culture (*Urnenfelder*). In Hungary the native tradition of pottery making, with its baroque forms and its relief and furrow decorative patterns, became simplified until it culminated in the monotony so pronounced in the occasionally huge incineration cemeteries such as those found at Zagyvápálfa. The influences appearing early in this area also impinged on Bohemia and Thuringia, stimulating the rise of the allied Lausitz culture (III, PL. 124). On the borderline between the Lausitz culture and the Nordic (Scandinavian) area is an interesting development in the art of making brooches, which crystallized the two-piece, or Spindlersfeld, type of brooch. A whole series of new brooch patterns, largely inspired by the Spindlersfeld type although consisting of a single piece, appeared in the Danube and Balkan regions as well as in the vicinity of the Po River. The Peschiera, or "violin-bow," brooch, is one example that introduced the spring clasp into common use. The enormous efflorescence of metallurgy in this period is visible in Transylvania and over the wide plains of Hungary, where, besides the many swords with massive hilts, the Boian dagger was perfected. This dagger eventually evolved into a sword with a long narrow blade and a grip hilt. Later on, as the 13th century B.C. unfolded, the blade became heavier and wider. In this classic form the powerful tang-grip sword (PL. 170) had a great vogue, circulating westward, northward as far as the Scandinavian peninsula, and southward into the Aegean world. There we find it used in battles before and after 1200 B.C. in the Peloponnese and in Boeotia, and as far as Crete, Cyprus, Syria, and the delta of the Nile, along with violin-bow pins and weapons perhaps from the Po Valley (Peschiera type). From this great dissemination of central European forms it can be inferred that continental groups must have penetrated the eastern Mediterranean. This infer-

ence seems all the more probable from an examination of eastern Mediterranean pottery showing channeling and protruding bosses excavated from the deposits of certain Macedonian ruins that had formerly engaged in active commerce with the Mycenaean world. The ruins of the Homeric city of Troy VIIa also suggest this pattern.

It was always in central Europe, however, that the Urn-field civilization enjoyed its greatest and most decisive development, radiating throughout the whole area previously occupied by the Tumulus culture and extending even beyond to the Po Valley and large parts of France. Thus an enormous cultural community was crystallized, evolving through successive stages from the 13th to the 8th centuries B.C., and remaining a fairly unified whole. Partly because of this the Urn-field craftsmanship reached a high technical and esthetic level. Many works of esthetic value were produced, even if they seemed to lack a certain inspiration or inventiveness. Very probably a specialized pottery-making craft matured. This might explain the superb technical quality of the pottery (especially of the funeral urns) as well as a certain stabilization of patterns, although no real standardization occurred, and an exuberant variety was maintained. The forms were often elaborately designed with outlines at first angular, then later more fluid. The classical forms of the urns vary from extremely simple types composed of two truncated cones to types with a cylindrical neck, and later to types where the neck is clearly detached from the shoulder. The favorite modes of decoration were by modeling, for example, by horizontal channeling which gave the effect of a series of steps on the shoulder of the urn or on the interior of the dish, or which hung like a string of garlands around the body of the vase, sometimes arranged slantingly to impart a twisted quality of movement to the vessel. This kind of decoration was very common on soup bowls with curved edges suggesting the edges of a turban. Also common, though usually subordinated to the rest of the decoration, and for a time less prominent, were the bosses generally encircled by concentric channeled effects. However, quite a few groups worked out designs based essentially on sets of parallel furrows with simple geometric motifs, most frequently produced by juxtaposing sets of lines at oblique angles or by arranging them in zigzags with other lines shooting outwards. In certain places—for example, in those areas occupied by Swiss pile dwellings—we also find meanders. Effects similar to painting on vases were often achieved by technical devices, such as attaching little metal plates cut from zinc or, more often, tin. Clay modeling, rare as it was, was usually confined to zoomorphic vases and unpretentious animal figures; it occasionally showed a keen observation of reality surprising in a world dominated by a taste for the geometric and the abstract.

Bronze artifacts developed even more uniformly than pottery over a very wide area that included most of the European continent. The initial "baroque" phase used deep channeling and ribbing at the corners, producing articles such as bracelets and pins with very intricate formal patterns. More or less exhausted in the course of the 13th century B.C., this phase was followed by one producing more simplified patterns. Although the artifacts of this second phase had rich linear decoration, finely wrought channeling, and burin engraving, they were confined within a strictly geometric range, as was the pottery, without curved lines except for concentric circles or semicircles or a rare spiral (as in sword hilts, pin heads, knife blades, lance points, and bracelets). Particularly fascinating developments shaped the making of swords; frequently of high quality, the swords often give us the clearest indication of the taste of this epoch. Types with grip hilts gradually disappeared, replaced by heavy bronze-hilted swords; these in turn gradually underwent other changes. Ceasing to be mere imitations of natural substances fashioned with many nails, the hilts lost some of their splendid engraved decorative art. Instead they acquired increasingly complex patterns. Examples are the specimen whose handle has three knobs; the sword with inlaid natural substances (Auvernier type); and the classical type with antennae (PL. 170). New patterns also appeared in

brooches, although here the decisive stimulus to their development apparently came from outside (Italy and Greece). From such simple types as the violin-bow brooches, they evolved into more complicated styles such as winding-bow, harp, ribbed-bow, and spectacle brooches.

A particularly successful, lucid, and original expression of the Urn-field culture was the craft of laminated and repoussé bronzes. These were executed in a great variety of forms ranging from cups with sharply detached necks and rounded shoulders (such as the types found at Friedricharhe and Fuchstadt) to types set in an angular mold (such as the works from Kirkendrup and Stillfried). They also included situlae and large hemispherical kettles with cross-shaped pieces for attaching the handles. Besides laminated earthenware we find decorative objects, belts, buttons, phaleras, and above all defensive weapons, such as breastplates and greaves, some of them magnificent specimens (e.g., the greaves from Glasinac). There were also helmets, occasionally made on the simple skullcap model, but sometimes, as in the Pass Lueg helmet, having a fretted crest. All these bronze objects were frequently decorated in repoussé. A striking diversity of effects was created by simply alternating larger and smaller bosses. Here too geometric motifs were predominant, but alongside of them certain representational, though highly conventionalized, figures also appeared. These figures were always in some way linked to the theme of the disk or the bird-drawn sun boat, though the theme often became so attenuated that it faded into a mere collection of heraldic symbols.

The only subjects to stimulate bronze sculpture in the round, apart from bulls' heads, which came into existence only quite late, were the images of birds. We encounter them frequently on pendants, or as decorative endpieces, or depicted pulling the basin-shaped chariots used for ritual ceremonies. Examples from Skallerup, Milaveč, and Szászváros are among the most important metal work of the late Bronze Age.

In Italy, closely linked with the Urn-field culture, the proto-Villanovan cultural stage unfolded. Largely founded on the cultural substrata of the Terramare and Apennine regions, it had also evolved independently and often probably acted in an innovating capacity. In the best and most original proto-Villanovan works we can detect connections with the Urn-field civilization, as, for example, in the laminated brooches decorated in repoussé, rendering birds schematically, from Coste del Marano; in the similarly decorated greaves from Pergine; in the cups with bulls' head handles, also from Coste del Marano; and in the wonderful pair of gold-leaf disks engraved in repoussé and burin technique, from Gualdo Tadino.

The preceding sections incorporate material furnished by Christopher F. Hawkes and Ole Klindt-Jensen.

**THE IRON AGE. The Hallstatt epoch.** In the 9th century B.C., at the time central Europe was passing through the last phase of the Urn-field civilization, cultural development in Italy entered upon a stage of autonomous evolution with the rise of various local iron cultures. The most significant of these cultures was the Villanovan, which spread over Emilia, Etruria east of the Panaro River, and several other isolated areas in the Marches and around Salerno. What particularly marked the Villanovan culture was its peculiar technique of decorating vessels with sets of parallel lines engraved with a comblike instrument. This decoration appeared in all its splendor on biconical ossuaries separated into several zones placed one above the other. The main bands were located just under the rim of the vessel, on its shoulder, and around the circumference at its widest point. The most common motif was the meander and its many variants, worked out in this environment more richly and originally than in any other phase of European protohistory. Instead of a continuous decorative band, we often find a series of panels usually of alternating designs. The most persistent of these was the swastika, appearing also in several versions. The corners of the panels and the points of intersection in the sets of lines or their extremities were often punctuated by hemispherical bosses in the shape of little cups which interrupted the flow of the design.

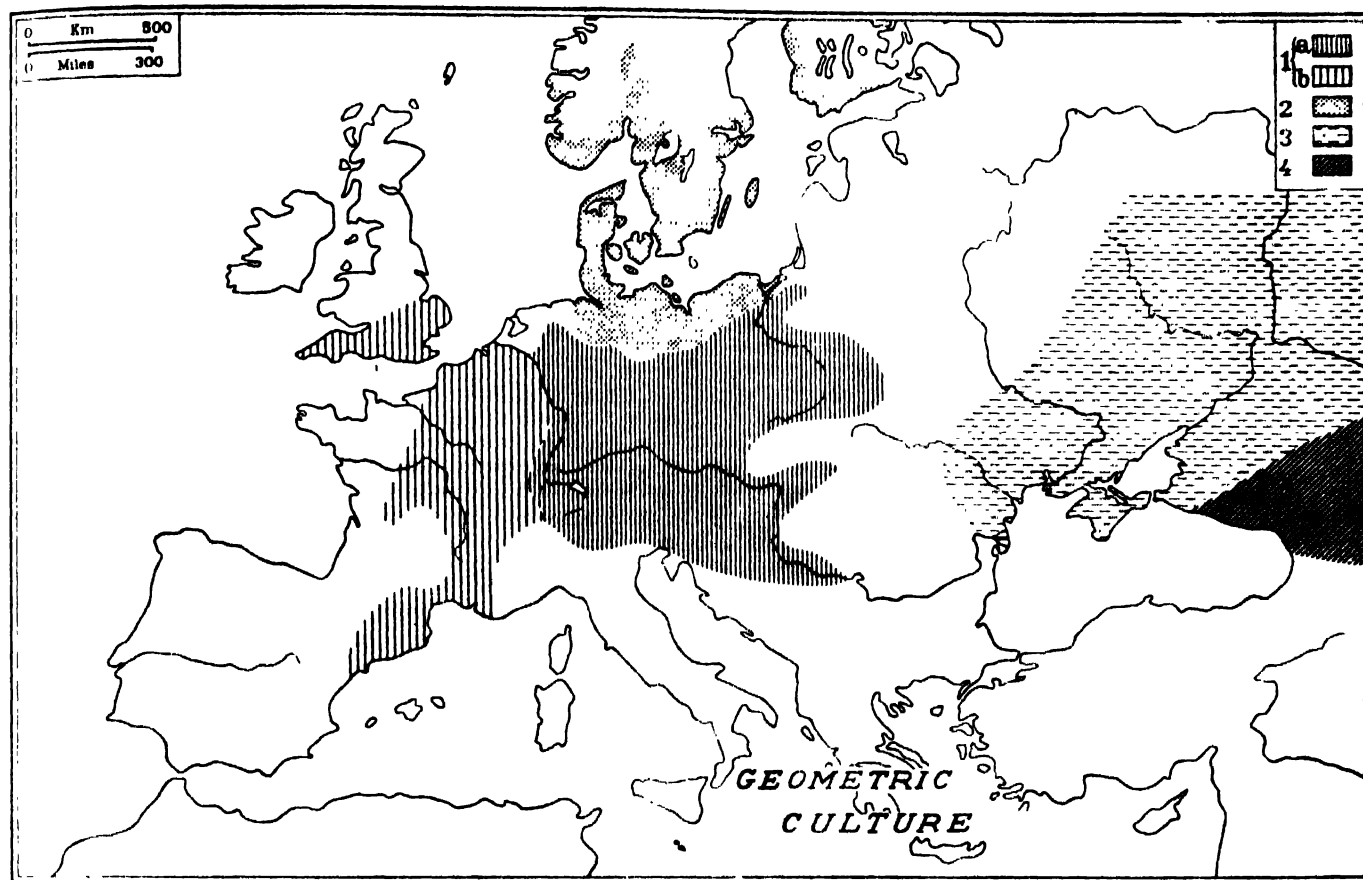
Modeled figurines generally representing the deceased were sometimes attached to the walls of an urn or to its lid, especially during the late Villanovan culture. The Montescudaio urn (PL. 24) is an example of this type of decoration. An extremely interesting architectural document of the early Iron Age is the hut-shaped ossuary (III, PL. 124), which became a familiar artifact in Latium even more than in the Villanovan orbit; its form is less well known than the biconical urn. A unique trait of the Villanovan culture was its practice of covering an urn with a bronze plate or clay helmet. This deviated from the usual custom in the Urn-field and connected cultures of covering an urn with a bowl. Metal urns, mostly made with pointed tops and double crests, had the customary repoussé ornamentation and alternated larger with smaller bosses. They are among the finest examples we have of the metallurgical craft of the earliest Iron Age. Villanovan culture also produced a whole series of bronze artifacts: vases with the distinctive lozenge belts where repoussé decorations rendered the traditional bird and solar-disk motifs, interchanging them with the engraved design; and brooches in the form of large diaklike stirrups which were often decorated with burin engravings. This heritage of metal articles is also generally well known in the southern Iron Age cultures or in the pit-grave cultures, especially at their acme in the 8th century B.C., when they became fused with the Villanovan (see also ETRUSCO-ITALIC ART).

A taste for the three-dimensional in pottery reappeared as a distinctive trait of the southern Iron Age cultures and other Italian cultures such as the Picene. A new flourishing of channeled decoration accompanied the reemergence of the three-dimensional interest, with protruding bosses and ribbing reminiscent of the peculiarly Balkan, Danube, and Po Valley style. This type of decoration never quite disappeared.

In its two clearly delineated forms — one in the west at Golasecca and one in Este in the Veneto — the northern Italian Iron Age north of the Po followed a path far more closely linked with trans-Alpine developments; this linkage was especially marked in the Veneto. In the beginning of the Iron Age, mirroring the last two phases of the Urn-field civilization, the Italian cultures north of the Po were, and continued to be, closely linked with the Hallstatt culture, which flourished during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. over the same large area that was earlier the scene of the Urn-field culture. The only areas on the continent that remained outside the Hallstatt boundaries were peripheral settlements such as that of the Iberian peninsula, whose cultural stage at that time exemplified the last distant echo of the Urn-field civilization. Hallstatt culture was extremely responsive to influences and stimuli emanating from the Mediterranean world, reacting to and reworking these influences into styles which accentuated the distinctive artistic traits of provincial and peasant cultures. In an apparently unique way the Hallstatt culture also revived the most ancient traditions peculiarly linked with the Danube area of old. These traditions had been quite overshadowed during the Urn-field age. Thus in Hallstatt pottery (PLS. 172-74; III, PL. 124) we find, along with the introduction of vase painting, a return to earlier decorative techniques such as carving in a dense, heavy, quasi-baroque pattern. The pottery forms themselves are often heavy and baroque, displaying a predilection for swollen, drooping, and indistinctly joined contours and complicated patterns. Frequently three-dimensional figures were attached to vases, such as animal heads (especially heads of bulls), or figurines in the round depicting men, horsemen, and stags (see the Gemeinlebarn urn). This sculptural proclivity was later strikingly demonstrated in the clay models of andirons, where zoomorphic and purely decorative elements became intermingled, sometimes inextricably. These were among the most distinctive documents of Hallstatt art (PL. 175). Rarer, and at the same time more conventional in style, were figures where the craftsman attempted group composition or tried his hand at scenes from life, despite the exaggerated leaning toward geometric patterns (PL. 175).

In metalwork an enormous variety of often highly sophisticated techniques coupled with a peasant taste for massiveness distinguished Hallstatt production. There was striking growth





Distribution of European cultures from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age: (1a) Urn-field cultures, (1b) western cultures under the Urn-field influence, (2) Nordic culture; (3) Pontic culture; (4) Kuban culture

in the manufacture of iron objects, especially of weapons (swords, daggers, lances) and utensils. The sword hilts with inlaid ornamentation are noteworthy. A love for the highly ornate made itself felt strongly in the bronze artifacts for personal use — in the brooches and pectorals from which long heavy pendants and chains dangled, in the enormously heavy bracelets of solid bronze and huge bracelets with barrel-like plating covered with extremely dense incising, and in the beaten belts with repoussé decorations, where geometric motifs mingled with representational figures stemming unmistakably from Orientalizing influences. The variety of forms was marvelously rich in vessels made of laminated bronze, such as situlæ, amphoras, basins, large kettles, pitchers, cists, and goblets. These were all decorated not only with the familiar bosses and dots in traditional Urn-field styles but also with human beings and animals, which here too are ultimately derived from Orientalizing influences (PL. 176). Magnificent meander decorations executed in repoussé and burin engraving also appeared. Perhaps the most engaging works of Hallstatt metalcraft were the figures in the round adorning the handles of bronze vessels, the backs of axes, and the bodies of pins. The central figures here still depicted birds and bulls, but little horses, sometimes carrying riders on their backs, appeared as well. More rarely, figurines of human beings occurred (PL. 177). This sculpture was rough and a little rigid, although not lacking in a certain elegance of line. Wherever the material permitted, the work suggested a certain vitality, as in the lead figures from Frögg. Links with the Italian environment were present in this art, which reached its apogee in the processional scene of the Strettweg chariot.

The Nordic world also developed a craft in small bronze figures, linked with Hallstatt sculpture (periods V and VI). Many of these little bronzes have been found in places where women's paraphernalia were deposited, perhaps as sacrificial offerings to some goddess. Particularly remarkable for these

works is the Fårdal site in northern Jutland (PL. 178). Here the finds include a small female figure with gold-coated eyes, a torque necklace, and a short gown; she is sitting in a crouched position, apparently in the act of driving a chariot. Nothing survives of the chariot except a serpent who was perhaps pulling it. Again from the Fårdal site we have a small bronze composition consisting of two horned animal heads alongside a bird figurine, a familiar combination in Hallstatt art. A little bronze of another woman in a crouched position, this one a nude, was included among the discoveries at Fängel on Fyn Island, where over a hundred bronze artifacts were excavated, including two hanging kettles and many necklaces and bracelets. The stylistic qualities of some of the Fårdal figurines suggest the two-horned animals from the Norwegian finds at Vestby (PL. 179). The Vestby heads were made separately and then placed on the bodies resting on four stiff legs. Ties with central Europe and Italy are also visible in the bronze collection from Grevenaavaenge, Zealand (PL. 178). The collection includes, among other objects, a figurine in a short, curving, collared gown with the body bent backward in a stance suggestive of certain Etruscan works. There are also two warriors, each of whom has one hand on his chest with the other raised to brandish an ax. Their heads are encased in crooked horned helmets reminiscent of the Vix helmet, most probably imported into Denmark from central Europe.

Other evidence for this small-figure craft comes from knife handles and pinheads in animal or human form. The heads were delineated in rigid lines, with eyes standing out in relief, the chin occasionally curved and protruding. The engravings on the blades of razors, on the other hand, preserve interesting examples of figural patterns or simple decorations such as sets of curved lines or garlands that sometimes have animal heads as endpieces. Of the two especially remarkable razors surviving, the one from Vedstrup in northern Jutland depicts two persons with wreaths on their helmets and with two heavy

axes, crouching before a large woman, possibly a goddess, behind whom a serpent lurks. The other razor, from Bremen, represents a ship whose prow ends in animal heads. A human figure is crouching on the prow, grasping an oar. In front of him stands an animal, while fish swim before the ship.

These figures are intimately connected with the fascinating rock engravings in southern and central Scandinavia, executed on stone surfaces and occasionally on separate blocks of stone. The most common motif is the ship, often constructed merely by two parallel lines ending in an extended point (PL. 181). We also find wheels with spokes in the form of a cross, these being interpreted as symbols of the sun (sometimes conveyed on ships or carts or drawn by animals), footprints, animals (mainly domesticated), weapons, tools, and scenes depicting war or plowing. Of higher technical and artistic excellence are the engravings on the stone walls of the tomb of Kivik in Scania. These show a man driving a horse-drawn cart, a procession of strangely garbed people, two men blowing a twisted trumpet, other groups of people, and certain esoteric symbols (PL. 180).

*The La Tène epoch.* In the late 6th and early 5th century B.C., a period of profound ferment developed in the area of the Hallstatt civilization, largely owing to the rise of a powerful warrior aristocracy ardently interested in Mediterranean, especially Greek and Etruscan, culture. This interest nurtured the growth of a highly advanced craftsmanship, readily stimulated by the representational art of the Mediterranean civilizations and capable of using that art as a model to be imitated. The new ruling class developed it to suit its own peculiar needs, which were different from the needs of the old peasant world of the Hallstatt culture. Another spur to the La Tène "renaissance" was the influence of the Scythians, who had penetrated deep into east-central Europe. They brought with them an artistic style distinctive for its marked love of fanciful animal decorations, implicit both in the widespread practice of assembling separate details into a larger composition and in the manner of depicting individual parts of animal anatomy. In this style animals might assume the form of a swastika or vortex, or become fused into the shape of some dual-natured monster (see CELTIC ART).

Thus crystallized from a meeting of Greek and Etruscan influences fused with the Scythian, the La Tène style, borne by the Celtic peoples, spread widely throughout the regions from Champagne to the middle Rhine Valley, the upper Danube, Bavaria, and Bohemia. One of the best examples of this meeting of different strands emerges from the La Tène finds at Rheinpfalz (Rhine-Palatinate), where along with several important artifacts, a gold ring was found with masks reminiscent of the satyr pattern on Etruscan rings. Another larger, more elaborately decorated ring has three similar masks rendered with four reclining rams facing inward, as on the Scythian prototypes; one of the masks is decorated with palmettes stylistically rendered by enlarging certain details.

No less luxurious is the funerary equipment from Klein-Aspergle, Württemberg, including the famous gold-leaf decorations used for drinking cups which, under Greek and Scythian influence, terminate in a ram's head (III, PL. 114). From Klein-Aspergle we also find other works in gold displaying the distinctive comma decoration with drops and similar curved motifs swelling in the middle. Two mid-5th-century cups of Attic origin were coated with similar beaten gold-leaf decorations. A bronze *Schnabelkanne* (long-spouted pitcher) fashioned on the Etruscan model depicts, rather than the usual gorgon's head, typically Celtic masks remarkable for their tendency toward abstraction and ornamental designs (PL. 183), as well as animal friezes.

Another tomb deposit typical of this aristocratic Celtic milieu is Somme-Bionne in Champagne, with all its paraphernalia of chariots (the classical Celtic war chariot with two wheels and pierced trappings; III, FIG. 181), its sword and geometrically decorated sheath, its beaten gold-leaf work similarly adorned, and its belt buckle where animals are heraldically arranged facing inward.

Among the most remarkable specimens of this earliest phase

of La Tène art was the gold trimming on a cup found at Schwarzenbach (probably made of painted clay). The craftsmanship is exquisite: gold leaf with skillfully wrought lotus-blossom motifs and intertwining palmettes in *ajouré* work. Here the classical plant decorations are elaborated and reworked in a completely new manner. The Hallstatt sword sheath is far more mixed in style, ending in a kind of two-headed monster with wide-open jaws, a well-known Scythian motif. Designs for the other parts of the sword, however, are closely linked with the decorative style of the Etruscan milieu of Italy. The style of dress, however, unmistakably shows a different influence. The men wear long slacks and overgarments resembling jackets. The motif of two men in the act of turning a wheel is unknown to Etruscan, as is the decorative motif of a rinceau rising out of a confused human shape.

The collection of brooches and long-spouted pitchers seems to be especially typical of the taste during this era. From this collection the Basse-Yutz vessels from Lorraine (III, PL. 115) may be singled out for further study. In the illustrated example, pieces of coral are inserted in the interlaced work along the bottom as well as on several upper areas—a technique also used for other ornaments such as buckles. The top of the handle depicts an animal resembling a wolf, as well as stylized plant designs. Lower down, the handle assumes the shape of a fantastic mask whose hair style reminds us of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, with mustache and eyebrows twisted in spirals. The huge round eyes are made of coral. Along the rim of the vase two animals appear, similar to those on the handle. A small bird perches on the long spout. On the enormous pitcher (Austria, near Hallein) the handle evolved into a sinister portrayal of an animal with a swollen, almost human face and curled horns bent back. From the animal's throat a man's head emerges. Lower down, the handle ends in a handsome mask with large features surrounded by *ajouré* decorations resembling enlarged commas. Wild beasts are depicted on the sides, and out of their throats emerge the long necks of the animals they have devoured. This particular feature stems from a typically Orientalizing artistic pattern, and was very well known in the art of Etruria. The two large pitchers from Rheinheim and Waldalgesheim in the middle Rhine Valley are quite similar in workmanship and design: On the upper joint of the handle they depict a bearded human mask. The Rheinheim jug, being more luxuriously ornamented than the other, depicts a ram's head below the bearded mask, and lower down another bearded human mask. In the middle of the body of the vase there is a delicate pattern of lotus flowers and comma shapes. Two particularly important long-spouted vessels have handles shaped like animals, their front paws resting on the rim and their back paws lying on the body of the vessel. In Thuringia, the Borscher Aue specimen shows an elegant, lithe, springing beast covered with a delicate design. His neck, sides, and back are decorated with slanting intertwining lines. His upper legs are delineated in spirals, a device used in depicting other Celtic animals.

As the 4th century B.C. unfolded, a new decorative style supplanted this first La Tène stage—the Waldalgesheim style, so called from a burial which has provided many of its most distinctive artifacts (Bonn, Germany, Landesmuseum.). Particularly noteworthy are the gold objects, among which there is a beautiful large torque, outlined and decorated with an elegantly contrived wavy rinceau formed by joined S motifs. Here and there stylized palmettes fill the gaps. Among the many other motifs we discern a human mask. Another artifact, a circular object, consists of a series of nodules set close to each other, marked by the artificial elegance so typical of this style. Much less ostentatious is a gold bracelet of two neatly twisted flat strands allowing an elegant string of beads to pass through them. On a helmet, two large full horns have the same familiar shape as the horns adorning the Vix helmet from Denmark, a late Hallstatt work. The helmet horns reproduce the typical broken, twisted vine-leaf pattern later developing into a connected sequence of triskelions. We find this same motif on a cornice, there worked out by pierced holes surrounding two birds who stand facing each other. Two bronze laminated

works depict a human bust with the typical Hathor hair style, its arms bent upward and its fingers outstretched. The masks have delicate, almost triangular faces, with long arched eyebrows and protruding almond eyes. In the center of these laminated works we find stylized rinceaux. It may be concluded that the Waldalgesheim style had unmistakable traits and was extensively diffused. In Belgium and Filottrano, Italy, gold rings have been found which are linked closely to Waldalgesheim artifacts. Other works have been discovered in Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, western Switzerland, and France.

On the large stone pillar found at Waldenbuch in Württemberg (III, PL. 112), the usual spiral curves cover the four lower surfaces; these curves continue on to the middle area but only on one surface, where an arm is visible. The upper part of the pillar is missing; we must imagine a head, as on the stone statue from Holzgerlingen (Württemberg) or the Heidelberg head with its Hathor hair style exactly like that of the masks on the Pfalzfeld monument (III, PL. 112).

La Tène art of the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. is distinctive for its heavy bronzes in high relief, as well as for its brooches and bracelets decorated with sculptured spiral designs. The masterpiece of this style is the huge bronze cauldron found at Brä in Jutland, definitely a Celtic work imported to this region (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseum). This large hemispherical vessel was equipped with three rings for a handle, attached by means of three heavy fixtures decorated with owl heads facing inward. On the sides of each of these, two bulls' heads in bronze are clamped. Several artifacts from the Malomeřice cemetery near Brno, Moravia, strikingly resemble this late La Tène work: a series of bronze appliques and a curious mythical beast also made of bronze — a griffin around whose twisting body coils a tail which terminates in a second head. The front head is larger and has protruding eyes underlined by deep semicircular eye sockets. On top of the head a deep part is traced down the middle; there are also two curls and delicately sculptured hair. A curious denticulated object hangs down from the nape of the neck.

Sculptural works of this period appear most characteristically as large rings and other fused metal artifacts. The small bracelets and rings worn around the ankles consisted of hemispherical motifs and were often repetitive in their use of ornament. Occasionally they produced whirling spiral decorated patterns which were violently agitated, even if rendered schematically. They might be sculptured spirals composed of fluid baroque curves sometimes expanding, sometimes growing smaller, thereby delineating twisted shapes with pointed backs. Sometimes eyes or other strangely distorted facial features were added. This taste for the fantastic is further suggested by ornaments on huge bronze chariot trappings (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée Ant. Nat.), which show a turbulent interplay of curves broken by rounded knobs and human faces. A room full of wheels and other bronze trappings (same museum) is more restrained, with almost refined human masks. Even here, however, weirdly staring eyes jut out from among the spiral curves. A similar enormous room of wheels and laminated bronze works comes from the Mal Tepe chamber grave at Mezek, southern Bulgaria. They show us a face with spiral eyes carved in relief, with a short nose and a mouth. In such examples as these, the late La Tène art produces effects which — to our eyes, at least — suggest a proclivity for the grotesque. Another relevant example is the small mask of a man depicted with a violent grimace, from Nauheim on the middle Rhine. The balance pole from Manching, Bavaria, contains stylistically complicated chariot trappings more conservatively decorated with birds' heads and graceful bulls' heads. Finally, a group of gold trinkets again shows the sculptural style (rings of the Aurillac type). They constantly alternate between many small sculptured spirals and strings of beads that restrain the splendor of the metal. The rings from Frances-lez-Buisson, Belgium, are similar, including one torque necklace decorated in rather high relief with lyre designs and animal heads.

Concurrently with this sculptural style we encounter the so-called "Hungarian sword style," a later evolution of the Waldalgesheim style, yet unique in its rather artificial elegance

and strong tendency to asymmetry. Its decorative patterns, especially common on sword sheaths, are arrayed on the surfaces, composing so delicate and formalized a design that we can barely recognize the original plant motifs of earlier styles.

During this same period, large sculptures in stone flourished in Provence, a peripheral area of the Celtic world but a region particularly open to classical influences. Here statues of seated warriors with their legs crossed were produced. Monsters and wild beasts holding human heads between their claws appear along with reliefs depicting rows of horses, representations of severed heads (*têtes coupées*), herms, and so on (see also CELTIC ART). Late La Tène Provençal art had an amazing impact on Celtic taste during the 1st century B.C., stimulating the arts of relief, metal sculpture, and — more rarely — stone sculpture. Many busts and statues from around Prague and Salzburg and from central France are persuasive evidence of this influence (III, PLS. 111, 112).

Although La Tène art apparently did not influence the northern countries so decisively during its early phases, it had much greater impact during the final stages. The most revealing evidence of this comes from the Germanic area immediately before or at the same time as the Celtic world began to be Romanized (PL. 183). Thus in a Danish marsh near Dejbjerg two typically Celtic four-wheeled chariots were discovered, adorned with splendid laminated bronze work which had pierced decorations and human masks. The famous Gundestrup caldron originates from a marsh in Jutland; this caldron is the most distinctive work of the era (PL. 184; III, PL. 118). An enormous silver vessel (ht., 16  $\frac{7}{8}$  in.; diam., 27  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.), it contains seven (originally eight) metal plaques outside and five inside. They are joined to a smooth convex base with a bottom plaque inside. On almost all the plaques a bust of some god or goddess is depicted, surrounded by his own particular attributes. Human beings and miniature animals also appear as well as a more detailed scene showing a procession of trumpet players and warriors on horseback or on foot, marching before a god who is apparently casting a man into a large caldron, perhaps for some sacrificial rite. Another scene is a kind of bullfight repeated three times on an inside plaque, and more dynamically on the bottom plaque. Two other caldrons excavated in Denmark can be compared with the one from Gundestrup, even though they are perhaps somewhat later in date. The Rynkeby caldron depicts a mask with a torque necklace and is decorated with bulls' heads. A relief beaten on the inner metal plaques shows us a wolf set opposite a wild sow — a persistent theme on Gaulish coins. The mask on the Sophienborg kettle has less careful outlines: drawn down on both sides, it shows a curved mouth and large pointed oval eyes. The hair, straight and stylized, suggests a halo.

These influences exerted on the Germanic world after Gaul became Romanized are not the only traces left by the La Tène style, the last artistically productive culture of European protohistory. We can surely trace to the La Tène influence many details of taste surviving in provincial Roman art, above all a great repertory of decorative motifs continuing unbroken into the early medieval art of the British Isles.

Ole KLINDT-JENSEN

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Illustrations: pls. 151-184; 13 figs. in text.

**EXEKIAS.** An Attic ceramist active during the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. In his dual capacity as painter and potter — in the latter, he invented and produced new shapes — Exekias is one of the most accomplished artists known in the ceramics medium. His signature appears usually with *ἐποίησεν*, to indicate the production of the vase alone, but in two cases with the more complete form *ἔγραψε καποίησέν με*, which reveals his double personality as potter and painter. Some of the vases with potter's signature are too fragmentary to permit an exact definition of Exekias's role in their production; other vases, possibly produced by Exekias, remain unattributed; and yet others have been designated as Group E by Sir John Beazley, who has placed them like a halo around the personality of Exekias without assigning them to him. We must consider therefore not merely works in the manner of Exekias, but those that are like "the soil from which the art of Exekias springs, the tradition which, on his way from fine craftsman to true artist, he absorbs and transcends" (J. D. Beazley, *BSA*, XXXII, 1931-32, p. 3 ff.).

Our understanding of Exekias accordingly must be based on a severe elimination of marginal material, rather than on an accretion. Today Beazley limits the list of his works to 23 vases and fragments, including the monumental Athenian

funerary pinakes. These are for the most part large vases, mainly amphoras with broad walls and quiet spaces on which are disposed figures whose greatness is moral rather than physical. The only cup included in the list is a great eye-cup of type A (Munich, no. 2044), a work so rich in innovation that it has been thought possible to assign to Exekias the invention of the shape itself. It is also possible that the calyx-crater is an invention of the artist. This is a particularly solemn and challenging shape, the extensive free walls of which offered special possibilities to a great painter.

Exekias' origins were probably in the circle of the somewhat nebulous Nearchos, a serious and refined artist whose work strikingly anticipated Exekias. His associations with Lydos, who was slightly older, and with the Amasis Painter, who was approximately contemporary with him, were of a different kind. A marked parallelism is to be seen with Lydos, who, beginning with the expression of violence and agitation, also succeeded in achieving a kind of classic calm; Lydos', however, was the result of a physical feeling of solidity and balance remote from the serious, limpid intellectuality of Exekias. The Amasis Painter, on the other hand, because of his pleasing discursiveness, his fine decorative sense, and color effects, epitomizes everything that Exekias is not. The former was an artist whose sensibility and aspiration were alien to Exekias' withdrawn austerity.

This contrast has often been exaggerated to illustrate tendencies of a more general order, Ionism in the Amasis Painter, Atticism in its pure state in Exekias. Semni Karouzou has pointed to the excessive simplicity of this contrast, declaring that the former's style is Attic (*The Amasis Painter*, Oxford, 1956). Probably the world of Attic art was at that time sufficiently large and varied to permit the parallel development of such diverse tendencies. It is too much, however, to think of the young nudes that the Amasis Painter sometimes placed beside his protagonists for rhythm and composition — those courtiers whom Beazley calls Rosencrantz and Guildenstern — in terms of three-dimensionality. The Amasis Painter's interest in the clarity and harmony of the human body is secondary and appears to have been learned at second hand. His nudes seem to be composed of their parts rather than to be wholes, and to be externally conceived, with joints that are too delicate and with rounded members that are lacking in internal tension.

Exekias' nudes, on the other hand, do not resolve themselves into mere outlines but seem constructed and organized in a quite different manner. Figures such as the youth Oinopion on the British Museum amphora (no. B 210) and Polydeukes (Pollux) on the Vatican amphora reveal a subtle and harmonious sense of structure in their precise rhythms and elastic outlines that are at once contained and energetic. Their structure seems to be conceived from within, and their harmony is the result of a rigorous intellectual discipline. One has the impression that in the world of Exekias' imagery the human body is subjected to secret laws of harmony that are as severe, exigent, and unambiguous as those which determine the narrow path of a Greek hero's action.

In the works that we may consider his earliest, a group of neck-amphoras, Exekias already reveals himself to be completely mature and aware of his powers. His persistent desire for a greater concentration within the composition, for a reduction of the elements of the figured scene to the essential minimum, led him to confine their fields between zones of great tendrils placed under the handles. At the same time, the spaces in which the figures moved became more ample and indeterminate, free from the large amphora's usual enframement of black glaze. The last, supreme expression of this effort was reached in the kylix in Munich (pl. 185), in which the whole broad internal tondo constitutes one space without boundaries, restricted only by the sporting dolphins, the branching vine, and Dionysos sailing alone, outside the sphere of human limitations.

Exekias' production is not without scenes that are quiet in character, such as the departure of a chariot or the solemn farewell to a hero in search of adventure. But the basic note of his works is that of heroic tragedy and death. The duel

between Achilles and Penthesileia on a London amphora (IV, PL. 263) employs forms of extraordinary conciseness. The two adversaries are composed in a triangle, the Amazon on her knees, Achilles, intent behind his lance, gripped in his slaying gesture by an inexorable, terrible drive.

The myth in Exekias' work was conceived in terms of tragedy and death. Four times there appears the motif of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles on his shoulders (I, PL. 349). In these depictions the artist used a rough, bulky design which may have been his own invention. The death of Ajax is represented on an amphora in Boulogne (Mus. Municipal), in the department of Pas-de-Calais, France. On this vase the hero is seen in a wood, placing in the ground the sword on which he is about to throw himself, acting with the determination and concentration that Exekias always communicated to his figures, who are doomed without hope of remission. This highly poetic image possesses an intolerable dramatic tension, in which solitude and desperation are evoked with a reticence, modesty, and efficacy that are unrivaled.

In the large amphoras themes necessarily were amplified and compositions became more varied and articulated. Usually Herakles appears in the center of the solemn stories of apotheosis (departure in a chariot on amphora no. 187 in the Museo Faina, Orvieto, Italy) or of introduction into Olympus in the midst of a special assembly of the gods (Faina amphora no. 78). The compositional fabric is even more ample and variegated in a calyx-crater from the north slope of the Acropolis, in which the theme of the apotheosis of Herakles occurs again (PL. 186). Here it is united to a Homeric battle, the two scenes being related to each other by an intermediate motive of maenads seated among the convolutions of a great vine.

Exekias in his work remained consistently interested in the great gestures and grandiose tragedies of heroes. Confronted with the Amasis Painter's orgiastic explosiveness and his scenes of tumultuous abandon, however, one also remembers the solitary and dignified appearance of Dionysos in the Munich kylix, sailing the infinite sea alone (PL. 185). Figures of women, goddesses, and heroines are infrequent and pallid in Exekias' work. The only one who has a role of first rank, if not that of protagonist, is Leda, the mother of the Dioskouroi, in the great amphora in the Vatican. Composed and of an almost virginal freshness, she is otherwise rather less individualized than others in the scene, for example, old Tyndareos. This composition, from what is considered one of the quiet pages of Homeric poetry, in which everyday life is transfigured with supreme dignity in the precise delineation of human acts, actually embodies a much deeper reality. His profound religious feeling and his acute dramatic sense led Exekias much closer than many of his contemporaries to the roots of the myth. The scenes that for many painters were mere diagrams of departure or return for him embodied the subterranean tragedy of Amphiaraios, of Adrasteia, and of so many others. It is the theme of war and its uncertainties or of the task unwillingly assumed, in which one takes part reluctantly under the obscure menace of vague premonitions of disaster.

The quiet story that is generally interpreted from the Vatican amphora consists of two temporal phases — first Polydeukes (Pollux) playing with a dog in the corner, completely detached and dressed for the house; then Leda and Tyndareos turned toward Kastor (Castor), who stands armed and with traveling cloak near a horse. This construction is too banal for the profound and melancholy intellectuality of Exekias. In typical depictions the two Dioskouroi are alike in looks and action; indeed, this is the essential characteristic of their iconography. The ancients, while distinguishing Kastor the horse tamer from Polydeukes the boxer, always represented them together on horseback and paired them in all their deeds, even the rape of the daughters of Leukippos. What did Exekias intend by representing them in unlike poses? The fact that he shows one at home while the other, on whom all the attention of the father and mother is concentrated, stands dressed as a traveler beside the horse, can indicate only the one possible separation of the twins — that of the voyage beyond the grave.

A scene with female participants is depicted on a series of

funerary pinakes in Athens. In each a group of women, some standing, some seated, disposed on several planes in a kind of solemn assembly, is attending mourning ceremonies. But the rigid discipline of the ritual seems to suppress any hint of femininity. It is in these pinakes that Exekias ventured into themes of human life; in keeping with his temperament, the motifs of death and of last honors are treated in a solemn and dramatic manner, with ample and sustained ceremonial embellishments. But these expressions of official sorrow, which are voiced in solemn funeral laments, do not achieve the secret, harrowing intensity of his depictions of the solitary suicide of Ajax or of the recovery of the body of Achilles.

If the highest expressions of Exekias' painting are found in evocations of the lives and supreme sorrows of the heroes of myth, a note of tenderness — the only crack in his armor of severe virtue — is revealed in his representations of horses. One might say that for him horses were the supreme expression of beauty, as they were for Nearchos and a number of other Attic artists. On an amphora in the University Museum, Philadelphia (no. 4873), Exekias introduced the grazing horses as the real protagonists of the scene, demoting the two horsemen who attend them to subordinate rank. But even in other examples, in which their presence is less emphasized, the tenderness and grace that Exekias has granted only grudgingly to goddesses, heroines, and the bodies of youths are lavished upon the delicate, vibrant creatures, differentiated by their black and white coats and portrayed with a love that seems to transmit to them a feminine quality.

An understanding of Exekias' importance as a teacher is essential to a complete realization of the artist's significance. We have already mentioned the special connections that link the painter to Group E, which represents, so to speak, his halo. But what must be emphasized is the extremely high quality of the production not ascertained to be his but associated with him, whether that of Group E or of the latest manner. A profound and constant influence seems to have acted continuously to elevate the quality of this work, if not to lift it to Exekias's own level. If one recalls that the calyx-crater recovered at Pharsalus, an almost exact replica of the very beautiful one from the north slope of the Acropolis has been called a school piece, one can effectively measure the importance of Exekias's teaching, which brought the painters of his circle near to his own attainment.

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ENRICO PARIBENI

Illustrations: PLS. 185-186.

**EXHIBITIONS.** Exhibitions of art and of crafts probably were originally connected with the solemn display of the spoils of war or secular or sacred treasures (see **MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS**) as well as with the display in public places of objects for sale (see **DEALING AND DEALERS**). Exhibitions have a complex function, both utilitarian and cultural. Naturally, one or the other of these functions must predominate, and methods of installation vary accordingly. For the most part, however, exhibitions are serious public displays of works selected according to their quality, often installed with great skill in the exhibition area. The problem of finding a suitable setting for such displays — either private or public, permanent or temporary (see **STRUCTURAL TYPES AND METHODS**) — has always had to be resolved; and, since commercial success in such undertakings depends in part on persuasive presentation, most of the major architects of our time have designed display facilities of one sort or another. These architectural experiments have often led to the development of new ideas in the fields of advertising (see **PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING**), the design of



shops and interiors (see INTERIOR DECORATION AND DESIGN), and town planning (q.v.). In some cases, whole complexes of ideal buildings (e.g., the Interbau in Berlin) have been constructed primarily for the purpose of holding exhibitions. The installation of exhibitions, today for the most part done by specialized architects, also led to experimentation with many museological innovations that have since become common practice. Today exhibitions constitute the most active and varied means of making art works known to the public. They therefore have great influence on the development of taste and fashion (see SOCIOLOGY OF ART), particularly in the field of industrial design and in the other applied arts.

The material dealt with in this article is divided into two broad categories: (1) commercial expositions or fairs, in which the element of primary artistic interest is the architectural design of the exhibition facilities, and (2) art exhibitions, which may be organized under the auspices of museums or academic institutions, under some form of communal sponsorship, by a commercial gallery, or by stores, banks, offices, theaters, etc.

While exposition halls are frequently no more than temporary structures, others are built to last. When the fair that led to their construction is over, these buildings and grounds are frequently incorporated into the surrounding city (e.g., the fairs of Barcelona and Cologne, the Esposizione Universale Roma section of Rome), affecting the nature of its growth. A third type of structure is the permanent exposition hall (e.g., the Grand Palais in Paris, the Coliseum in New York) that is intended to house many successive temporary exhibitions.

**SUMMARY.** Origin of exhibitions (col. 283). Industrial exhibitions (col. 283). Art exhibitions (col. 289): *Contemporary art*; *Traditional art*.

**ORIGIN OF EXHIBITIONS.** Exhibitions in which art works were shown go back at least as far as the 16th century, when paintings and art objects were exhibited at the fairs and popular markets. These were held in city squares in celebration of religious feasts. Among these fairs were those at Beaucaire in the Gard department of France, the four-week fair of Saint-Denis near Paris, and, in Italy, the fairs of Alessandria and Verona, the fair of St. Anthony in Padua, and the Ascension week fair in Venice. At the latter, works by Lorenzo Lotto and the Bassanos are known to have been exhibited.

Until the 18th century, artists (e.g., Canaletto and Guardi) customarily showed their pictures at the Scuola di S. Rocco (PL. 187) and the Scuola di S. Marco, where they were for sale at relatively low prices. In Rome, beginning in the 16th century, artists exhibited every year at the churches of S. Giovanni Decollato and S. Maria di Costantinopoli, at the Pantheon (seat of the Acc. dei Virtuosi), and at the Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni. An exhibition organized by the local painters' guilds is known to have been held in the city square of Antwerp in 1540. Pictures were often exhibited in the showcases of various shops, such as pharmacies and book stores, as well as in the painters' studios. The aforementioned Roman exhibitions were organized not only by artists but by collectors as well. In the 17th century, families often exhibited publicly some of the works from their own collections. These were the first exhibitions of antique art. During the 18th century, these traditions led to the first regular exhibitions of paintings, the Salons of France (PL. 187).

**INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITIONS.** In the second half of the 18th century, the beginnings of industrialization gave rise to the industrial exhibition, an institution that, from the first, was very different from the fair. It had a wider and more definite purpose, didactic and moral as well as commercial. The exclusively commercial purpose of the fair was here subordinated to the exaltation of progress in technology, science, industry, and agriculture.

The first such exhibition, involving agricultural and other machinery, was opened in London by the Society of Arts in 1756 and revived in 1761. Others were held in Geneva (1789), Hamburg (1790), Prague (1791), and Paris (1797-98). The French Directory, prompted by the minister of the interior

François de Neufchâteau, issued a proclamation (Aug. 21, 1798) stating that the Paris exhibition was designed "for the purpose of stimulating competition among the industrialists" by the establishment of awards and prizes. In addition to samples of Sèvres porcelains and Gobelin tapestries, the products of 110 privately owned factories were exhibited. A similar exhibition had been held in Genoa a decade earlier. In 1788, the Società Patria—designed to promote manufacturing and art by "placing the national manufactures on exhibition"—was set up in Genoa. The first of the society's exhibitions—which were repeated regularly for several years—was held in 1789 and included the giving of prizes, lotteries, and competitions (for barbers' combs, printed cloth, etc.). The society's aims as expressed in its statutes were "to enlighten and guide artists [i.e., craftsmen], to encourage them, and to stimulate them with competition." The fact that the same words were used by François de Neufchâteau in his proclamation may be explained by the very close ties then existing between Genoa and Paris.

Since each succeeding exhibition required more extensive facilities, these buildings and pavilions were continually being replaced. Their temporary nature provided their designers with an opportunity for audacious architectural experiments.

All the essentials of a modern exhibition were combined in what is still referred to today as "the Great Exhibition." This English exhibition, announced in 1851, was under the direct charge of its president, Prince Albert. Its objectives were social, industrial, and humanitarian. Prince Albert himself planned the first dwelling designed specifically for the workingman; it was constructed at the exhibition. The planning of the main building at first involved a good deal of conflict. The organizing committee had announced a competition, which attracted 245 designs, 27 of which were French. The committee, not satisfied with any of these, drew up a plan of its own. While the bids for the contract were being considered, Sir Joseph Paxton—then a builder of greenhouses and gardener to the Duke of Devonshire—came forward with his plan to build a huge greenhouse for the exhibition. This plan—for a structure that would be larger than any greenhouse that had ever been built—aroused the enthusiasm of everyone and triumphed over all bureaucratic difficulties. The Crystal Palace (PL. 188; FIG. 289), as this building came to be called, was erected in Hyde Park and made entirely of glass and iron. It enclosed a number of large, growing trees, and since its transparent walls allowed the eye to move freely from any part of the interior over the entire park, the building seemed to be almost immaterial.

Paxton's daring design posed technical problems of considerable interest. In order to facilitate its construction, for example, it was made of small prefabricated parts that were easy to transport and put in place. The building—1,851 ft. long and 108 ft. high—was much larger than St. Peter's. On the day of its inauguration it accommodated, without being crowded, 250,000 visitors. Its capacity was practically limitless, as were the numbers and types of installations it could hold. A great part of the material exhibited later went to the South Kensington (now Victoria and Albert) Museum. In 1851, the now-traditional exhibition journal made its appearance; it was both illustrative and documentary, and more interesting than a catalogue. The proceedings of the juries were also published, and today constitute precious documents of industrial history.

Paris, not to be outdone, announced an exhibition for 1855 with a new program. The first French exhibition had been designed to glorify industry; the second, originating in a climate of Saint-Simonianism (an early philosophy of socialism), was to concern itself with a more human ideal, which was expressed as follows: "Industry is the only weapon to convert civilization; the great festivals of the future will not be warlike demonstrations but will solemnize labor." For this enterprise, a great edifice was erected on the Champs-Élysées. It proved inadequate almost at once, and there arose around it a gallery of machines and several pavilions (fine arts, agriculture, offices, etc.). This exhibition "village" was the first example of a type



of layout that is still favored in France today. The central building took up Paxton's theme, but there was little harmony between the iron roofing and the exterior bearing structure of masonry. New products were introduced at the exhibition, such as the hydraulic cement produced by the engineer L. J. Vicat and a reinforced-concrete caisson developed by M. Lamot. The artistic displays, and especially the exhibition of paintings, were of notable importance.

Another exhibition took place in Paris in 1867. It was conceived by Frédéric Le Play, a mining engineer and sociologist. The structure housing it was originally to have been in the form of a globe, but for technical reasons an elliptical form was finally adopted. This ellipse, 1,608 × 1,266 ft. in size, had seven huge concentric and intercommunicating rings. The many sections of these rings provided space for the materials to be exhibited. The builder was J. B. Krantz, and young Alexandre Gustave Eiffel was the engineer. A technical innovation was the preponderance of sheet metal over iron, so that the galleries took on the appearance of sheds. The outermost gallery was more finished and equipped with 530 gas lamps to permit evening visiting. Examples of modern display were found in the English fine-arts section and in some displays of industrial products.

The World's Fair (FIG. 287) announced by Vienna in 1873 also had to have its iron palace. Taking into account the precedent of the Crystal Palace, the construction was entrusted to an Englishman, John Scott Russell, who planned a pavilion in the form of a truncated cone. In 1876, America entered the field with an exhibition in Philadelphia (PL. 190), the main building of which was yet another imitation of the Crystal Palace. The accessory buildings followed European trends, the chief architect having been a pupil of Gottfried Semper.

France, in order to demonstrate the country's recovery after the defeat of 1870 and of the Commune, announced an exhibition in 1878. The Trocadéro Palace was designed for this undertaking by the architects J. D. Bourdais and G. J. A. Davioud. Though not outstanding, it was satisfactory from the point of view of city planning. On the opposite bank of the Seine rose the industrial division, with a new Palais de l'Industrie planned by Hardy under the direction of J. B. Krantz. This rectangular building, 2,316 × 1,115 ft. in size, was surrounded by a large gallery. Along the shorter sides of the grounds ran two vestibules, the work of Eiffel, who was also responsible for the main entrance facing the Seine. The exteriors, and especially the principal entrance with its sheet-metal structure, might seem to have been excessively decorative. The glass walls and the long glass canopy involved some innovations; but the Galerie des Machines, planned by the engineer De Dion, was truly novel. It had arched transverse lattice girders that supported upright lattice girders. The walls, to the line where they joined the lower lateral spans (i.e., in the upper half of the structure), were entirely of glass. The Rue des Nations, with its reconstructions of the famous art monuments of various countries, introduced an idea that was repeated in Rome in 1911.

The structure of the 1878 Galerie des Machines seemed to incorporate the final solution of the problem of roofing, but it was only the prelude. The real conclusion came a decade later, with the exhibition celebrating the centenary of 1789 (PL. 189). The gallery of this new undertaking measured 1,365 × 375 ft. and had no intermediate supports. It was planned by the engineer Contamin and the architect Dutert, on parabolic, triple-hinged arches. The visitors were also offered the novelty of a kind of great traveling crane (*les ponts roulants*) that conveyed them the whole length of the hall, at a great height. From this level the visitors had a panoramic view of the machines, many of which were in motion. The number of daily visitors reached 100,000.

Eiffel constructed — in 17 months — the tower which bears his name, thus contributing to the exhibition in an unusual way. "The exhibition of 1889 marked at once," says Siegfried Giedion, "the climax and the conclusion of a long development."

In 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, although inaugurated a year late, commemorated the discovery

of America (PL. 190, FIG. 287). Chicago, then developing at a rapid pace, was the center of the modern architectural movement, and the Chicago school was world-famous (see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS). Despite this fact, the people of Chicago were seized with a kind of architectural inferiority complex, feeling that their own accomplishments could not compare with those of France. The exposition's chief architect was Daniel H. Burnham, one of the city's best-known practitioners, but most of the other designers had been trained in France, chiefly at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Louis H. Sullivan (q.v.), the only one who represented the new trends of American architecture with his Transportation Building, predicted that the Chicago fair would damage America for half a century. The exhibits were laid out in huge, rather chaotically arranged buildings of academic design. The Hall of Manufactures was built sufficiently large to allow the exhibitors to flatter themselves that it was superior to the French Galerie des Machines. The hall enclosed an area of 30 acres, which, however, lent itself poorly to the arrangement of the stands. On the whole, the Chicago fair was a failure as an exhibition; the most popular attraction was the gondoliers, imported, with their gondolas, from Venice.

Paris held the final exhibition of the century in 1900 (PLS. 189, 190). Two permanent structures were erected in connection with it: the Grand Palais (the work of H. A. A. Deglane, A. F. T. Thomas, and L. A. Louvet) and the Petit Palais (the work of Charles Girault). These, placed opposite one another, are still used for exhibitions of traditional and modern art. Another Rue des Nations was built and old Paris was actually reconstructed.

At this point the French tradition (which had by now become common throughout Europe) of an essentially industrial exhibition with buildings designed expressly for this purpose was finally broken off. Instead, intermittent exhibitions of the village type, heterogeneous in theme, were organized. The notable results of these were mingled with mediocrity. Among the exhibitions was one held in Turin in 1902 (FIG. 287), which was dedicated to modern decorative art. This exhibition, which followed by one year a semiprivate exhibition of the Künstler-Colonie in Darmstadt, sponsored an international competition of artists and helped to diffuse throughout Europe the Art Nouveau style, which had already established itself in the north. The numerous buildings in Turin were the work of the architects Raimondo D'Aronco and Rigotti.

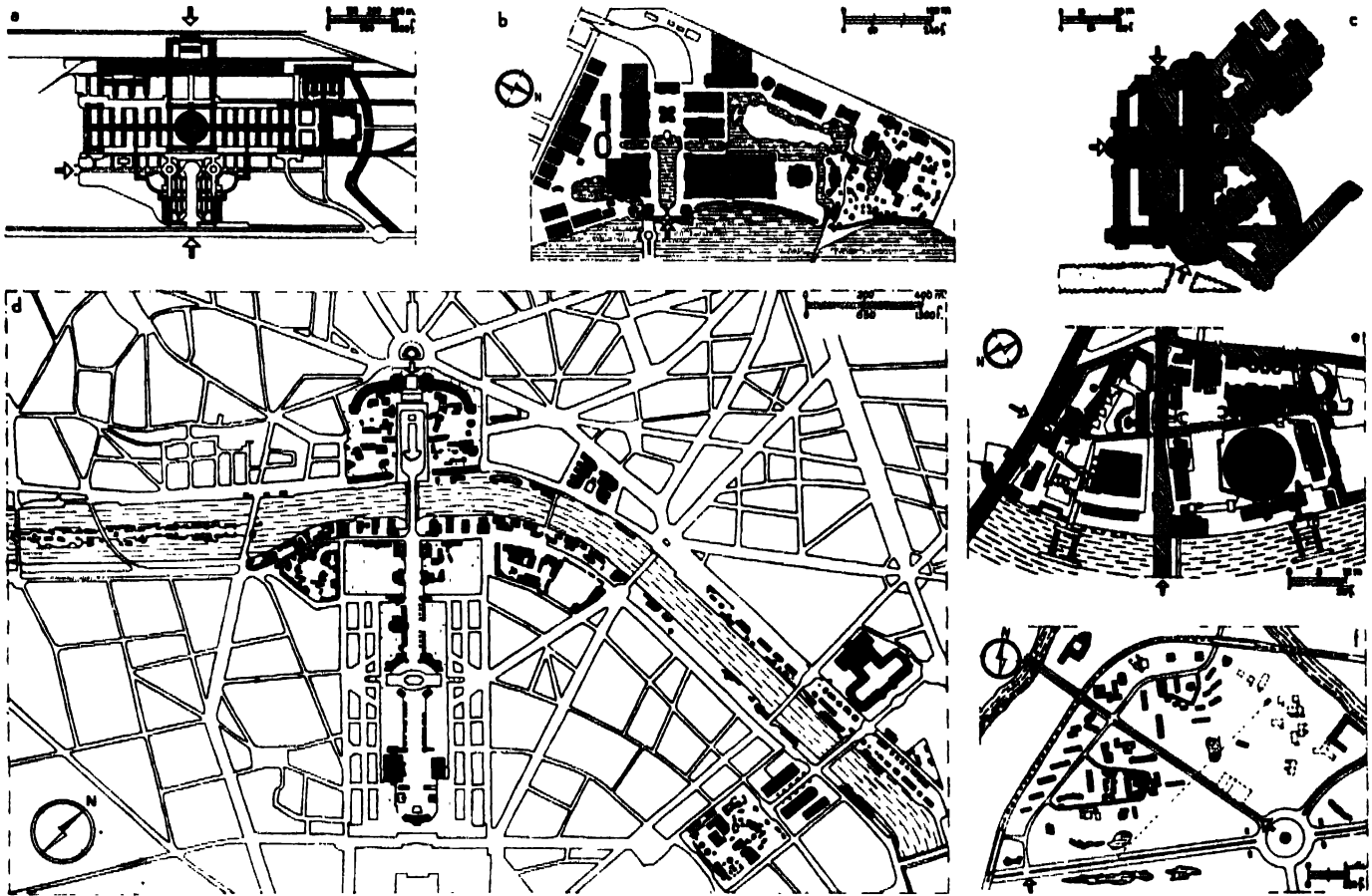
In 1904, a very extensive exhibition was organized in St. Louis. It had an internal railroad with 17 stations, and 160 automobiles were provided for the use of the visitors. In 1906, a modest exhibition to commemorate the opening of the Simplon Tunnel was held in Italy. There, the most brilliant invention (the work of Locati) was the entrance constructed like the mouth of a railroad tunnel with a double passageway.

International exhibitions had, in the meantime, become fairly frequent, and their dates often coincided. As a result, a convention establishing an exhibition calendar was signed in Berlin in 1912. Except for the Panama-Californian Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, international exhibitions were terminated by World War I.

Once the war was over, these undertakings were resumed. In 1923, the Biennales of decorative arts were founded in Monza, Italy. They were permanently located in the Villa Reale, which — together with its adjoining park — lent itself to a variety of installations. The dispersion of the buildings, however, proved inconvenient, and a palace designed expressly for these exhibitions was constructed in Milan instead. The facilities included a large park, and the triennial exhibitions held in Milan soon had great influence in the fields of architecture and applied art.

Since the convention of 1912 proved inadequate, it was supplanted by the convention signed in Paris on Dec. 22, 1922. This, together with a protocol added on May 10, 1948, is still in effect.

In 1925, France inaugurated the normal series of postwar exhibitions with its exhibition of decorative arts. Two decades after the Turin exhibition had propagandized Art Nouveau,



Plans of the great exhibitions: (a) Vienna, World's Fair, 1873; (b) Chicago, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893; (c) Turin, International Exhibition, 1902; (d) Paris, International Exhibition, 1937; (e) London, Festival of Britain, 1951; (f) Berlin, Interbau, 1958.

Paris attempted to publicize the *art décoratif* style, which was adaptable to the most diverse materials; the iron fountains built by Ruhlmann almost became its trademark. Le Corbusier's (q.v.) famous Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau was also part of the exhibition.

Later exhibitions, also of the village type, united showings of paintings, sculpture, and architecture in independent complexes. Several other public exhibitions were housed in permanent buildings. Outstanding among these was the Weissenhof exhibition in Stuttgart (1927), in which the most important architects of the day, such as Walter Gropius (q.v.), Bruno Taut, Peter Behrens (q.v.), and Le Corbusier, led by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (q.v.), participated. In 1929 a similar event was held in Barcelona, where Mies van der Rohe's pavilion attained a very high level of formal perfection, especially evident in the choice of materials. The Stockholm exhibition of 1930 — a great event in Europe — was planned entirely by Gunnar Asplund (I, PL. 393), an architect of classical tendencies. Asplund, on this occasion setting his principles aside, intended to give the exhibition the atmosphere of a great festival. His designs were entirely successful, avoiding both monumentality and arid rationalism. Bruno Zevi states that "a festive atmosphere, definitely inviting repose, amusement, and joy, characterized the Stockholm exhibition." The Swiss National Exhibition held in Zurich (1939) was an example of a coherent architectural complex. This city in miniature — made entirely of whitewashed, unplanned boards — was situated on the shore of the lake and punctuated by green areas. Robert Maillart, the bridge builder, here presented a monumental advertisement with a very daring vault, made of reinforced concrete  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. thick.

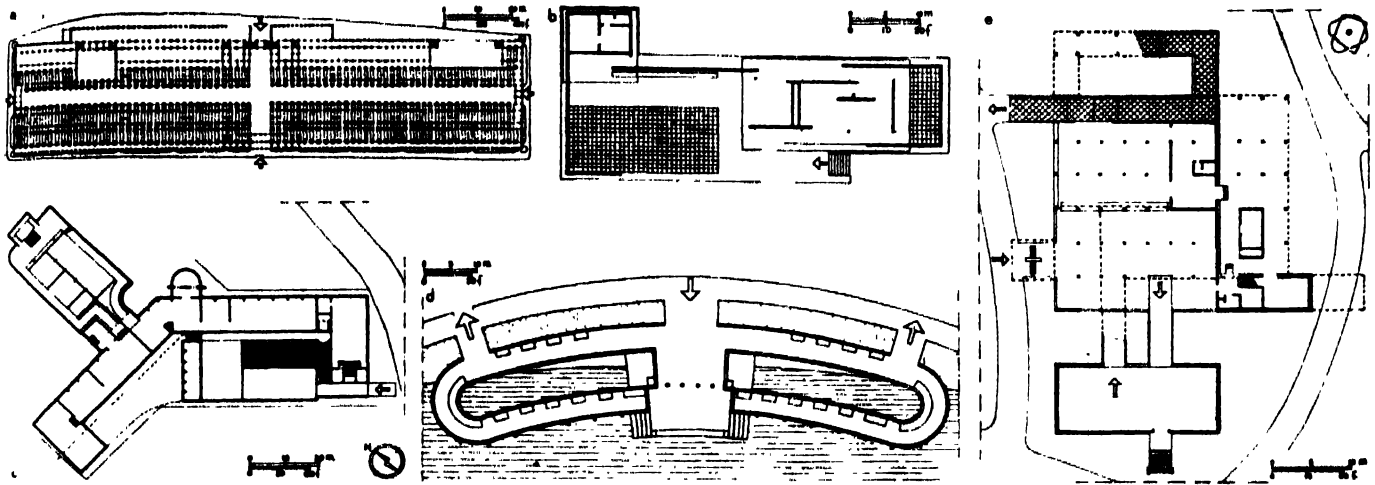
In 1937, a rather heterogeneous exhibition opened in Paris (FIG. 287). It included some superb architectural experiments,

particularly notable among which was the Finnish Pavilion (PL. 193) — entirely sheathed in wood — by Alvar Aalto (q.v.). This pavilion made the name of this great architect known outside his own country. The Japanese Pavilion, with ramps instead of stairways, was also a fine architectural achievement. The exhibition as a whole revealed a significant contrast between the false monumentality of the architecture of the totalitarian countries and the more human scale on which that of the democratic countries was planned. Either by accident or by design, the German and Russian pavilions — which were placed side by side — were very similar to one another in over-all appearance and in the style of their interiors. The contrast between the products of democracies and dictatorships was apparent even in the works of representational art. Russia exhibited a large group portrait of marshals, some of whom (e.g., M. N. Tukhachevski) had already been condemned to death and executed. The Spanish Pavilion was dominated by Picasso's great painting of the war, *Guernica* (now on extended loan at the Mus. of Mod. Art, New York).

America redeemed the 1893 failure at Chicago with very successful exhibitions in San Francisco and New York (PL. 191; FIG. 289) in 1939-40. In New York, Aalto again made an impression with his Finnish Pavilion (I, PL. 1). Imitations of historic styles were avoided; and the symbol of the New York exhibition — the Trylon and Perisphere — may be regarded as an appeal for structural sincerity.

About 1940, preparations were begun in Italy for the permanent E.U.R. (Esposizione Universale Roma). Although many of the best Italian architects collaborated on it, the lack of any serious conviction is reflected in its planning as well as in the individual buildings. War interrupted its completion.

England did not let the centenary of the Crystal Palace pass without commemorating it. At the 1951 Festival of Britain,



Ground plans of individual pavilions: (a) London, Crystal Palace (architect, J. Paxton, 1851); (b) Barcelona, German pavilion (architect, L. Mies van der Rohe, 1929); (c) Brussels, Danish pavilion (architect, T. Hvas, 1935); (d) Paris, Hygiene pavilion (architects, R. Mallet-Stevens and R. Coulon, 1937); (e) Paris, Japanese pavilion (architect, J. Sakakura, 1937).

at Kensington, were collected many of the objects exhibited a hundred years before; and on the right bank of the Thames, near Lambeth Palace, an exhibition village that was notable in all respects was set up.

The Brussels Exposition of 1958 (PL. 192) was dominated by a most timely symbol, the Atomium. It was also notable for its great historic exhibition of modern art. It was for this exposition that Le Corbusier constructed the now-famous Philips Pavilion (PL. 192; FIG. 291).

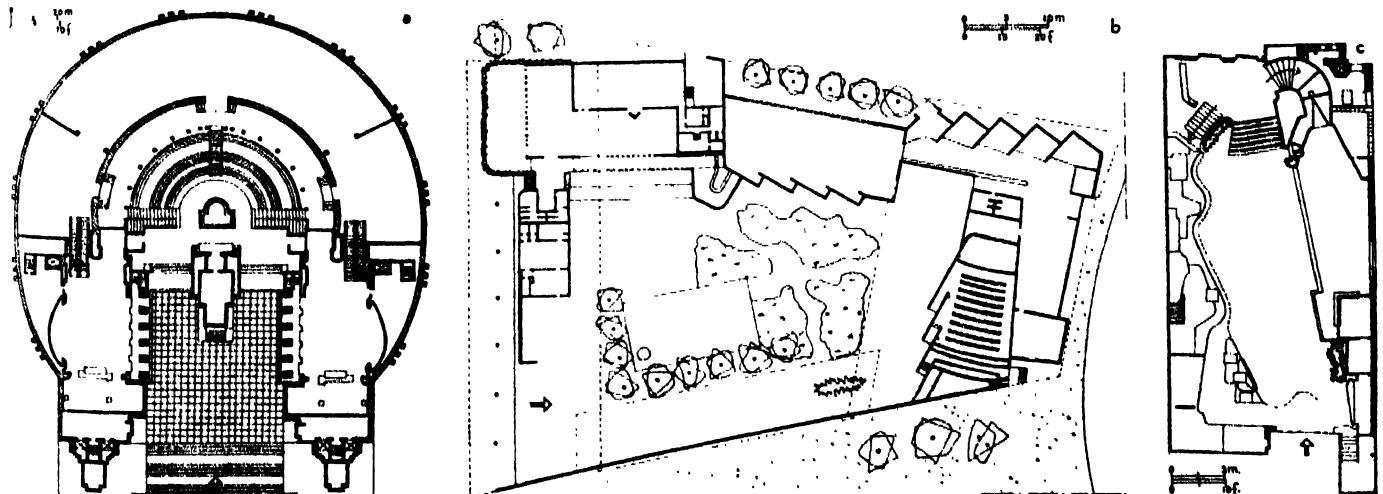
MARIO LABÒ

**ART EXHIBITIONS. Contemporary art.** Art exhibitions arose from the progressive transformation of the relationship between artist and patron. This relationship, at first based on the commission and the direct order, has been gradually transformed into the modern art market. In the course of this development, ever greater sections of the public have become interested in art.

Nicolas Lancret (q.v.) and Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (q.v.) showed their pictures in primitive sheds in the Place Dauphine and called these exhibitions the "Salon de la Jeunesse." From this there arose, in 1673, the first regular exhibition of fine arts, the "Salon des Artistes Français." These Salons were organized at the expense of the king, and were to be held every two years. They were originally restricted to members of the Académie Royale de Peinture,

and became accessible to all artists — provided their works were accepted by a jury — only in 1791. Until the French Revolution, the jury represented official taste in the strictest sense. At the time of the revolution, however, the pressure of new ideas led to the acceptance of new exhibition concepts, although the organizational structure of the Salon remained unchanged. It was the Government of July that — in response to a petition from the artists — granted annual provision for the Salons. These were to be held in the Grand Salon of the Louvre beginning on Mar. 1, 1833. Louis Philippe eventually suppressed the eclectic jury of the Restoration, which, under the presidency of the director of museums, had consisted of members of the Institut National, administrators, and amateurs. The selection of admissions and the distribution of prizes was delegated instead to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, a move that ensured the exclusion from the Salons of all unorthodox artistic tendencies.

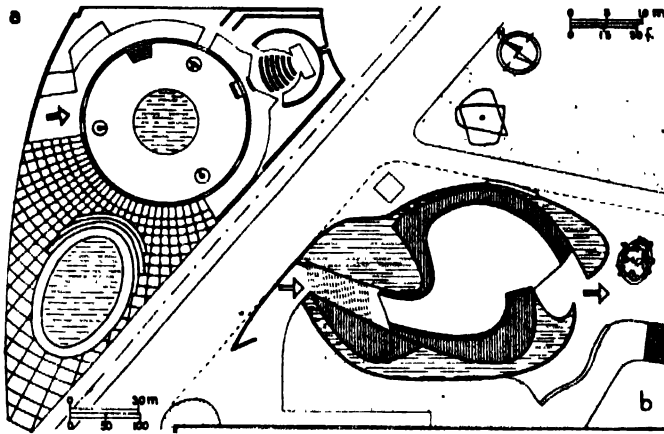
The painters whose works were turned away by the official Salons decided to found the Association des Artistes for the purpose of organizing an independent Salon. Among the 3,000 members of this association were Eugène Delacroix, Honoré Daumier, Théodore Rousseau, and Jules Dupré. The planned independent Salon was never organized, however, since the first free Salon, accessible to all artists, was opened in the Louvre after the revolution of 1848. In the following year,



New York, World's Fair, 1939-40. Ground plans of individual pavilions: (a) U.S.S.R. (architects, B. M. Iofan and K. S. Alabian); (b) Sweden (architect, S. Markelius); (c) Finland (architect, A. Aalto).

in order to exclude the many paintings that were being submitted by dilettantes, a jury whose members were elected from among the exhibitors themselves was empowered to make selections. In this year too, the Salon was transferred from the Louvre to the Palais des Tuileries. Among the 2,586 works that were accepted were some by Honoré Daumier, who exhibited here for the first time, and seven by Gustave Courbet, who obtained his first important recognition as a result of this showing.

The revival of conservatism in politics was paralleled, in the succeeding years, by the restoration of academicism in art. The most important personality among the academicians was the sculptor and administrator Alfred-Emile O'Hara, Count of Nieuwerkerke, who became director-general of the national



Brussels Exposition, 1938. Ground plans of individual pavilions: (a) United States (architect, E. D. Stone); (b) Philips Pavilion (architect, Le Corbusier).

museums in 1849. In 1852, the Salon took place in the Palais National; in 1853, in the Salle des Menusplaisirs; and in 1854 it was not held so that the exhibition might be included, in 1855, in the Exposition Universelle des Produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie, et des Beaux-Arts.

The Salon of 1857 marked a definite transition to domination by the Académie des Beaux-Arts. The scandalous exclusivity of the Salon of 1863 led to a reaction against entrenched officialdom. On this occasion, the rejected works were exhibited — by order of Napoleon III — as a separate group in the Salon des Refusés. Among the rejected pictures was Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Louvre). Similar salons were held under other names in subsequent years. These helped to dislodge conservative officialdom from its position of influence; but the painters of the avant-garde had, for the most part, to endure the indifference of the public and the prejudices of exhibitors until the first years of the 20th century.

In 1881, the state abandoned its right of control over the Salons, granting this power to the Société des Artistes Français. In 1890, Jean Louis Ernst Meissonier instigated a secession from this group, founding, with Puvis de Chavannes (q.v.), the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Among the members of the society were Rodin, Alfred Sisley (qq.v.), Giovanni Boldini, and Jacques Emile Blanche. This group organized, in the Champ-de-Mars, an annual Salon opposed to that of the conservative Société des Artistes Français, which was now installed on the Champs-Élysées.

The Salon des Indépendants appeared in 1884. This group had no jury and gave no prizes, but it offered anyone a chance to exhibit his work. In 1903, thanks to Frantz Jourdain, the Salon d'Automne was opened. Here the most daring members of the avant-garde were welcome, from Fauves to cubists.

In 1939, Yvanhoé Rambosson and Fredo Sidès founded the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles for the purpose of exhibiting only works of abstract art. After World War II, in 1945, the Salon de Mai was organized, destined to continue the great tradition of the salons in France. By this time, however, artists no longer depended on the salon to make their work

known to the public. The rapid development of the art market (see DEALING AND DEALERS), of which Paul Durand-Ruel was the pioneer, permitted numerous galleries to take the place of the old exhibition organizations; in the 20th century, the name of an art dealer has often been linked with the various subsequent movements. The gallery most in vogue in the last years of the 19th century was that of Georges Petit, which was established in 1882 in its vast rooms in the Rue de Sèze. This gallery welcomed the most varied trends and showed the works of the impressionists during the period of their first success. A short time thereafter, Ambroise Vollard linked his name to that of Cézanne and the postimpressionists; Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and the Rosenberg brothers associated themselves with the cubist works of Picasso, Gris, Braque, and Léger; Pierre Loeb sponsored the first surrealist exhibitions and showed the works of Miró; Sidney Janis — and thereafter Samuel Kootz, Charles Egan, and Betty Parsons, among others — allied themselves with the new school of New York; and René Drouin specialized in *art autre*.

During the course of the 20th century, the unofficial group show organized by artists with the same general interests became increasingly frequent (e.g., the Blaue Reiter, the Section d'Or, and others). While many of these groups were organized for a particular purpose and many have been relatively short-lived, new and broader group shows also arose (e.g., the Salon d'Automne, the Salon des Indépendants) that functioned on a long-term basis and offered the unorthodox artist an opportunity to exhibit. Another type of broader exhibition peculiar to the 20th century is that sponsored by a group of painters, sculptors, or graphic artists formally organized within a particular region. These groups offer a continuous exhibiting opportunity to their members and often invite nonmembers to show their work as well. Finally, museums, academies, and universities have tended more and more to organize invitation shows of contemporary artists. Today, therefore, new works of art can reach the public without delay — through large exhibitions and one-man shows in galleries and museums.

Among the important exhibitions that have introduced various modern movements to the public were the international exhibition of the Seizession movement in Munich (1898) and the great one-man show of Gustav Klimt at the Seizession exhibition in Vienna (1903), which established Art Nouveau everywhere. The Armory Show — organized by Alfred Stieglitz and Walter Pach in New York in 1913 and including works by Cézanne (q.v.), Brancusi (q.v.), Picasso (q.v.), Marcel Duchamp (see DUCHAMP BROTHERS), Francis Picabia, Matisse (q.v.), Braque (q.v.), and many others — initiated the avant-garde movement in the United States, assisted in the creation of the first great modern collections, and introduced the new movements in art to the American public. The great Dada exhibitions in France (Galerie Montaigne, Paris, June 6, 1922) and Germany (the First International Dada Fair, Berlin, June 5, 1920) and the futurist exhibitions in Florence, Berlin, and Paris spread through Europe a taste for the new styles and the new materials. New and exciting visual presentations were offered by the surrealist exhibitions, e.g., the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme (1938), held at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts. In 1947, a similar exhibition — organized by André Bréton and Marcel Duchamp — was held at the Galerie Maeght.

With these avant-garde exhibitions is associated the work of the museums of modern art. The new criteria whereby these institutions began to select the works they showed made the most recent artistic development accessible to the public. Probably the most important as regards its accomplishments, the number and variety of its activities, and the quality of its collections is the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Founded in 1929 by a group of private citizens, it is the prototype of the modern museum. Its activity is not limited to the exhibition of its own collections; it organizes several annual loan exhibitions as well. These are devoted, for the most part, to painting and sculpture, but some shows are also organized around such themes as architecture, industrial design, graphic arts, applied arts, photography, and the cinema.

Among the other museums that have developed and are

developing useful exhibition activities are: the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, the Kunstmuseum in Basel, the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome, the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, and the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris.

The private galleries complement the activities of the museums by presenting the most recent and varied artistic productions. Among the most important centers of this activity are Paris (the Maeght, de France, Carré, Loeb, Cordier, Louise Leiris, and Stadler galleries); New York (Sidney Janis, Martha Jackson, Koots, Castelli, and Pierre Matisse galleries); Milan (the Gall. del Milione, the Gall. d'Arte de Naviglio, and the Gall. Blu); Rome; London (Gimpel Fils, Ltd., Hanover Gall., Ltd.); and Düsseldorf (Gal. 22).

The first Venice Biennale — the first exhibition of an international character in Italy — was held in 1895. The municipal government of Venice decided, in 1893, to celebrate the 25th wedding anniversary of the King and Queen of Italy by holding an international art exhibition every two years. The commission determined that prizes would be awarded, and fixed the value of the first prize at 10,000 lire. The exhibition was to be held in public gardens of the city, which for this purpose were cleared of their old buildings. The inauguration occurred on April 30, 1895. With the second Biennale, a change in the internal organization occurred: power was nominally concentrated in the hands of the president, but actually in those of the secretary-general. With the 13th exhibition the direction became collective, but a little later, with the 17th exhibition, the formation of the Ente Autonomo dell'Esposizione Biennale di Venezia withdrew the undertaking from municipal control. From their inception up to World War I, the exhibitions were governed by an administration that was official and clearly conservative. Only after World War II did they acquire a new, more modern, and vital spirit (FIG. 294).

Achille PERILLI

**Traditional art.** From the second half of the 19th century until today, exhibitions of the art of earlier times have become more frequent and more significant. This development was made possible by the growth of museums and cultural institutions, by modern means of rapid and safe transportation, and by the guarantee against financial loss provided by modern insurance. So many exhibitions of historic art works have been held throughout the world since 1850 that it is impossible to give a list of them or even to supply a summary bibliography.

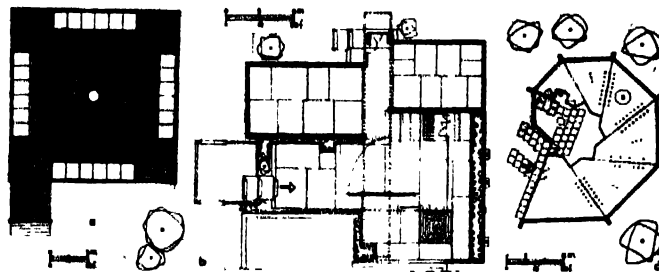
The incentive for the enormous development of these exhibitions has been the desire to (1) acquaint the public with art works of earlier periods, (2) permit scholars to make direct comparisons of them, and (3) arrange such works in the historically logical order not always possible in museums. Though only temporary, these exhibitions are like ideal museums to the extent that they express historico-critical viewpoints and permit the formulation of new critical problems. The records of such past exhibitions are of interest to us today for the standards of taste and scholarship that they reflect as well as for the influence that these exhibitions may have had on the scholars who were exposed to them.

Exhibitions of traditional art are sponsored by museums, universities, national and local governments, societies whose function it is to encourage tourism, and by associations of scholars, private collectors, and antiquaries. All of these have an interest in promoting the study and evaluation of works of art. The Burlington Fine Arts Club of London organized numerous exhibitions from 1868 until World War II. The catalogues of these form a series of several volumes. Another exhibition center in London is the Royal Academy, which, from 1870 to our time, has organized exhibitions with notable continuity, including some of great importance.

The influence of exhibitions on taste and scholarship is exemplified by the series of shows devoted to "primitive" art at the beginning of this century (i.e., early French, Flemish,

and Italian paintings). These, together with exhibitions of the works of the French impressionists, helped to diffuse knowledge of two historic movements around which the taste of critics and collectors centered for many years. There was an exhibition of primitives in Bruges in 1867, another in Düsseldorf in 1904, a showing of Sienese primitives in Siena, and an exhibit of French primitives in Paris. In 1902, Flemish primitives were shown in Budapest; in 1907, an exhibition of Umbrian art was held in Perugia. During the same period, the first exhibitions of African art were held in Paris, followed by showings of the art of Oceania in Paris, London, and several German cities.

On the other hand, until 1920 there were few exhibitions devoted to baroque art. Works of the 17th and 18th centuries



Ground plans of small pavilions: (a) Stuttgart, Ulm pavilion (architect, M. Bill, 1955). (b) Venice Biennale, Venezuelan pavilion (architect, C. Scarpa, 1956). (c) Venice Biennale, Canadian pavilion (architects, L. Belgioioso, E. Peressutti, and E. N. Rogers).

were shown at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (1922), where 1,056 canvases were collected in 50 rooms. The unsystematic arrangement of this colossal assemblage of paintings revealed how undeveloped the study of 17th- and 18th-century art was at that time. The show did, however, serve to make evident the merits of the art of an entire epoch that had, until that time, been neglected in favor of the works of the primitives and the Renaissance painters.

The largest exhibitions of traditional art have been those devoted to whole schools and periods in which the works shown have been selected according to a comprehensive criterion. Examples of such exhibitions were those in London of Spanish, Dutch, Flemish, and Venetian art and the ethnological and Oriental art exhibitions that were held in various European cities, especially Paris. A more limited scope and more scientific criteria characterized such exhibitions as *Les Peintres de la Réalité en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Orangerie, 1934); *Il Settecento Bolognese* (Bologna, 1935); *La Pittura Ferrarese* (Ferrara, 1933); *La Pittura Riminese* (1935); the *Mostra Giottesca* (Florence, 1937); and a show of 17th-19th-century Neapolitan painting (Naples, 1938). All of these exhibitions stimulated the study of these periods. After World War II almost all the large Italian cities organized exhibitions devoted to local schools (e.g., those in Verona in 1947 and 1958; those in Brescia and Genoa in 1946; the *Cinque Secoli di Pittura Veneziana* in Venice in 1945; followed by those dedicated to the *Seicento Veneto* and the *Seicento Emiliano* in 1959, and others). Comprehensive exhibitions of Dutch painting have also been numerous (i.e., Amsterdam, 1872; London, 1929, 1945, 1952-1953; Rome, 1954). Some exhibitions are limited to the study of a single school or the relationships between the works of several artists (e.g., the exhibition devoted to the work of Caravaggio and his followers held in Milan in 1951, and the shows on the same theme held in Utrecht and Antwerp in 1952). The usefulness of such shows is demonstrated by the many studies that appeared during and after the exhibitions themselves. These articles and monographs have revolutionized our knowledge of Caravaggio and his works.

The monographic exhibition, of course, provides the best opportunity for the study of the comprehensive work of a particular artist. From 1899 until today, the works of Rembrandt have been honored with numerous exhibitions devoted

exclusively to them, but none has surpassed that held in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1956. The exhibition of Vermeer's works (Rotterdam, 1935) was also memorable, as were others consisting of works by such painters as El Greco, Velázquez, Cranach, Van Dyck, Rubens, Jordaens, Titian, Correggio, Tiepolo, the Bellinis, Antonello, Giorgione, Lotto, the Bassanos, Chardin, Fragonard, the Carraccis, Reni, Signorelli, Angelico, Pontormo, and Poussin. Almost all of the greatest European artists have been represented by one or more monographic exhibitions which have often stimulated new studies.

The number of exhibitions devoted to the art and archaeology of the classical world since World War II has been smaller than might have been expected. Of notable importance in this field, however, were the exhibition of ancient gold- and silver-work (Rome, 1946), that of Etruscan art and civilization (Zurich, Milan, The Hague, Paris, Oslo, Cologne, 1955-56), and that of Greek art (Basel, 1960).

Medieval art has been the theme of a number of shows of great importance, among which have been exhibitions of the art of the early Middle Ages (Bern, Munich, 1949-50), medieval manuscripts (Paris, Bib. Nat., 1954, 1955, and 1958), the earlier Middle Ages in the Rhineland (Essen, 1956), and Byzantine art (Edinburgh, London, 1958).

The United States has played an important role in the exhibition of Oriental art works. In collaboration with the governments concerned, a number of American museums welcomed exhibitions of Japanese painting and sculpture (1953), Korean art (1957-58), and the arts of Thailand (1960-62). The Los Angeles County Museum has taken the lead in organizing significant shows of its own; these have included India and Farther India (1950), Chinese ceramics (1952), and the arts of the T'ang dynasty (1957). In 1960 an auspicious series of exhibitions was inaugurated in Asia House, New York.

The art of the Near East has been the subject of several exhibitions in Europe. Among these have been shows devoted to Iranian art (Rome, 1956), Mesopotamian art (London, 1956-57), and the Bible and archaeology (Paris, 1957-58). Noteworthy in the field of the arts of central and southern Asia have been the Gandhara and central Asian exhibition (Rome, Turin, Zurich, 1958-59) and the showings of Indian art (Essen, Zurich, Paris, Vienna, 1959). Especially of note among exhibitions of Far Eastern art was the great international exhibition of Chinese art (London, 1935-36); others included Ming and Ch'ing paintings (Rome, 1950), Chinese art (Venice, 1954), art of the Sung dynasty (Paris, 1956), Japanese and Chinese painting (Brussels, 1958), and Chinese painting (Munich, 1959).

Pre-Columbian exhibitions included two devoted to Mexico (Paris, 1955; Munich, Zurich, Paris, Vienna, Frankfurt on the Main, Rome, 1958-60) and two to Peru (New York, 1954; Cologne, 1959).

Other exhibitions are dedicated to specific themes, such as the portrait (e.g., exhibitions in St. Petersburg, 1905, and Florence, 1911), the still life (e.g., *La Nature Morte de l'Antiquité à Nos Jours*, Paris, 1952), landscape painting (e.g., *Landscape in French Art*, London, 1949-1950, and others), and genre painting (e.g., the *Mostra dei Bamboccianti*, Rome, 1950.) In addition to the types of shows already mentioned, there are others centered around special techniques and materials (e.g., wood sculpture, glassware, miniatures, metalwork, engraving, and drawing). These are valuable because they present works that might otherwise be difficult to examine or compare.

Among the most useful showings are those of paintings in private collections and of works scattered throughout various widely separated museums or institutions (e.g., the exhibition of painting of the Veneto from private collections, Venice, 1947; and that of the *Chefs-d'Œuvres des Musées de Province*, Paris, 1931).

Still another type of exhibition is intended to document, through works of art, the history of costume, of thought, or of civilization. Examples of such exhibitions are those of *La Toison d'Or*, in Bruges (1907), which evoked the reign of Philip the Good; the three Roman exhibitions of *Roma Seicentesca* (1930), *Roma nell'Ottocento* (1932), and *Il Settecento*

a *Roma* (1959); and the *Milano di Ieri e d'Oggi* (1957). In this same category may be classified the *Exposition Goethe* (Paris, 1932), as well as others of a literary or philosophical nature (e.g., the exhibition dedicated to demonic art, Rome, 1953; or that devoted to the cosmic symbolism of religious buildings, Paris, Mus. Guimet, 1956).

World War II was indirectly responsible for some unusual exhibitions: that of Pisan sculpture, for example, which was made possible by the fact that the numerous sculptures of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, Arnolfo di Cambio, Tino di Camaino, and others had been brought together in an air-raid shelter and could therefore be shown in a temporary museum before being restored to their original places. Brought about in a similar way were the traveling exhibitions of masterpieces from the Vienna and Berlin museums and the exhibitions in Florence and Rome of the works of art recovered from Germany.

Restored works are frequently shown at the various restoration institutes and museums equipped with laboratories. Exhibitions of forgeries have also been organized, one by the French police in Paris, another — of great interest — entitled "Vals of Echt?" ("False or True?") in The Hague in 1952, and the exhibition at the British Museum in 1961 called "Forgeries and Deceptive Copies."

Today exhibitions are also arranged by cultural agreements between nations; in this manner originated the exhibitions promoted by the Council of Europe: Humanism in Europe (Brussels, 1954); The Triumph of Mannerism in Europe (Amsterdam, 1955); The 17th Century in Europe (Rome, 1957); The Age of Rococo (Munich, 1958); The Romantic Movement (London, 1959); and Sources of the 20th Century (Paris, 1960). In the category of exchange exhibitions, which also are held by international agreement, is the exhibition of Japanese art organized by Japan and shown during 1958-59 in Paris, London, The Hague, and Rome in exchange for an exhibition of European art shown in Japan.

Even modern art has become a theme for retrospective exhibitions. Those works that, over the years, have impressed themselves on the critics and have entered collections and museums are treated, as far as exhibitions are concerned, as is the art of earlier periods. They are included in exhibitions designed to give over-all views of historic movements. Among such exhibitions have been those of impressionist works in Paris, Brussels, and Rome, and the numerous showings of paintings by Van Gogh, Picasso, Modigliani, Vuillard, and others.

While exhibitions of noncontemporary art works have occasionally been opposed on the grounds of possible damage to or loss of irreplaceable masterpieces, such objections are outweighed by the fact that these showings have made possible the evaluation, restoration, and recognition of a vast artistic heritage.

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Illustrations: PL. 187-194; 5 figs. in text.



**EXOTICISM.** From the point of view of esthetics, "exoticism" may be defined as the imitation of elements in alien cultures that differ from native tradition. The taste for the exotic feeds on cultures that are experienced as distant and different, whether remote in space or in time. Direct transmission of specific motifs and stylistic formulas generally takes place between neighboring areas, however, and is determined by contact and by political, religious, economic, or other influences. Receptivity to foreign models may be a dominant factor in a culture and an integral part of its tradition. In the art of antiquity, for example, as well as in medieval and Far Eastern art, there was a continuing awareness of, and evident pleasure in, the lives, costumes, and mores of foreign peoples. This fascination for the unknown is related to the more mature and intellectual aspects of the native culture. When receptivity to foreign influences is a strong factor in the native tradition, the alien elements themselves may eventually become part of the normal process of artistic development and thus lose their exotic character.

A distinction should be made between a *search for inspiration* in what is exotic—in antiquity expressed chiefly in a limited number of subjects and types of figures—and the *pure imitation* of foreign art; the former occurs in civilizations that are already artistically and intellectually defined, and only rarely in primitive cultures. A further distinction should be made between true exoticism and interest in a culture on which the native tradition is based. In Pompeii, for example, the presence of an Indian statuette may be properly ascribed to exoticism, but a local copy of a famous Greek painting may not, since Greek art was the basis on which the art of Pompeii was modeled.

Interest in the mores, dress, and even landscape of distant lands may influence the choice of theme or details of a work of art, or afford a stimulus to the artist's imagination. In 19th-century European art such an interest is associated with a deliberately idealized escape toward remote human conditions. Analogies are apparent in other intellectual aspects of 19th- and 20th-century culture, such as the search for inspiration in the antique (see **ANTIQUÉ REVIVAL**); this, however, is frequently colored by preconceived standards. In many ways the search for inspiration in the antique is like a return to a great model.

**SUMMARY.** Antiquity (col. 297). The Middle Ages (col. 299). Islamic Art (col. 299). India and southeast Asia (col. 301). China and Japan (col. 302). The Renaissance (col. 305). The 17th and 18th centuries (col. 305). The 19th and 20th centuries (col. 307).

**ANTIQUITY.** In the great civilizations of antiquity the interest in exotic images often had its origin in conquests, the celebration of victories, and the glorification of the ruler. It is frequently expressed in the detailed description of physical characteristics and costumes of conquered peoples (e.g., in Egypt on pre- and protodynastic reliefs; see III, PL. 212; IV, PLS. 319, 322–324). When the propitiation of foreign gods or their incorporation into the Egyptian pantheon was combined with a tendency toward a cosmopolitan piety, the exotic characteristics of these deities were shown intentionally. Thus the god Bes was given the body of a Pygmy and an African feather headdress (III, PL. 130), and the goddess Anat was shown according to the Syrian scheme. These iconographic points, however, appear within the framework of Egyptian society and its art. Only rarely is delight in what is strange the primary motive that stimulated the artist or brought about the gratuitous use of the exotic. Examples of such motivation, however, appear on reliefs in the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri (near Thebes) depicting the Egyptian expedition into the land of Punt (IV, PL. 360). This attitude is paralleled in literature, as, for example, in the fragment of the story of the Isle of Serpents or in the stories of Sinuhe and Wenamon.

The ever-increasing contact between the countries of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean during the 2d and 1st millenniums B.C. favored not only reciprocal influences and stylistic and iconographic syncretism (see **ECLECTICISM**) but also a greater interest in the daily life and dress of other peoples.

During the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. an Orientalism flooded Greece and Italy (see **ORIENTALIZING STYLE**), within whose general cultural and stylistic influence can be discerned a psychological component suggesting the fantastic. Without this it would be difficult to explain the sudden and intense passion of the emerging western communities, especially the Etruscan, for exotic objects such as Egyptian or Egyptianizing scarabs, gold and ivory from Syria, Asiatic bronzes, representations of strange animals and monsters, exotic depictions of wars or royal hunts, and mysterious hieroglyphics; there was also prevalent a tendency to adorn horse trappings with exotic figures.

Although the rational Greek mind minimized this fascination with the exotic, certain fantastic Oriental elements (e.g., the sphinx, the griffin, "The Lady of the Beasts"), together with conceptions of remote or outlandish peoples (e.g., Amazons, Arimaasians, and Scythians—characterized by their Oriental costumes, arms, and habits), entered into the repertory of Greek art, literature, and mythology (PL. 195; II, PLS. 33, 34; IV, PL. 217). The exotic elements became more and more exclusively associated with the dialectic theme of the conflict between Greeks and barbarians or between Europe and Asia Minor. The theme reached its full development in the 5th century B.C. at the time of the Greco-Persian wars, and became a basic historical premise in Herodotus. The depiction of these foreigners became the visual symbol of the barbarian world; from the 5th century on, Persians—and later, in Asiatic Hellenism, Galatians—were included in this theoretical system (VII, PLS. 163, 164, 175). The striking similarities, both in concept and composition, between the great cycles depicting wars with mythical creatures (Amazons or centaurs) and later with Persians or Galatians indicate the subordinate place exotic iconography as such occupied in Greek thought; in these cycles the interest is primarily in the apposition of Greeks and non-Greeks.

Exoticism was of greater importance in areas on the periphery of Greek culture. This interest may have originated in the theater. A vase such as the one from Tarentum (mod. Taranto), the "crater of the Persians" (4th cent. B.C., Naples, Mus. Naz.; III, PL. 381), reveals in the monumental, centralized composition of its pictorial decorations and in the rich display of Persian costumes the influence that Oriental splendor exercised on the Hellenic world during the declining period of its city-states. The next development in Greek exoticism was the inclusion in Hellenistic genre pictures of a variety of foreign figures, such as Negroes, observed and depicted with accuracy and ability (VII, PL. 184; see also **GENRE AND SECULAR SUBJECTS**). As character studies, these figures differ in no way from those of old men and women, drunks, cripples, etc. (see **CHARACTERIZATION**). Simultaneously there evolved an interest in exotic landscapes, particularly of the Nile and other parts of Africa. Most often the landscapes serve as backgrounds for semimythological themes, such as the battles between the Pygmies and the crones; as independent subjects the landscapes probably spread from Alexandria throughout the Greek and Italic world.

A vogue for things Egyptian was peculiar to the Hellenistic-Roman style from Pompeii ("Style III"; PL. 195), possibly reaching Rome first through Cleopatra and culminating at the time of Rome's conquest of Egypt (30 B.C.). The style has such vitality and such decorative potential that the only other exotic phase comparable to it is the *chinoiserie* of the 18th century in Europe (see below).

Imperial Rome inherited from Greece and the Orient a basic ideological and political structure that was adapted to the absorption of foreign images. There were numerous Roman representations of conquests and triumphal entries, as well as the conscious opposition, depicted in art, of the Roman and the barbarian worlds; depictions of barbarians, however, always remained free of mythological symbolism. This theme, not entirely a fascination with exoticism, made use of representations of barbarians that were at times isolated and often monumental. The figures appear on the great imperial monuments, particularly triumphal and honorary arches (IV, PL. 18). Trophies of barbarian arms were turned into motifs on elaborate decorative friezes; the transition in friezes, from the Greek

symbolic and mythological rendering of objects such as the small shields of the Amazons to the accurate and detailed Roman representation of costumes of known peoples, is imperceptible. In the Roman iconography of the barbarian, another, previously unknown, element began to take shape: an interest in, a pity for, and finally an awareness of the human dignity of the conquered people. This trend was also evident in Roman literature, particularly in Tacitus' *Germania*. It was destined to develop on a new level sanctioned by Christian principles and the political realism of the late Empire.

The spread of foreign, especially Oriental, cults provided imperial art and culture with a wealth of new exotic material (IV, PL. 220). The fundamentals of these cults could not, however, be integrated into the intellectual system of the classical world. As a result, representations or architecture serving them, as, for example, the Mithraea, display obvious and intentional exotic characteristics; they were not, however, motivated by intellectual curiosity or a love of the fantastic. Christianity, with its new themes and different symbolic and figurative content, might have remained a large-scale example of the spread of exoticism, had these elements not been immediately absorbed into Roman culture. A new unity was thus created and ultimately transmitted to the Middle Ages.

**THE MIDDLE AGES.** In Byzantine and medieval art the religious point of view dominated, and artistic themes were consequently transformed into well-defined symbolic or decorative formulas integrated within this framework. Zoomorphic motifs or monsters, derived either from the East or from barbarian traditions (see EUROPE, BARBARIAN), were frequently given diabolic meanings or were reduced to a purely ornamental role: we find affronted animals stemming from the Near East, interlace motifs derived from barbarian art, and Kufic letters as decoration in Romanesque manuscripts. Here we seem to be dealing less with exoticism as such than with a literary tradition that stimulates artistic invention and serves to enhance new iconographic composition, though its roots lie in a different environment. Benedetto Antelami's *The Last Judgment* (Baptistery of Parma; I, PL. 292), for example, shows at its apex the Tree of Life, Near Eastern in its form but part of the complex religious symbolism of the Christian world.

Exotic objects came into the treasuries of the churches through maritime traffic or as the gifts of crusaders. The acquisition of these objects, often of precious metals or fine fabrics, expressed the wish to consecrate all that was most rich and sumptuous to the Divinity. Only with the flowering of the Gothic style, however, when a refined and wealthy feudal society had developed, did a predilection for the exotic arise based primarily on *aesthetic* criteria. A taste for the products of the Near East is shown in inventories of the period — such as those of Jean, duc de Berry — which list various kinds of decorative objects of Islamic origin. Another indication of interest in Near Eastern products is the names given to textiles, indicating their origin, for example, muslin (from Mosul) and damask (from Damascus). Toward the end of the Gothic period artists began to employ foreign elements in their own manner to fill their own needs. In painting, an example is the use of Turkish and Caucasian rugs placed at the Virgin's feet as a sign of honor. An interest in the exotic as such may be noted in the emerging tendency to depict persons of other races, the choice of which depends chiefly on chromatic interrelations in the work and the free play of the artist's imagination unfettered by any symbolic content. This is the case with Giotto's *Scourging* (ca. 1306, Padua, Scrovegni Chapel; VI, PL. 202), showing a Negro among the men scourging Christ; and with Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* at Centa (Siena, Church of S. Francesco), which contains figures of Mongolians.

**ISLAMIC ART.** It is impossible to speak of exotic elements in Islamic art before the 9th century, when various artistic currents had merged into a unified style. At that time the two

branches of Islam, the western one centered at Cordova and the eastern one at Baghdad, were already distinct. The more "Arab" and more conservative of the two was the Hispano-Moresque style. After the Christian reconquest of Spain, however, from the 13th century on, Gothic elements began to appear in the architecture and the minor arts of the Mudéjares; the development was most fully realized in the architecture of the Alcázar in Seville in the 14th century. The majolica of Valencia, the rugs from the Alcázar area, and the silks from Toledo all abound in exotic decorative motifs — that is, motifs foreign to Islamic art. Among these new motifs were human figures wearing Western clothes. Although during the 16th century Renaissance elements infiltrated the minor arts still produced by Moslem craftsmen, Renaissance style had no influence on the structural forms of Moorish architecture (see MOORISH STYLE).

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The eastern branch of Islamic civilization developed along completely different lines. The Persians, though converted to Islam and to some degree even to the Arabic language, never submitted fully to the eclectic Arab-Moslem civilization; they penetrated and transformed it, mainly after the Abbasside caliphate (see ABBASSIDE ART). After the Buyid dictatorship and the formation of Persian and Turkish sultanates under the Tahirids, Samanids, Ghaznavids, Ghurids, and others, a Sassanian renaissance in art and literature developed. The invasions of the Seljuks (11th cent.), Mongols (13th cent.), and Uzbeks (16th cent.) brought in Central Asian-Uigur elements that were themselves influenced by Chinese art, and later the invasions introduced strong direct influences from China — so much so that thereafter Persian art was orientated more to the East than to the West (see ILKHAAN ART; SELJUK ART; TIMURID ART).

Hermann GÖRTZ

Influences on the Islamic world from the Far East are apparent as early as the 9th century in Samarra, seat of the Abbasside rulers. The wall paintings of the palaces of the caliphs and the imitation of Chinese porcelains and stoneware (see CERAMICS) are proof of relations with the T'ang dynasty. It is even possible that the Chinese tower pagoda was the prototype of the spiral minarets of the Great Mosque at Samarra (see ABBASSIDE ART; I, PL. 11); the derivation of the minarets is usually ascribed to the Babylonian ziggurat, although the ziggurats were angular.

In western Asia during the Seljuk period (11th-13th cent.), Christian motifs occurred occasionally on ceramicware and quite commonly on metalwork; Syro-Nestorian Christian influences were undoubtedly at work in manuscript illumination. It should be remembered that none of these foreign elements produced any fundamental changes in Islamic art, but instead were gradually adapted to it to such an extent that ultimately it becomes difficult to call them truly exotic phenomena.

The Mongolian invasions of the 13th century brought with them major changes in all the eastern Islamic arts except perhaps architecture. Miniature painting, which became increasingly important, acquired not only a previously unknown emphasis on landscape but also new iconographic directions. At the behest of the Mongolian sovereigns, historical events were depicted for the first time. Despite religious proscriptions artists showed the early prophets, other sacred personages, and even Mohammed himself in the various phases of his life. For types, costumes, and settings Persian artists adapted Far Eastern prototypes. The best examples of these are the various 14th-century manuscripts of the *History of the Mongols of Persia*, compiled by Rashid al-Din. In the Turkish areas there was a vigorous and honest observation of reality that contrasted strikingly with the exotic drawings in Chinese ink by Mehmed Siâh-i-Qalam (Mehmed Siyah Kalem). The Mongolian style also made itself felt on the other minor arts. However, the new motifs, such as the dragon, phoenix, and other fabulous beasts (*ch'i-lin*), were absorbed quickly and easily and thus soon lost their exotic character.

The advances of the Turks in Europe opened other sources of foreign contact to them. It is a mistake to believe that, with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and a consequent familiarity with Hagia Sophia, Turkish architects found the solution to their problems of vaulting. The dome of Hagia Sophia was merely one of the many contributions that ultimately led to the use of the dome by the Turks; the dome was employed by Sinan (1489?-1587?) and others soon after in structures that cannot be called exotic. Italian artists who were called to the Ottoman court, such as Gentile Bellini, introduced a more intimate knowledge of European painting; but its influence was counteracted by the powerful penetration of Persian elements after the Turkish conquest of Tauris (mod. Tabriz, Iran).

New currents emanating from Europe during the middle of the 18th century were strong enough to result in the formation of a Turkish "rococo." This style was most evident in fountains, tombstones, and doors, niches, mantelpieces, and other architectural details of palaces; even purely Islamic forms such as stalactite vaults were affected. The ever-recurring rococo designs in books, rugs, and embroideries were not limited to copies of French models but consisted largely of Turkish variations and elaborations.

At the beginning of the Safawid dynasty (1502-1736; see *SAFAWID ART*) Persian art continued along wholly national traditions, but about A.D. 1600, under Shah Abbas I, cultural and political relations with Europe became more important. The Western manner of painting was even introduced into the school of Isfahan, as may be seen in the works of Rizā-i 'Abbāsī (q.v.) and his followers. Scenes dealing with daily life were translated into pictorial terms in a manner analogous to Dutch painting of the 17th century. Particular interest was shown in the arts and the costumes of Europeans, especially in the portraits of visitors to the Persian capital. Christian religious motifs were also assimilated. During the second half of the 17th century there were a number of Persian painters who studied in Rome; Mohammed Zaman, whose illustrations of Persian epics are chiefly traditional, though the landscapes show the influence of his Italian sojourn, best represents this Westernizing school. The rare religious works he painted after his conversion to Christianity reveal a weak follower of 17th-century Italian painting.

India, under Moghul rule from the middle of the 16th century, reacted vigorously to contact with European art, though that contact was generally limited to painting. The emperor Akbar (1542-1605) was the first to show interest in Western works; his son Jahangir (1569-1627) showed an even livelier interest in the West. The two maintained relations with the Portuguese at Goa (west India) and had missionaries and Jesuits residing at their court. Jahangir collected European pictures, mostly miniatures, and had his court painters copy them faithfully. Naturally his taste was of considerable influence among highly placed persons at court, which explains the presence in contemporaneous private collections of Indian miniatures with Christian motifs and of prints by Dürer, H. S. Beham, and, most often, the Antwerp school. Beside this European trend, Indian miniatures since the 18th century also displayed a strong Far Eastern current that derived from both China and Japan.

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**INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.** In the art and culture of this area it is difficult to distinguish between the power exercised by the exotic and a deliberate acceptance of foreign iconographic motifs and forms, incorporating the foreign iconography into the native tradition. The court art of the Maurya empire (ca. 320-187 B.C.) — conscious successor of the fallen Achaemenian empire and imitator of the Hellenistic state — adapted Persian pillars and pillar halls and Greek lion figures to the indigenous tradition. Babylonian-Persian motifs (step pinnacles, heraldic lions, bulls, etc.) later became permanent elements of Indian art. Semi-Greek fragments (mainly pseudo-Ionic capitals) and terra cotta recur sporadically in north India proper from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 100. Roman coins of the 1st to the 3d century, small bronzes, intaglios, silverware, and terra sigillata

have turned up at many places (e.g., Rupar, Karvan, Kolhapur, Tamluk, Arikamedu). On the eastern coast, reliefs of Roman inspiration and representations of Scythians have occasionally been found at Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, and Nagarjunakonda; and semi-Roman statues at such places as Vijayadarpuram and Ghantasala (2d-3d cent.). For a more thorough study of Persian and Hellenistic-Roman influences in northwest India and adjacent territories, see *AFGHANISTAN; BACTRIAN ART; GANDHARA; INDO-IRANIAN ART*.

Beyond western Punjab, Indian civilization strongly resisted Hellenistic-Roman and Iranian artistic influences. However, at Mathura (2d cent.; mod. Muttra), Iranian statues of the Kushan emperors and satraps, as well as some Gandhara figures and reliefs, have been found (see *GANDHARA*); Roman influence is evident in other pieces. But seen in its entirety, Mathura sculpture is a conscious and successful nationalistic rejection of Hellenistic ideals. In its initial stage the classic national Indian art of the Gupta empire (4th-6th cent.) absorbed the Iranian satraps of western India, imitated the gold coinage of the Kushans, and, under Candragupta II, took over many late Syro-Roman architectural and sculptural motifs; these were completely integrated within a decade. The fully developed Gupta art reveals no direct vestiges of any inspirations from outside and follows purely Indian ideals. After Gupta art had obtained religious sanction — that is, inspired and taught by the gods — medieval Hindu art remained inaccessible to foreign influences. Nevertheless some small amount of Central Asian folk art (plaitwork ornament, horsemen, steles, coins, flat band-ornaments) infiltrated via barbarian immigrants during the 5th to the 8th centuries.

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Exoticism is clearly at work in Siamese architecture of the 17th century. Phra Narai, king of Siam, had the audience halls of the royal palaces of Ayudhya (Ayuthia) and Lop Buri constructed in brick rather than the lighter materials previously employed, probably under the influence of the Palace of Versailles, known to the King's envoys. Occidental in conception, the audience halls are decorated with Europeanizing motifs that also appear in an even more pronounced manner in the house of the Greek adventurer Constantius Phaulkon, at Lop Buri. Exoticism is pushed further during the 19th century in Bangkok, in the audience hall of the royal palace, the Phra Tinang Chakkri. The palace was constructed in the reign of Chulalongkorn by an English architect. Here a roof of purely Siamese design crowns a building based on the style of the Italian Renaissance.

In the Buddhist countries of southeast Asia, sculpture in the round is almost exclusively religious. Moreover, representations of Buddha are subject to a canon that does not permit the intrusion of exotic innovations. Nonetheless, sculptors familiar with the Western manner managed, without violating tradition, to introduce into representations of Buddha a certain amount of realism in anatomy and drapery, which gives these figures an exotic appearance. Fantasy was expressed most freely in the guardians of the doors (*dvarapāla*), who were meant to frighten and menace. They were at times depicted as Europeans — Dutchmen or Portuguese — wearing 17th- or 18th-century costumes. In paintings of scenes from the life of Buddha, Western elements also appeared in the form of warriors in European armor, warships, and Western arms. In the minor arts — ceramics, metalwork, and furniture — exoticism took two forms: the use of Western decorative motifs on objects that retained their basically native forms, and the imitation of Western objects decorated with indigenous motifs.

GEORGE COEDÈS

**CHINA AND JAPAN.** Though there have been periods in Chinese history when doors were closed to foreign ideas, the art of China has often been transformed and enriched by outside influences.

To defend themselves against the Hsiung-nu and other barbarians who harassed the western border in the Han period

(206 B.C.-A.D. 221), the Chinese gave up their war chariots and rode horses in cavalry formation. Flowing silk gowns were replaced by trousers and fitted jackets, and artists suggested the speed of combat by borrowing the motifs of the flying gallop and the Parthian shot from western Asia. The tomb of General Ho Ch'ü-ping, killed in action against the Hsiung-nu in 118 B.C., is still guarded by a boulder carved to represent a horse trampling upon a barbarian — a theme new to China (see CHINA; CHINESE ART). The Silk Route to Afghanistan and Rome was kept open, and new products came into China from the Mediterranean in exchange for the silk, lacquer, carved jade, and pottery that were exported.

Buddhism, though known in the Han period, was not widely accepted until after the T'o-pa and other nomads settled in northern Shensi and became the overlords of most of the territory extending to the Yangtze River after A.D. 385. While Chinese rulers held the south in the period of the Six Dynasties (A.D. 265-581), these foreigners controlled the north and kept in touch with the oasis cities of central Asia. Under their patronage the great Buddhist cave temples were created (Yün-kang, Lung-mên, T'ien-lung-shan, and Tun-huang, q.v.). On the advice of monks who had come as missionaries from India and central Asia, chapels were hollowed out of cliffs; images of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, guardians, and lesser deities were carved or made of clay, and all were gaily colored. The images and frescoes, as well as the altars and shrines used in temples and individual homes, were made according to rules developed in India. Ideas alien, and even offensive, to the Chinese, such as the use of nude or seminude figures, were accepted only after they were adapted to Chinese taste. In early Buddhist art, heavy silk scarves and robes concealed the body, elaborate jewelry was merely suggested by flat collars and jade pendants, and an ethereal, hieratic style came into being. The cloud-deities (apsarases) of India were transformed into angelic visions of sky fairies who blended with the upper air, like pixies of Han folk imagination, and narratives of the life of the Buddha became tales told of a prince who lived in a Chinese palace made of wood and tile.

The Buddhist monastic ideal of a cloistered life for those who took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience was shocking to the average Chinese, who had followed the Confucian code of the family system. The communities of Buddhist monks increased, however. Their temples, monasteries, and large halls followed much the same scale and structure as Chinese palaces and, like these, faced south, the propitious direction. A very exotic type of building, the pagoda, came into being; it was derived from the earth mound (stupa), which had served a ritual purpose for Buddhists in India. Models of the Gandhara type of stupa were introduced into China, where a new form evolved. To Chinese decoration the wave of Indian influence brought the rich tropical blossoms, fruits, and birds of the land of the Buddha. With these purely Indian motifs there came as well the rinceaux and cherubs, the Herculean Atlantes, the grapevine and clusters from western Asia and the Mediterranean.

When the Tartar dynasty of the Northern Wei yielded to the Northern Ch'i and Chou, and they in turn were overwhelmed by the native Sui forces, closer contact was maintained with western lands. The arts of Sassanian Persia (see SASSANIAN ART), Fergana, and Sogdiana affected Chinese textile design, ceramics, sculpture, and painting. Again the balanced compositions of the Near East became popular, such as the huntsmen facing a Tree of Life, enclosed in a medallion of pearls. The dress of the western horseman — a fitted tunic with tight sleeves, worn with trousers and boots — was modified for the Chinese, and the elaborate accoutrement for horses was adopted. Foreign music was heard at the court, and foreign dancers came with the diplomatic missions.

By the T'ang period (A.D. 618-906) so many aliens lived in China that they were allowed to have their own places of worship, and officials were appointed to look after their interests. The many strange faces made such a deep impression upon the local inhabitants that they began to include them in the tomb furnishings (*ming ch'i*) or among the clay figurines placed

around the coffin of the deceased. Civil and military officers, scribes, huntsmen, carters, grooms, caravaneers, dancers, musicians, servants, and merchants were represented in the figurines as men of many races who lived in China. There were Armenian wine sellers (III, PL. 212), Jewish peddlers, Khoreasm traders, Sogdians, Persians, Arabs, Khotanese, Kuchans, Altaic Turks and Uigur Turks, and men from the steppes and mountains (see CHARACTERIZATION). The fair ladies of the oasis cities, who were famed as entertainers, were portrayed in orchestral and dance groups, and their fashions modified the dress of Chinese women. The famous 8th-century art collection of the Japanese emperor Shōmu, composed of articles sent to him as gifts from all over Asia and preserved for over a thousand years in the Shōsōin (treasure house) of the head temple at Tōdaiji, Nara (see JAPANESE ART), serves as a reminder of the splendor of the T'ang and Nara periods.

Even the techniques of painting were affected: "Pictures that look like sculpture," modeling in light and shade, a full plastic treatment, and delineation of form through color as well as line came in from India by way of central Asia. The suave grace of Gupta art (see GUPTA, SCHOOL OF), the use of jewels and light drapery for bodhisattva images, and the acceptance of the human body as a thing of beauty to be displayed now entered into T'ang iconography.

Exoticism inspired by European examples first came to the fore under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. In the reign of the emperor Ch'ien-lung (1736-95), a Christian missionary sent from Rome, Giuseppe Castiglione, became a favorite at court (see CHINESE ART). The Emperor was much intrigued by the rather modest skill in painting displayed by the Jesuit, who obliged by trying to combine the Chinese brush technique with European concepts of perspective and modeling in light and shade. The paintings by "Lang Shih-ning," as he was called, are truly exotic.

The Emperor learned about Italian and French palaces set in formal gardens from book engravings presented to him by Louis XV, and he gave orders to Castiglione to create European-style buildings on former Ming palace grounds outside Peking (PL. 196). The work was started in 1747, based on baroque models of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Brick, marble, stucco, and glazed tiles covered the wooden framework of the buildings; structurally there was no real departure from native tradition, but the exterior design was truly romantic and European, with French windows, pilaster strips, majestic curving stairs and balustrades, as well as bent moldings, shell-capped niches, and foliate panels. The fountains were a great delight to the Emperor. They were designed by Michel Benoît, another Jesuit, who contrived hydraulic machinery to send jets of water sparkling into baroque basins among the clipped shrubbery of labyrinths and plant-filled urns. Ornamental gateways, fantastic pavilions, curved galleries, clocks, bronze animals that spouted water, and reservoirs gave variety to the more formal elements of architecture and garden. The Emperor, with his favorite ladies, listened to concerts of foreign music in this marvelously strange setting, while half a world away, European monarchs enjoyed their *chinoiserie* pavilions with equal pleasure (PL. 198).

In Japan, the first imitation of truly alien and remote models was initiated by the earliest contacts with Europe. The stone castles of the Momoyama (1568-1600) and Tokugawa (1600-1868) periods — in themselves an innovation in the history of Japanese architecture — became necessary for military strategy after the introduction of firearms. Bold designs and bright colors were favored by the noblemen who built the castles, and the 17th-century folding screens are magnificent. Among them the *namban byōbu*, depicting the Portuguese and other Europeans, are most amusing. Some were painted in Japanese perspective and color, others in Italian or French styles inspired by European painting conventions as well as by the appearance of the strangers. The Dutch settlement in Nagasaki, off the southern coast, brought traders as well as Christian missionaries to the local scene. Oil paintings and prints of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were modeled upon European work. The Nagasaki prints of sailing vessels, harbors,

and foreigners form an interesting chapter in late Japanese art, before foreigners were excluded (see NAGASAKI SCHOOL). Textbooks on Western scientific themes were translated, and scenic wonders of Europe were described. Perspective, modeling in light and shade, and the arts of etching and engraving were studied by a few Japanese who were enamored with the world beyond their islands. A desire for realism influenced an important group of artists in the 18th and 19th centuries; they were pioneers in an era when Tokugawa policy demanded isolation, and they helped to prepare artists of the 20th century for full participation in international art.

Jane Gaston MAHLER

**THE RENAISSANCE.** The exceptional preoccupation with costumes at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance is responsible for most of the exotic elements employed by Gentile da Fabriano, Pisanello, Sassetta, Masolino, Piero della Francesca, Gozzoli, the Vivarinis, Dürer, Mantegna, Memling (qq.v.), Stefano da Zevio (or da Verona), the Zavattari brothers, Jacobello del Fiore, and, at least in the Borgia apartments, by Pinturicchio (q.v.). Exotic elements are most common in paintings of the Adoration of the Magi and also frequent in other Biblical scenes (see BIBLICAL SUBJECTS) such as Noah's ark, the garden of earthly delights, and scenes of paradise.

Contact with the East was particularly intense in Venice. In 1479-80 Gentile Bellini (q.v.) was the guest of Mohammed II at Constantinople, and persons in Oriental costumes abound in his series on the story of the True Cross, made for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista (Venice; now Venice, Accademia) and in *St. Mark Preaching at Alexandria* for the Scuola Grande di S. Marco (Venice; now Milan, Brera), much as they do in Carpaccio's legends of St. George and of St. Stephen. Dossi's *Circe* (Gall. Borghese), at the beginning of the 16th century, is a conspicuous example of Orientalizing connected with an allegorical theme. In Veronese this trend found expression in a more painterly manner, while Tintoretto used it to further his interest in realistic settings. Comanini in the *Figino* presents a caricature of the hunt written in an exotic key and reminiscent of Arcimboldo.

For Bosch (q.v.) as well as for Jan Gossaert, Joachim Patinir, Niklaus Manuel (qq.v.), Jan Mandyn, Herri met de Bles, Gillis Mostaert, Frans Verbeeck, and Pieter Huys, the exotic is a major component in symbolic scenes and in representations of Hell. The monsters of Bosch and Grünewald (q.v.) that are part plant, the devils of Schongauer and Cranach (qq.v.) that are part animal, and the crystalline halos of Grünewald, Bosch, and Bruegel (q.v.) are all imports from Islamic art; the important theme of the temptation of Buddha influenced and modified Christian representations of the temptation of St. Anthony, particularly the one by Huys. Furthermore, the zoomorphic concept of nature of Nicholas of Cusa and Marsilio Ficino — visually expressed by Bosch and Bruegel — is also probably of Eastern origin.

In mannerist decoration the East had a more direct influence (cf. B. Cellini, *Vita*, I, 31). Typical examples occur in the works of the goldsmiths Schweinberger and Jamnitzer. To the Italian poets Tasso and, later, Marini (Marino), the Orient symbolized the sensual life; but to the Elizabethans such as Marlowe and John Webster, it had a picturesque and violent character. The exotic decoration that played an important part in the gardens of late-16th-century villas (Villa d'Este at Tivoli, Villa Orsini at Bomarzo) also deserves mention (VIII, PL. 432).

**THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES.** The fascination with Oriental costumes, particularly their picturesque quality, continued during the 17th century. In literature it may be seen in the work of Racine (*Bajazet*) and Jean de Rotrou (*La Soeur*). In painting, artists such as Rembrandt (q.v.), Pierfrancesco Mola, Aniello Falcone, and Juan de Valdés Leal very frequently portrayed Turks and corsairs. Occasionally exotic representations were given a political significance, as by Callot (q.v.). Negroes were depicted by Mathieu Le Nain, Velázquez, Georges

de La Tour, and Rembrandt (qq.v.); even Hogarth included them in his contemporaneous scenes as servants and pages. An allegorical theme particularly popular during these two centuries was that of the four continents or of a group of nations (e.g., Lebrun, Pierre Mignard, the Pozzo brothers, Tiepolo).

The fashion for Oriental scenes and costumes in 18th-century paintings and prints is reflected by Boucher, Fragonard (qq.v.), and Jean-Baptiste Huet, with echoes in the poetic epic *Il Giorno* by Giuseppe Parini (Eng. trans., H. M. Bower, London, 1927). An interest in North Africa is evident in the work of artists such as Charles André (Carle) Van Loo, Coypel (q.v.), and J. E. Liotard (PL. 201). These same interests are, of course, also evident in Aubusson tapestries and rugs, as well as other types of tapestries and rugs. Persons dressed in Oriental costumes appeared in court scenes painted by Rigaud (q.v.), Antoine de Favray, and Jean-Baptiste van Mour. Lancret (q.v.), Van Loo, Parrocel, Boucher, and others painted exotic animals, among which monkeys were the most important, since they lent themselves to allegorical or satirical interpretation (see also TENIERS); many painters, including Chardin and Goya, used monkeys to express 18th-century theories of physiognomy, particularly the theories of J. K. Lavater (see CHARACTERIZATION). Another aspect of 18th-century exoticism was the increased interest in merchandise imported from the East. Chinese porcelains (PL. 198), imported and imitated throughout Europe since the beginning of the 16th century, were extremely popular. References in Lorenzo Magalotti to Eastern merchandise are further indicative of 18th-century exotic interests. It became fashionable to build hermitages, many of which were Oriental in design, beside urban residences or even in parks; hermitages were built in a number of Italian palaces and villas as well as at Nymphenburg, near Munich (VIII, PL. 439). Until the closing years of the 17th century, the East was represented by Asia Minor, especially Turkey and Persia; but thereafter interest shifted to China. Descriptions of the country and its monuments transmitted by missionaries played a decisive role in the discovery of a new type of beauty based on the asymmetrical and irregular. Sir William Temple speaks of this as early as 1685, and Joseph Addison reaffirms it in 1712. The term *sharawadgi*, employed by Temple to denote the combination of the irregular and the bizarre, reappears in William Mason, Isaac Ware, and other English essayists of the 18th century. In 1755 Abbé M.-A. Laugier favorably compared the asymmetrical and capricious charm of the park in Peking with the formality of Versailles. This new approach to gardens corresponded to the Elysian concept of the garden as a microcosm whose parts were characterized by architectural structures representing various parts of the world (see LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE). The idea was a major force in shaping the 18th-century English garden. The immediate source of inspiration was Alexander Pope's *The Temple of Fame* (1711), each side of which was described as built in a different architectural style: the west, Greek; the north, Gothic; the east, Oriental, with elements from Assyria to China; the south, Egyptian, with hieroglyphics and obelisks. There is a wealth of English essays on gardens and the typology of their pavilions; outstanding among them are those by Bridgeman, William and John Halfpenny, Charles Over, and Chambers (see TREATISES); on the Continent the most important treatises on the subject are those by Georges Le Rouge, Johann G. Grohmann, and Johann K. Krafft. Among early-18th-century gardens, those by Charles Bridgeman and William Kent (Rousham, Stowe, etc.) are outstanding; for the second half of the century, the garden by Sir William Chambers at Kew (PL. 197) is the most noteworthy. By the second half of the 18th century the English garden, with its complex imagery of the exotic, had been accepted all over Europe. In France the gardens of the Petit Trianon at Versailles, La Folie Saint-James at Neuilly, and Le Desert at Retz were of this type; others were laid out at Monceau (near Paris), Ermenonville, Chanteloup (Loire Valley), Bagatelle (Paris), and Betz. In Germany, G. W. von Knobelsdorff constructed a teahouse for Frederick the Great in the formal French gardens of the Palace of Sanssouci during the first half



of the century (PL. 197); Josef Effner had constructed a similar one at Nymphenburg.

One of the first to use the architectural styles of the ancient East was Fischer von Erlach (q.v.), who from 1725 on reproduced Jewish, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Indian, and Siamese buildings. The work of Jean Nicholas Durand also typified this orientation, which was a forerunner of the erudite historical eclecticism of the 19th century. Throughout the 18th century and well into the next, an idea closely related to exoticism was propounded in critical writing: that Gothic architecture was of Arabic-Islamic origin and found its way into Europe through Spain. The idea occurred first in the 17th century in a letter to the French Academy by François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon; in 1699 it appeared in the writings of Florent le Comte, and was expressed soon after by the Jesuit Cordemoy. Leblanc even compared the Ste-Chapelle in Paris with a pagoda. The idea also found expression in a letter of Horace Walpole written in the 1750s, in a comment addressed to Pope, by William Warburton, and in the writings of Jacques François Blondel; during the second half of the century it appeared in the writings of Jean François Sobry, Dézallier d'Argenville, Millin de Grandmaison, Jacques Guillaume Legrain (in his introduction to the iconographic collection of Durand), A. J. Gros, Alexandre Lenoir, and Delleway, who states that the Saracen style was brought to England from the Holy Land by the crusaders; the idea was finally taken up by Chateaubriand and by travelers such as Alexandre Laborde, by George Whittington and John Haggitt in England, by Christian Stieglitz in Germany, and by Francesco Milizia in Italy. Louis François Delatour and other scholars studying the Orient made comparisons with the Gothic in a manner analogous to the hieroglyphic theory of Romanesque and Gothic sculpture in France presented by Jean Lebeuf and Charles François Dupuis. (The theory, without foundation, assumed that many medieval works contained a deliberately hidden meaning based on a use of hieroglyphics.)

The fashion for the Chinese found a wide application. In important residences special "Chinese" rooms and studios were installed, with all their furnishings based on Chinese and Japanese models. Fine examples are at Schönbrunn Palace (Vienna), the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi (Venice), and in the Villa Valmarana (Vicenza), with its Tiepolo frescoes (1757). In Rome, Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi gave a similar, illusionistic decoration to the Salone Turco of the Palazzo Colonna. All these works are also related to the taste for the picturesque (q.v.) so widely diffused by Piranesi.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the exotic and Orientalizing narrative repertory was extended through the dissemination of *The Arabian Nights* in Europe, particularly in France and England, as may be seen in the writings of Diderot, Voltaire, Jacques Cazotte, Christoph Martin Wieland, William Beckford, and Crébillon. *Chinoiserie* was most widespread in draperies, tapestries, furniture (PL. 197) and such fashionable articles as fans. Chinese lacquer was frequently imitated on furniture (see LACQUER), particularly in Venice. The scenes designed by the Remondinis for the decoration of furniture and wallpaper included Chinese buffooneries. Indeed, a basically Far Eastern stylistic tendency permeated all of rococo (q.v.). The yearning for distant islands conquered by France in the 18th century is most poignantly expressed in the vague and melancholic atmosphere of Watteau's paintings entitled *The Embarkation for the Island of Cythera*, three of which are still preserved.

THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. Napoleon's expedition in Egypt (1798-99), coming at a time when Europe was ripe for the romantic movement, prompted a series of works by artists such as Girodet-Trioson, Gros, and Callande de Champmartin in which the exotic element dominated. Gros's *The Pesthouse at Jaffa* (Louvre), shown in the Salon of 1804, inaugurated the picturesque concept of the East that was to be typical of the entire movement (PLS. 199, 201). The poetic myth of the remote, expressed in literature by Coleridge, Keats, Thomas Campbell, Wilhelm Heinse, W. H. Wackenroder, Novalis, and Jean Paul (J. P. F. Richter), provided a more generalized motiva-

tion; this was strengthened by travels to the East and descriptions of it furnished by Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Gérard de Nerval, and T. Gautier. Isolated episodes were replaced by presentations of a remote but vaguely historical world. Under Byron's influence, voluptuous pleasures and bloodshed came to epitomize the Orient. Some painters actually specialized in Oriental subjects — Jules-Robert Auguste, for example, who had traveled in Dalmatia, Greece, Syria, and Egypt before 1820 and had brought back arms, costumes, and other objects which he frequently used in his paintings. He was also one of the first to show renewed interest in French 18th-century painting. Gabriel-Alexandre Decamps, who had traveled in Asia Minor in 1828, gave Oriental settings to Biblical subjects, as did Adrien Dauzats some ten years later, after a long sojourn in the East partly devoted to official functions. P.-G.-A. Marilhat, another famous "Orientalist," made similar journeys, as did E. J. H. Vernet, who also traveled in Africa.

In architecture, 19th-century eclecticism (q.v.) had an important Orientalizing, and particularly Arab, component. Toward the middle of the century, interest in the exotic was definitely focused on the Arab world. The masterpiece of this trend, the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris, was built in 1878 by G. J. A. Davioud and J. D. Bourdais in the style of the Alhambra in Granada. As early as 1815-23 John Nash made extensive use of Orientalizing architectural elements in the Royal Pavilion at Brighton (PL. 200). Furthermore, there is a close relationship between this interest in Oriental motifs and the great international exhibitions.

The most direct contact with the Arab world came through North Africa, owing to the French conquest of Algeria. Chassériau (q.v.), who went to North Africa around the middle of the century, wrote, "The country is very beautiful and novel. I live amid *The Arabian Nights*" (M. P. Boye, *La Mée romantique*, Paris, 1946, p. 248). Among the works Chassériau imbued with the exotic is *Othello*, a series of prints. Boulanger's frontispiece and drawing for the title page to Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales* (1828) is in a similar vein. The leading 19th-century artist of this trend, however, was Eugène Fromentin, who had traveled extensively in Africa. He not only exhibited salon paintings with exotic subjects (1849-74; PL. 201) but also published descriptions that achieved considerable fame, among them *Un Été dans le Sahara* and *Une Année dans le Sahel*.

Precise documentation of costumes and places was the aim of all these painters. Their meticulous detailing did not, however, satisfy Delacroix, who himself went to North Africa in 1832. As Gautier notes (*Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, Paris, 1857), Africa left a vivid and lasting impression on Delacroix. Exotic themes recur constantly in his paintings, for example, *The Massacre at Chios* (1824, Louvre; IV, PL. 142), *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827, Louvre; IV, PL. 143), *Women of Algiers* (1834; PL. 201), a series of water colors depicting African costumes (ca. 1832-34), *The Jewish Wedding in Morocco* (1839, Louvre), and other works done as late as the 1860s. Though Ingres (q.v.), like Bonington (q.v.) and many other romantics, also turned to Oriental themes in his great *Odalisk* (1814, Louvre) and *The Turkish Bath* (1859-62, Louvre; VIII, PL. 72), he approached them from a different point of view, for his interest was purely stylistic. Under the Second Empire the outstanding exponents of the Oriental were E.-A.-A. Delahaye, Théodore Frère, and Gustave Achille Guillaumet; but similar subjects were also chosen by Constantin Guys and Auguste Raffet, later by Carpeaux (q.v.), Adolph Monticelli, and generally by artists interested in costumes.

Gautier, in such writings as *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835-36) and *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* (1845), laid the foundations for an esthetic of exoticism that was to be a major literary as well as artistic force during the second half of the 19th century. He linked exoticism closely to romantic history; both were dominated by the same qualities — overpowering sensuality, cruelty, luxuriousness, mysticism, and hedonism — and both shared an interest in the East (ancient and modern), Biblical times, imperial Rome, and the Middle Ages (see NEO-GOTHIC STYLES AND PRE-RAPHAELITISM AND RELATED MOVEMENTS). The same approach may be sensed in descriptions of works of art



by Swinburne and Pater. According to Maurice Barrès, the devotee of the exotic had to steep himself in a mysterious, Oriental fantasy flecked with golden highlights, impregnated with strange perfumes, and reverberating with joyous sounds; there he would develop a feeling for elegance, pride, and sensuousness. Psychic states thus induced reflected, according to the devotee, not inner experience but rather an atmosphere proper to some remote geographical area (M. Barrès, *La Mort de Venise*, in *Amori et dolori sacrum*, Paris 1903).

Scholars such as Marcel Schwob, however, supplied exotic history with factual documentation. Spain was most often chosen as the ideal place for exotic voyages. There Barrès discovered the dreamlike quality of El Greco; writers such as Mérimée, Hugo, Gautier (who expounded the greatness of Goya to his countrymen), Pierre Louÿs, A. V. Samain, Henry Millon de Montherlant, and Clemens Brentano turned to Spain. While innumerable English and French writers favored old European cities such as Venice and Siena for inspiration, Hugo and Ferdinand Freiligrath preferred the Levant, the De Goncourts (E. L. A. and J. A. H.) and Pierre Loti Japan, D. H. Lawrence and Gerhart Hauptmann Mexico, Stevenson and Conrad the South Seas. Exoticism of a somewhat decadent flavor is evident in Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Wilde, D'Annunzio, Remy de Gourmont, and Jean Lorrain (Paul Duval), and even more so in De Musset and Baudelaire. In the visual arts at this time, this approach was best exemplified by Gustave Moreau, who was inspired by J. K. Huysmans' descriptions; to some extent the approach was shared by Arnold Böcklin (q.v.), Burne-Jones, D. G. Rossetti, Aristide Sartorio, Giuseppe Cellini, Franz von Stuck, Félicien Rops, Jan Toorop, and Fernand Khnopff, among the host of eclectic artists who were active in the period dominated by symbolism.

Spain, as we have noted, was considered by the 19th century as a land of adventure, with exotic implications because of its ties with Africa. In part through these ties Goya was "discovered" by the French romantics. When the critics Paul Mantz (*GBA*, XIV, Apr., 1863) and Paul de Saint-Victor (*La Presse*, Apr. 27, 1863) accused Manet (q.v.) of having turned into a Spaniard and a barbarous version of Goya, they were referring to his exoticism in both subject and style. Spain itself was given a new vogue by the empress Eugénie, who was a Spanish princess of Montijo. However, for the impressionists as well as the romantics, the most typical center for exotic fantasy was still the East, and particularly North Africa. The contrast between white and black men was the theme of several impressionist works, such as Cézanne's *The Negro Scipion* (São Paulo Mus. de Arte) and Manet's *Olympia* (1863, Louvre). Monet (q.v.) intentionally did his military service in North Africa, later commenting that this experience deeply affected his approach. In 1870 Renoir painted an Algerian theme in *L'Orientale* (Tokyo, Nat. Mus. of Western Art) and in 1872 depicted Parisian models in Algerian costumes (*Parisiennes habillées en Algériennes*). Manet, too, painted such figures, but his *Woman with Fans* (ca. 1874, Louvre) was put into a Japanese setting. At about this time Paris was swept by a great fashion for the Far East, especially for Japan, that was partly stimulated by the Exposition Universelle of 1867. In 1888 the Musée Guimet, housing a great collection of Far Eastern art, was moved from Lyons to Paris. The background of the celebrated portrait of Zola by Manet (1868, Louvre) shows — beside the engraving done by Goya of Velázquez' *Los borrachos* — a Japanese print and screen.

Félix Bracquemond's interest in Hokusai's prints (see HOKUSAI) in 1856 was the beginning of a trend, and Oriental objects were soon popular among avant-garde artists. Many of these artists, especially Fantin-Latour, Whistler (qq.v.), and J. J. T. Tissot, made use of Japanese costumes and other Orientalia as accessories in their portraits. Ensor was to find a similar stimulus in the bizarre masks in his father's workshop. Gauguin (q.v.) took up the problem of exoticism and went beyond it by giving it the esthetic justification of a rediscovery of the primitive (PL. 202). His flight to Tahiti might easily be seen to correspond to Mallarmé's ideals as well as to a literary tradition springing from Diderot, R. L. Stevenson, Defoe,

Pierre Loti, J. J. E. Reclus, Captain James Cook, and L. A. de Bougainville; however, it was actually a search for "the elements of a new art," as O. H. M. Mirbeau (*Echo de Paris*, Feb. 16, 1891), one of Gauguin's contemporaries, explained (see Rewald, *Gauguin*, Paris, New York, 1938).

Van Gogh (q.v.) first became interested in Japanese art in 1886; it served as a stylistic model. Writing from Arles in June, 1888, he said: "The Japanese artist ignores reflected colors and puts the flat tones side by side, with characteristic lines marking off the movements and the forms." The previous year in Paris, Van Gogh had copied two prints by Hiroshige (q.v.) and one by Keisai Yensen, and in the portrait of Père Tanguy (1887; S. Niarchos Coll.) Japanese prints appear in the background. In his letters Van Gogh refers to Japanese prints, which he uses as the basis for his ideas in discussions with his friend, the critic and painter Emile Bernard. Among the Nabi group (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS) the one most interested in Japanese prints was Pierre Bonnard (q.v.) — so much so that Maurice Denis called him a "very Japanese Nabi" ("Nabi très japonard"). The emphasis on line and outline, as in some of Paul Ranson's decorations and F. E. Vallotton's paintings, is derived from Japanese models; it also contributes to the decorative quality of the narrative in Toulouse-Lautrec (q.v.), Emile Bernard, Paul Sérusier, Puvis de Chavannes (q.v.), and Maurice Denis.

During these years the value of Japanese architectural traditions was also recognized. Frank Lloyd Wright (q.v.) quoted Lao-tzu, made ample use of the Japanese style in his prairie houses (1887-1910), and did not abandon it till the 1930s. Art Nouveau — or Jugendstil, Wiener Sezession, and Liberty, as it was variously called — employed Oriental, chiefly Japanese, motifs in the decorative or applied arts and in architectural decoration. On the whole, the exotic elements in Art Nouveau are absorbed into a style that is not necessarily connected with any exotic subject; this may be seen in the works of Aubrey Beardsley (who also illustrated Wilde's *Salomé*, 1894), Gustav Klimt, Hermann Obrist, Jan Toorop, and August Endell, and in the architecture of J. M. Olbrich, C. F. A. Voysey, and C. R. Mackintosh. Odilon Redon (q.v.) gave a personal cast to an exoticism that reflected an interest in Buddhism and Oriental mysticism, as did Alfred Kubin.

In contemporary art, exoticism has almost completely disappeared. A mystic exoticism was favored by a few German expressionists (Emil Nolde, q.v., and Max Pechstein), but it was without iconographic expression and was limited to a general primitivistic approach. Although African Negro art was discovered during the early part of the 20th century, perhaps its most significant role was in aiding the break with Renaissance concepts of spatial perspective (see R. Fry, *Athenaeum*, 1920). While the artists of the Blaue Reiter group (see EXPRESSIONISM) searched for stylistic inspiration in folk and primitive art, the extent to which the romantic myth of North Africa had weakened may be seen in the water colors that resulted from Klee's (q.v.) trip to Kairouan (Tunisia) in 1914. The African and Oriental landscapes of Derain, Chagall, Paul Signac, Utrillo (qq.v.), Kees van Dongen, Emile Othon Friesz, Dunoyer de Segonzac, André Lhote, and Albert Marquet (see FAUVES) do not have a genuinely exotic character. Matisse and Dufy (qq.v.), on the other hand, turned to the East for arabesque forms and as an escapist fantasy. Any resemblance between Mondrian's (q.v.) neoplastic experiments (see NONOBJECTIVE ART) and solutions characteristic of Japanese architecture is purely coincidental. Though the surrealists occasionally used exotic elements, they combined them in ways unrelated to exoticism. Recent stylistic adaptations of cultures that are remote in time or space include Mirko's sculpture, evoking mystic or magical forces; the exalted Oriental linearism of Morris Graves and Mark Tobey; and Antonio Tàpies's employment of Kufic characters.

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Illustrations: PLS. 195-202.

**EXPRESSIONISM.** The expressionist movement in painting began in Germany in the first decade of the 20th century as an avant-garde revolt against academic naturalism, in favor of direct, immediate communication of emotions and thoughts and feelings of essential significance. The expressionists relied on emotive formulations in place of visual description for communicating their individual subjective reality. Objective reality in form might be hinted at, abbreviated, or distorted, but was only the vehicle for emotionally intensified content; representation of external phenomena was completely subordinated to visual statement of inner feeling. Liberation of form and resistance to the conventional commandments of composition marked the esthetic character of the expressionists. They made passionate use of the power of color and stylistic improvisation to project their inner experiences, whether these were joyful, anguished, demonic, barbarically aggressive, or lyrically mystical.

In communicating the products of their artistic imaginations, the expressionist painters were guided by inward visions revealing to them a world rich in inspiration and urging them beyond traditional formulas. Contemporary artists in France adhered to a formal logic, but expressionism, maturing under German influences, gave free rein to emotional agitation ranging from social protest to ecstatic spirituality.

Within an art movement as subjective and individualized as expressionism, various groups took diverse directions, and some painters were independent in development and escaped the neat pigeonholes of group categorization.

The two most famous groups classified as expressionist were the Brücke (Bridge) painters, who first became associated in 1905 in Dresden and whose members included Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (q.v.), Emil Nolde (q.v.; PLS. 203, 206, 212), Max Pechstein (PLS. 207, 211; IV, 443), Erich Heckel (PLS. 209, 211), Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (PLS. 208; IV, 444), Fritz Bleyl, Franz Nölken, Kees van Dongen, and Otto Mueller (Müller; PLS. 209, 212); and the Blaue Reiter (Blue Rider) group, which originated in Munich in 1912 and included Wassily Kandinsky (q.v., PL. 211), Franz Marc (q.v.; PL. 209), Alexei von Jawlensky (PL. 207), Paul Klee (q.v.), August Macke (PL. 210), and Gabriele Münter.

With both groups identified as expressionists, the Brücke painters may be called "figurative expressionists" and the Blaue Reiter artists "abstract expressionists." The pictorial mode of the Brücke artists is violent, full of fits and starts; it emphasizes distortion of objects rather than total rejection of representation; it is sometimes sketchy, indicating the excited mood of a mind at war with its surroundings and lacking any fixed program. The Blaue Reiter painters took the step beyond representation, stripping their work of reference to objective reality in order to strengthen imaginative content. The Brücke painters concerned themselves with protests against social injustice; the Blaue Reiter painters focused on a search for spiritual meaning.

The two groups — figurative and abstract — may be said to represent the two opposing trends of modern painting: one, an art that bears witness to feelings of confusion and torment in the face of life; the other, an art that seeks new forms to express the ultimate essence and incomparable poetry of life.

With the figurative expressionists — although not actually members of their group — may be considered artists such as Oskar Kokoschka (PLS. 206, 213), Chaim Soutine (PL. 205), Georges Rouault, Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Käthe Kollwitz (qq.v.), Alfred Kubin (PL. 212), George Grosz (PL. 214), and Karl Hofer. Their views were also related to a rebellion later to be expressed in those works of Pablo Picasso (q.v.) which seek to embody an awareness of the forces of history. With the trend initiated by the abstract expressionists — more metaphysical in scope — may be considered the later abstract expressionist movement active in the mid-20th century (see NONOBJECTIVE ART).

An understanding of expressionism and the trends within it may be illuminated by a look at the ferment of its background. Expressionism reflected the restlessness, perplexity, and drive for change that dynamized the opening decade of 20th-century culture. With the revolution in scientific and philosophical conceptions of the world and man's place in it, artists, too, were in rebellion. Many new groups (see also EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS) formed to find new answers to the question of inner and outer experience posed by the new assumptions. Since most painters were motivated by their own emotional needs, psychological pressures, and stylistic developments, their answers varied widely, from the cubists (see CUBISM AND FUTURISM), who were concerned with formal order, to those expressionists who were so preoccupied with urgent communication of feeling (an activity precluding precise control) that they sometimes disregarded technical imperfections or signs of haste in their finished work.

Expressionistic turbulence was only one aspect of the turmoil of a time when new insights into human psychology and sociology created a stormy cultural climate. It is significant that the term "expressionism" is linked with the revolutionary social ideas of the poet Georg Büchner, the revolutionary religious views of the philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, the febrile anguish of August Strindberg's and Frank Wedekind's dramas, the studies of existentialist factors in human behavior by the philosophers Martin Heidegger and Karl Jaspers, and the discoveries of the importance of the unconscious by Sigmund Freud. In this atmosphere of reevaluation, the expressionists sought in some cases to destroy a painful outer reality and in others to penetrate to a new and poetic inner reality. The perspective of the literary and philosophical environment, with its intertwined cultural trends, shows how the term "expressionism" acquired a meaning extending beyond a particular period in history.

As to the origin of the term itself, we know that the painter Julien Hervé used it in 1901 to describe a group of his own works, and that Wilhelm Worringer used it in connection with the paintings of Van Gogh. It seems most probable, however, that the word took on its present meaning when one of the members of the jury for an exhibition of the Berlin Neue Sezession (New Secession) movement (1910) asked, concerning a painting by Pechstein, "Is this still impressionism?" and was told, "No, it is expressionism."

The genesis and proliferation of the expressionist movement in relation to its contemporary art history follow the pattern of any other revolutionary process: the creation of the new began with the fragmentation of the old. Among the first signs of the split with tradition in Germany were the Munich Sezession movement of 1892, and, in the same year, the furor when the Verein Berliner Künstler (Berlin Artists' Association), having invited the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch (q.v.; PL. 204) to show 55 of his works — fervently acclaimed by artists throughout Germany — withdrew them from exhibition in the face of adverse reaction. This controversy over Munch, whose works were to influence Brücke painters, stimulated the foundation of the Freie Künstler Vereinigung (Union of Free Artists), which was almost contemporary with the Munich Sezession movement.

A few years later the Berlin Sezession was formed, and exhibited paintings by Kandinsky. It was followed by the Neue Sezession in 1910, organized with the aid of the Brücke and the future Blaue Reiter. Meanwhile, Kandinsky had helped to organize the Neue Künstler Vereinigung (New Artists' Federation) in 1909. Other group formations and fragmentations had been taking place simultaneously and influencing the expressionists. The paintings of the Fauves (q.v.) between 1900 and 1907 showed numerous affinities with the works of the Brücke group, mainly in the joyful and direct use of color laid down in flat areas as the instrument of expressing personal feelings. The Jugendstil group, which had originated just before the turn of the century as practitioners of cursive, linear, semiabstract, and nature-derived ornament used primarily in industrial art, was gradually developing a type of chromatic stylization reminiscent of the Fauves' brilliant use of color. Neoimpressionism, too, was well known to the expressionist painters, and as early as 1904 Kandinsky had introduced works by Paul Signac (q.v.), Théodore Van Rysselberghe, Jules-Léon Flandrin, C.-P.-F. Guérin, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Félix Edouard Vallotton into the tenth exhibition of the Phalanx group. Later, cubism attracted the attention of Kandinsky. Some expressionists participated in the Dada movement of 1916 and just thereafter, but their involvement was only temporary and casual, allowing them an outlet for a certain spirit of nihilism. Yet another movement — different in form from the social protest of the Brücke painters — was the Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity), which fostered far more outspoken and less generalized expressions of social protest (e.g., the works of Otto Dix and George Grosz). Pechstein and Mueller, two leaders of the Brücke group, ranged alongside Dix and Grosz in 1918 in the Novembergruppe, an association uniting most of the leading German artists and intellectuals in support of the proletarian revolution; and Schmidt-Rottluff was a contributor to *Aktion*, a newspaper of antibourgeois and anarchistic orientation that started publication in 1911. The New Objectivity transformed the grotesque into the satirical, and form approached objective reality ever more closely. Art was given a practical purpose — the "art for art's sake" attitude went out of fashion. In 1919, Grosz declared that "art, the arts, and artists are worth less than a bone or a hair of a worker struggling for his daily bread." Nevertheless, in the opinion of many writers on modern art, Max Beckmann, a leader of the New Objectivity, achieved a great esthetic and symbolic significance in his powerful commentaries on humanity.

The above broad outlines of the expressionist movement — what it was, who was in it, how it came about, and its relation to the art history of its time — provide us with a frame of reference for a closer look at the influences and individuals in the two groups of painters whose courageous and rebellious imaginations created expressionist art.

To start with the Brücke group, it is necessary to refer again to the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch, whose vision — halfway between the symbolic and the psychological — was an important influence. In 1893 Munch helped to organize and participated in an exhibition of works rejected by the Berlin exhibition of 1892. The first monograph on Munch's painting was published in 1894, also in Berlin, with the collaboration of Willy Pastor, Franz Servaes, Julius Meier-Graef, and Stanislaw Przybyszewski — all of whom were leaders of the literary group identified with the name of the restaurant, "Zum Schwarzen Ferkel" ("At the Black Piglet"), where they used to meet. These men, with whom Munch maintained close contact, were to be among the most active contributors to the review called *Pan*, founded in 1895. In 1902 and 1903 more of Munch's works were shown at the exhibition of the Berlin Sezession. He had painted his first *Lebensfries* (*Frieze of Life*) in 1892, and in 1904 completed the second for Max Linde at Lübeck. Two years later, Munch executed a third such mural for the hall of the Kammertheater (theater) in Berlin. In 1905 he went to paint portraits of the Eache family at Chemnitz, Saxony, near Dresden. Heckel, Kirchner, and Schmidt-Rottluff were in Dresden at this time, and Munch's emotional symbolism attracted these German painters, who opposed any purely lyrical rep-

resentation or any work that did not explicitly reflect the inner turmoil of the soul. They were fascinated by the obsessive anguish and the primitive sinuosity of Munch's works. It was through Munch's painting that the influences of Van Gogh and Gauguin (qq.v.) made their way into Germany. Van Gogh's paintings were first shown in Germany in 1901, and Gauguin's made their German debut at the 1903 exhibition of the Berlin Sezession. The subjectivism of Munch, Van Gogh, and Gauguin anticipated that of the expressionists.

Van Gogh's work influenced Fauvism which, in turn, apparently influenced the Brücke painters. Gustave Moreau, the *maître* of so many Fauves, taught that art could not be other than the search for one's own inner sentiments. Whether or not the Brücke painters had seen the works of the Fauves before their movement began, there is much evidence of a surprising consonance of taste. Perhaps this relationship may be explained by the ease with which ideas spread at that period. Moreover, Kees van Dongen, who took part in the Fauves' exhibition in Paris in 1905, was to be invited a year later to join the Brücke group. Maurice de Vlaminck, also associated with the Fauves, asserted the need to "translate on impulse — avoiding fixed rules — a wide variety of human rather than artistic ideas." These views are similar to those expressed by Van Gogh in a famous letter to his brother in 1888, in which he admits to using color in the most arbitrary way solely in order to be able to express himself more strongly. For the emphatic use of color and also — perhaps to a greater extent — for the deliberate distortion of representation with polemic purpose, the paintings of James Ensor (q.v.; *PLS.* 122, 203) fit into the trend of the expressionist spirit. His work attracted the Brücke painters because of its often grotesque distortion, impetuosity, and ironic intent.

While the Brücke painters assimilated some of the artistic developments initiated by the Fauves, ideologically they reacted against this by strict observation of the Germanic tradition handed down by Matthias Grünewald, Tilman Riemenschneider (qq.v.), and Viet Stoss. Despite stylistic influences by some non-German painters, they prided themselves, above all, on being German in sentiment. Nolde, for example, proudly proclaimed, "A German artist, that's what I am." The protest — published by Carl Vinnen — by German artists against the menacing inroads made by French works of art was opposed particularly by Marc, Macke, and Kandinsky, the three leading exponents of the Blaue Reiter movement, and also by Pechstein among the Brücke painters. It is evident from this that expressionism as practiced by the Brücke, for all the great achievements of its adherents, acknowledged an essentially German heritage.

The manifesto of the association which called itself the Brücke, written by Kirchner in 1906, expresses the group's new approach as follows: "With a profound belief in progress, in a new generation of creators and appreciators, we summon the younger generation. As the youth that carries within it the future, we wish to win freedom to act and to live in opposition to the diehard forces of the past. We welcome everyone who portrays his creative impulses honestly and directly."

Elsewhere, Kirchner made the following clarification of this declaration: "Painting is the art that represents a phenomenon of feeling on a plane surface. The medium employed in painting, for both background and line, is color. The painter transforms a concept derived from his own experiences into a work of art. He learns to make use of his medium through continuous practice. There are no fixed rules for this. The rules for any given work grow during its actual execution, through the personality of the creator, his methods and technique, and the message he is conveying. These rules can be divined from the finished work, but never can a work of art be created from a basis of fixed laws and rules. The perceptible joy in the object seen is, from the beginning, the origin of all representational art. Today photography reproduces an object exactly. Painting, liberated from the need to do so, regains freedom of action. Instinctive transfiguration of form at the very instant of feeling is put down on the flat surface on impulse. The work of art is born from the total translation of personal ideas in the execution."

This central criterion of the new approach must be considered carefully — that the rules governing any work of art arise in the course of its actual creation rather than possessing a prior authority dictating the style of execution. Nolde, writing to a friend in 1907, elaborated the new approach in this way: "What is law in art? What is free will or license? Every real artist creates new values, new beauties; and from these there arise new laws — if that word may be used. The new and the beautiful that he brings into being, because they are not subject to previous laws, are called 'arbitrary' or 'excessively free.' These are criticisms that every genius must suffer. First came art, then, alas, esthetic and scholarly laws were formulated . . . . Dear friend, it is not at all difficult to enjoy the art of the past and to be on familiar terms with it; it is infinitely harder to enjoy modern art, especially contemporary works . . . . If I may offer you a piece of good advice . . . it would be this: If you discern a lawlessness, free will, excessive license, roughness, or brutality in these contemporary works, then study them long and carefully, and you will, in the end, realize how this apparent license becomes liberty, and roughness becomes refinement. Inoffensive pictures of any value are rare." Despite such declarations, the works of the Brücke painters reveal that they were less concerned with absolutes than with immediate emotional pressures.

To appreciate the impact of the Brücke rebellion, one must remember that its members' works began to appear in German art shows at a time when the ruling art fashion was essentially academic and conventional, represented by the works of Arnold Böcklin (q.v.), Franz Stuck, Franz von Lenbach, Adolf von Menzel, and Wilhelm Leibl. The Brücke painters were the first to break out of German isolation from the mainstream of European artistic development, and it was necessary for them to move decisively in a new direction. The Brücke painters made their move at an auspicious moment, offering their own interpretation of art and making a contribution of great importance, as subsequent history has demonstrated. Apart from any consideration of its individual members, evaluation of the group as a whole should not underestimate its influence on all modern culture, since the Brücke set into motion new currents in art which were demanded by the spirit of the time.

The Brücke group was founded at Dresden in 1905, but it grew out of many previous meetings. Kirchner and Bleyl, students of architecture under Fritz Schumacher at the technical *Hochschule* in Dresden, became friends in 1902. Together they began to devote themselves to drawing and painting. At about the same time, Heckel and Schmidt-Rottluff met at Chemnitz. In 1904 after his enrollment at the *Hochschule*, Heckel met Bleyl and Kirchner, who had returned from a year in Munich. In the following year, Schmidt-Rottluff also came to Dresden to study architecture at the *Hochschule* and became close friends with the other three painters. Max Pechstein had been studying at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts since 1900. Emil Nolde moved from Berlin to Dresden. Thus, by 1905, six members of what was to become the Brücke group lived in this city. Heckel converted a shoe store into a studio which he handed over to Kirchner in the following year, moving to another studio in the same street. At the converted store, the friendly group of painters used to meet. They built, carved, and decorated their own furniture, and covered the walls with painted canvases. They drew and painted from the same model and kept a book entitled *Odi profanum*, in which each member of the group wrote down his own ideas. They lived a community in order to demonstrate their identity in art and life. They read Walt Whitman, Rossetti, Swinburne, Verlaine, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, D'Annunzio, Ibsen, Strindberg, Wedekind, Rilke, Friedrich Hölderlin, Arno Holz, Theodor Fontane, Stefan George, Emile Verhaeren, Henri de Régnier, Georg Heym, Georg Trakl, and others. They became tremendous admirers of the writings of Nietzsche, and Mueller predicted that churches would one day be built in honor of the philosopher.

In 1906, the artists became publicly known as a group. In addition to the artists, certain inactive associates — friends, collectors, and patrons — participated in the group's efforts. The associates made annual contributions and received in return

portfolios containing original prints by the active members, who now included, in addition to the founders, Cuno Amiet, Axel Gallén-Kallela, Emil Nolde (following his one-man show at the Arnold Gallery), and Max Pechstein, who had made a reputation with his ceiling for the Saxony Pavilion at the Dresden Industrial Art Exposition. In the autumn of 1906, the group held its first exhibition in the Seifert lamp factory at Dresden-Löbtau, showing works by Heckel, Kirchner, Nolde, Pechstein, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Bleyl. In the winter of the same year, a second group exhibition — this time consisting of graphic art — was held at the lamp factory, and included works by Amiet, Gallén-Kallela, and even Kandinsky.

The Brücke painters took a lively interest in graphic art. They dedicated themselves to this art form with zeal and determination, and their achievements were of such high quality that they are now considered to rank with the finest graphic works of that period. The renewal of feeling which Felix Vallotton and Munch attained in wood engraving influenced the interest in graphic media shown by the expressionist painters. These painters made a notable contribution to the evolution of the technique of wood engraving, which was popularized by the Pre-Raphaelites William Morris and Walter Crane, was continued by Aubrey Beardsley (q.v.), and enriched by the unique developments of Gauguin and Lucien Pissarro. The expressionists simplified composition, juxtaposed large surfaces of black and white, translated perspective effects by the interrelation of planes (rather than realistically), and gave clear stylistic value to the simple outlines and to the negative areas. All these qualities combined to determine, through the individual stamp of different artists, a style which was in clear contrast with that of their academic predecessors. The expressionists' graphic work, particularly their woodcuts, brought about a genuine revival of this medium and gave it a new poetic significance. Thus they vitalized an important aspect of modern art. The aggression in their creativity expressed itself in the vigor with which they undertook printmaking; they eschewed conventional schemes of composition and avoided any quality of charm that might corrupt their imaginative and revolutionary aims.

Characteristic of the expressionists' woodcuts is a strongly marked structure built up from a series of planes which balance each other. This structure has a breadth of rhythm unbroken by excessive mobility of curves and arabesques. Every line is executed with urgency and decision. The force of the expressionists' woodcuts lies in the simplification of compositional elements. The artists were animated by an exuberant arrogance bound to upset the calm sense of order basic to traditional art styles. Their works were the result of an intense preoccupation with the discharge of emotion as rapidly as possible, rather than with depth of expression. Nonetheless, the expressionists' experience in this medium was fruitful and significant, and will be remembered for its immediate achievements as well as for the stimulus it gave to subsequent works.

After the first two exhibitions, the Brücke group won further acclaim and success. In 1907 the group exhibited at the Richter gallery, including Franz Nölken as a guest artist. He joined the group in 1908 and organized a traveling exhibition throughout Germany. In that year Nolde withdrew from the group and Kees van Dongen joined it on the introduction of Pechstein, who had met him in Paris. In 1908 also, Pechstein moved to Berlin, and a year later Bleyl left the group and gave up painting to undertake — of necessity — a more remunerative occupation. In 1910 Mueller became a member. Meanwhile the exhibition of the Berlin Sezession movement rejected the paintings not only of Nolde and others, but also of Pechstein, who thereupon became the promoter of the Neue Sezession. In 1911 Kirchner and Heckel left Dresden and joined Pechstein in Berlin. It was in Berlin, in 1912, that they were visited by Marc and Macke. During that year they showed prints at the Goltz Gallery in Munich alongside works by the artists of the Blaue Reiter group. Although the members of the Brücke group continued to meet and work together — in favorable economic circumstances, thanks to the support of certain collectors — their enthusiasm began to flag and the group suffered

a number of defections. The Brücke annual report for 1912 was prepared, but it was never published. The *Chronik KG Brücke* (*Chronicle of the Brücke Painters' Group*), compiled and edited by Kirchner, was rejected in 1913 by some members of the association because they felt that the presentation was biased. In that year the group disbanded by unanimous consent, and its artists followed their individual paths. None of them, however, denied the value of those propositions that, for a given period, had united them.

The contribution of the Brücke painters consisted less in their opposition to academicism and orthodoxy — an attitude they shared with many contemporary artists — than in their release from naturalism so that they could express their immediate feelings in the most spontaneous possible way. They believed that any delay in execution would necessarily adulterate the inner urges that had to be communicated; they wished to preserve the freshness of these feelings and to give them adequate expression without stopping to ponder matters of form. They avoided the long working process of reproducing objective reality; and when they depicted objects on which their message unavoidably depended, these became bare profiles, symbols, or essences of things no longer holding their usual meaning. While the Brücke painters rejected the dogmas of realism, they did explicitly intend to communicate an existing reality — the reality of human suffering in a hostile, cruel, and violent world. They succeeded in expressing, through the media of art, their sympathy for struggling humanity and their protest against the universal oppression that they apprehended with such profound sensitivity.

This kind of artistic "documentation" of emotional states and ideological convictions may be found in a painter who, although he was never a member of the Brücke group, greatly influenced the direction of its development. Kokoschka, despite his apparent disdain for the object per se, nevertheless gave it a place in works that are always aflame with life. He combined the elements of his paintings with lucidity, however deformed they may seem; and he was ever alive to the dictates of instinct, expressing universal feelings. For Kokoschka as for the Brücke artists, the protest against the anguish of the human condition was the central theme. To express their feelings they delved deeply into myth and symbolism, in some instances incorporating elements of pure fantasy into their works. Kokoschka was also attracted to the atmosphere of allegory and nihilism in the Dada movement, which presented his play *Sphinx and Strawman* in Zurich in 1917. This play — written 10 years earlier — was first staged in Vienna in 1909, and a revised and enlarged version of it was published under the title *Hiob* in 1917. Both the Brücke and Dada artists, disturbed by social and political problems and desirous of building a way of life that would liberate man's individuality from convention, strayed into one or two anarchistic digressions. The terrible consequences of World War I incited them to expose all the inhumanity and horror of war and also to escape — via imagination and fantasy — from the world that permitted the war to occur. The attractions that Dada held at this time for so many artists require a more detailed explanation than can be given here (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS).

Turning now to the other great group of expressionists, the Blaue Reiter, there is evidence that its more intensive search for a spiritual reality and its exploration of man's relationship to the universe projected more lasting implications for modern art than did the Brücke group's political and social preoccupations.

The influences which shared in shaping the Blaue Reiter included the emphasis of the impressionists, the Jugendstil group, and others on chromatic harmony or — as Hermann Bahr put it — "the music of colors," the teachings of Hermann Obrist and Adolf Hölzel, the crosscurrents between art and science, the theories of the cubists and the futurists, and the philosophical speculations of Wilhelm Worringer.

Color, which had risen to primary importance in painting since shortly before the appearance of impressionism, was gradually being freed from every direct bond with nature. The value of color for its own sake, independent of any link with subject, was the continuous concern of many artists. Kandinsky,

greatly struck with the works of Claude Monet (q.v.) which he saw at Moscow in 1895, pondered the question of color anew, eventually deciding that it was better to do without a subject altogether. (Kandinsky presented 60 paintings by Monet at the seventh exhibition of the Phalanx group in 1903.) Inquiries into esthetics revealed that the pleasure and meaning of music arose from the putting together of sounds which, considered individually, lacked any reference to a subject. Kubin, in his novel *Die Andere Seite* (published in 1909), relates experiences amalgamating color and music without any relation to the subject. Hölzel's researches into the harmony of colors and the media of expression, published in 1904 in the widely read review *Kunst für Alle*, came to the attention of other painters and knowledgeable laymen among whom the more alert became aware of the abstractions he produced in 1910 in Stuttgart, where he was a teacher at the Academy. Obrist had studied the psychic effect of abstract forms; his collaborator, August Endell, had investigated the power of pure color on the human mind. The teaching of Obrist, who lived in Munich from 1894, aimed at the reduction of everything to basic elements, and he was able to harmonize this aim with the concepts of the Jugendstil, of which he was one of the main exponents. The Blaue Reiter artists experienced more impact from these attitudes and gave them greater realization than did the Brücke artists, who were already in substantial agreement with them. Nolde, for example, attended Hölzel's school at Dachau and learned only to put a greater emphasis on color. Kirchner worked in Obrist's studio in Munich in 1904 without acquiring any important stimulus. By contrast, the works of Otto Meyer-Amden, Oskar Schlemmer, and Willi Baumeister — all at one time pupils of Hölzel — were to be much more daring. There is no question that the contributions of Obrist and Hölzel influenced the evolution of abstract expressionism and the theories formulated by the Blaue Reiter group.

The scientific environment, too, was an important influence upon abstract expressionism. The relationship between art and science is based not on any fixed law but rather on the life of the spirit, which must be an integral whole. Leonardo da Vinci's preoccupation with scientific ideas, and, more recently, the use of scientific knowledge about the spectrum by the divisionist school and by Georges Seurat (q.v.) are examples of the crosscurrents between art and science. This relationship does not consist in the mere adoption of technical innovations by the artist; it is rather a combination of artistic and scientific insights giving rise to well-defined intellectual activity. For example, when Kubin looked through a microscope in 1906, he was so moved that he forthwith rejected superficial notions of nature as fixed and organized. He proceeded to paint entangled veils and rays, crystal fragments, sea shells, flesh shreds, leafy decorations, and a thousand other aspects of nature which were a continuing source of wonder to him while he worked and which rewarded him with the greatest happiness he ever derived from his painting. Kandinsky, too, was undoubtedly influenced by the revelations of the microscope. The relatedness of his creative spirit to the world of science is illustrated by his stated intention to devote an issue of the Blaue Reiter journal to the bringing together of art and science, and his comments on the tremendous and perturbing impression that he received from the news of the splitting of the atom. The expressionists' feeling for the unity of science and art was stated in 1912 by Franz Marc, who wrote: "Everything is one. Space and time, color and form, are but ways of seeing that stem from the transient structure of our own souls. Space is a conceived projection of our own beings. Time is an estimate of our being, into which we introduce the concept of 'the present' as an imaginary quantity."

In these words may be read expressionism's declaration of independence of the boundaries of the visible world. The space barrier was broken. The creation of imaginary space began. A new method of representation was initiated. The artist no longer explored the universe (of which he was a part) optically, but instead he investigated the forces that connected him to it. His creative orientation coincided with the modern urge to clarify conceptions of the world, and this — together with the



revolt against the traditional order — brought about a completely new system of artistic expression and representation.

The new principles were clearly not produced all at once but were preceded by a series of experiments and speculations in fields other than art. In 1908, Hermann Minkowski, the mathematician credited with laying the mathematical foundation for the theory of relativity, had made known his conception of a fourth-dimensional time-space unity. This was the basis of the cubists' theories. Without doubt the works of the cubists had an important influence on the Blaue Reiter group. Kandinsky was highly cultured, and — because of his extensive travels — he was acquainted with the latest artistic developments. Macke was introduced to cubist theory in 1912 when he met Robert Delaunay (q.v.) in Paris and when he was painting the first of the pictures he called "windows." Lyonel Feininger (q.v.) was also beginning to assimilate cubist theory at this time.

Philosophically, the Blaue Reiter painters were influenced by Wilhelm Worringer, who, in 1907, published *Abstraktion und Einfühlung (Abstraction and Empathy)*, in which he stated explicitly that a work of art stands on equal terms with nature and is not dependent on nature, even in its deepest and innermost being. It is, in other words, an independent entity. This line of esthetic thought was that of Alois Riegl and Konrad Fiedler. Its echo may be heard in the words of August Macke: "Ideas that cannot be stated in words are expressed in forms which can be grasped by our five senses, such as a star, thunder, a flower . . . Form is a mystery to us because it is the expression of mysterious forces. Only through the medium of form do we suspect that existence of those secret powers, of the Invisible God. Our senses are the bridge between the incomprehensible and the comprehensible. To see plants and animals is to feel their mystery. To hear thunder is to feel its mystery. To understand the language of forms is to be nearer the mystery, to live. To create form is to live . . . Man expresses his life in form. Every form of art is a materialization of man's inner life. The exterior art form is the artist's interior feeling."

With such links of thought and feeling, the members of the Blaue Reiter shared the ideas that Kandinsky formulated in 1910 and published in 1912 in his book called *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, even though this group, like the Brücke, did not subscribe to any real codification of theory. In his book Kandinsky wrote: "Efforts to revive the art principles of the past can at best produce works which resemble a still-born child . . . Our materialist world has produced a kind of spectator . . . who is not content to place himself in front of a picture and let it speak for itself . . . His spiritual eye does not probe through the external medium to the internal significance. [The arts] must learn from music that every harmony and every discord that springs from internal necessity is beautiful."

The Blaue Reiter group had its birth in Munich, a city of as lively a culture as any in the Germany of those days. Its progenitors were two Russians: Jawlensky, who came to Munich in 1896 with his friend Marianne von Werefkin, and Kandinsky, who took up residence in the Bohemian quarter of the city (Schwabing) in 1897. In 1901 Kandinsky, who was outstandingly active in support of the rebirth of art and of the youthful forces that were ready to bring it about, became president of the Phalanx group. In 1903 Kandinsky was in Paris, which Marc had already visited and to which he was to return four years later. Macke, also, visited Paris in 1907. In 1909 Kandinsky founded the Neue Künstler Vereinigung with Jawlensky, Adolf Erbslöh, Alexander Kanoldt, Kubin, Münter, Marianne von Werefkin, Heinrich Schnabel, and Oskar Wittenstein. These artists were later joined by Vladimir von Bechtheff, Erma Bossi, Franz Marc, Karl Hofer (p.l. 205), Moissej Kogan, Pierre Girieud, Alexander Sacharoff, Otto Fischer, and Henri Le Fauconnier. The association held its first exhibition at the Thannhauser Gallery, Munich, from December, 1909, to January, 1910; and its second showing was held the following autumn. During preparations for the third exhibition in December, 1911, a deep split developed among the members over the matter of the jury panel, whose authority was not accepted by many of the group. This incident brought into the open a far deeper

division. Its background was complex, involving basic esthetic attitudes toward representation, subject, and spirit, and resulting in the birth of the Blaue Reiter group.

As early as 1910 Kandinsky had painted his first abstract water color. By July, 1911, he and Marc had begun to prepare essays on esthetics for the book *Der Blaue Reiter*, published in 1912, hard on the heels of Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. (According to Kandinsky, he and Marc formulated the group's title when they were having coffee in Marc's garden at Sindelsdorf: Both were enamored of the color blue, Marc loved horses and Kandinsky riders, so they devised the name from these preferences.) Between 1909 and 1910, the Neue Künstler Vereinigung was still under the influence of the Jugendstil. In 1912 Otto Fischer made the following statement illuminating the esthetic foundations of the Neue Künstler Vereinigung: "Color is a means of composition . . . The essence of an object is not determined by precise drawing but by a powerful, moving, penetrating, and impermeating outline . . . Things are no longer merely things when they are an expression of the soul." Kandinsky, on the other hand, in the catalogue of the second Neue Künstler Vereinigung show (in which Braque, Van Dongen, Picasso, Rouault, and Vlaminck took part) had put the question: "Is not the content of a work of art to express a mystery in the language of mystery?" His views differed from those of the members agreeing with Fischer's affirmation that "a picture is not only an expression; it is also a representation. It expresses the soul, not directly, but in the subject represented. A painting without a subject is meaningless. Half soul and half subject would be absolute foolishness. These are the errors of empty dreamers and impostors. Let these added brains talk of spirituality — spirit does not cause confusion but clarity."

So it came about that Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter deserted the Neue Künstler Vereinigung. As the Blaue Reiter group they exhibited for the first time on Dec. 18, 1911, at the Thannhauser Gallery. The participants were Henri Rousseau, Robert Delaunay (q.v.), Elizabeth Epstein, Eugen Kahler, Albert Bloch, Arnold Schönberg, David and Wladimir Burliuk, Jean Bloë-Niestlé, Heinrich Campendonk, Münter, Macke, Marc, and Kandinsky. The group's first exhibition was introduced with the following statement: "The great revolution, the shift in the center of gravity in art, literature, and music, diversity of forms considered from the point of view of construction and composition, the intense urge to turn oneself toward the inner core of nature and thus to renounce all adornment of nature's exterior forms . . . these are the marks of a new spiritual renaissance; to show the character and evidence of this change in ideas, to emphasize its connection with the past, to reveal the inner urges in all the forms which provoke an inward reaction in the beholder . . . such is the aim which the Blaue Reiter will strive to achieve." In March, 1912, the show became a traveling exhibition. On Mar. 12 Herwarth Walden opened his Berlin gallery with it; in June its paintings by Kandinsky and Macke were included in the Sonderbund exhibition, Cologne; it was presented in Hagen in July; and it appeared in September at the Goldschmidt Gallery in Frankfurt. In March-April, 1912, there was an exhibition at the Goltz Gallery in Munich for black and white graphic art. Participating with the Blaue Reiter were members of the Brücke group from Dresden (whose contacts with the Blaue Reiter group in Munich were not long continued), representatives of the Neue Berlin Sezession, and André Derain, Jean Arp, Roger de La Fresnaye (q.v.), Maurice de Vlaminck, Robert Lotiron, Natalia Gontcharova, Michael Larionov, Kasimir Malevich, Klee, Picasso, Braque, and Kubin. In September-November, 1913, the Blaue Reiter group took part in the first Herbstsalon (Autumn Exhibition) organized by Walden in Berlin. A year later, with the outbreak of World War I, the group dispersed. Kandinsky and Jawlensky took refuge in Switzerland, and Kandinsky went on to Russia, where he spent the war years. Macke and Marc died on the battlefield.

The foregoing accounts of the art movements of the early 20th century show that widely varied and separate influences combined over a period of years to wipe out any remnant of



established convention. Although general distinctions may be made among the new art movements, it has been seen that they were interrelated. They shared some of the same influences, and, to some extent, they influenced one another. The new creative current of expressionism was based on new hypotheses and was not simply a memory of the past. This new current, far from crippling artistic creativity, was a search for visual means of expression founded upon a vision of the spiritual essence of an object rather than upon mere imitation. The power of color and other visual techniques were stressed to vitalize this expression. The Blaue Reiter painters threw themselves passionately into their pursuit of their inner vision. While the Brücke group was still using recognizable forms in their paintings, the Blaue Reiter, under the dominating urge of Kandinsky, strove toward pure spiritual expression. In the Blaue Reiter journal (Munich, 1912), Kandinsky gave this explanation of the origin of creative work: "The creative spirit (which can be defined as spirit in the abstract) finds a way to one soul, then to others, and causes an aspiration, an inner compulsion . . . Man, consciously or unconsciously, seeks a material form for the new spiritual values within him . . . The force which drives the human spirit ever onwards and upwards . . . is abstract spirit." Kandinsky had become aware of a new, spiritual field of artistic endeavor that demanded a new method of expression so that it might give full rein to the inner compulsions. He asserted that the word was "the echo of what is within" in so far as it ends by losing its external meaning to become a pure sound reflecting the soul itself. In the same way, "painting is an art and art in general is not the aimless creation of things which dissolve into thin air; it is a power that is entirely purposeful and that must serve the development and refinement of the human soul . . . Art is the language which can communicate only through the form proper to itself, with the essential spirit of things which is the staple nourishment of the soul and which the soul can absorb only in this form."

Arnold Schönberg — then a painter as well as a composer — also declared that he made creative decisions through feeling alone. During the same period another composer, Thomas von Hartmann, warned in the group's journal that the essence of a work of art lies in the degree of correspondence between the means of expression and the inner compulsions. Although both the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter groups, as expressionists, were in agreement with such basic concepts concerning the correlation of the inner compulsion with the creative process, the Brücke painters' attachment to distorted representation was often characterized by a demonic element, while the researches of some of the Blaue Reiter painters (e.g., Kandinsky and the later Marc) beyond objective reality resulted in a lyrical mysticism. The Blaue Reiter group sought for the spirituality of art, for they were convinced of the bond existing between man and the universe. From this belief arose their idea of the "musicality" of color. They desired to picture an almost mystical world existing behind the visible world because they considered this visible world to be a transient one. They were aided in their quest by their interest in fables and folk arts.

In his youth, Kandinsky, as a member of an ethnographic expedition, had visited northern Russia. There he was much impressed by the indigenous folk arts. He was struck by the intense colors used naively but nonetheless effectively by the folk artists, their ability to see significance beyond the conventional, the energy with which they expressed themselves, their free use of line, and their intuitive urge to go beyond mere illustration. The Blaue Reiter painters were constantly seeking to express first causes — the primordial — and found that the folk arts often approached such expression. Franz Marc was also much impressed by the abstract qualities of the folk arts. In 1915 he wrote: "An isolated thought came to me, like a butterfly alighting on the palm of my hand — the thought that there were once primordial men who, like us . . . were lovers of the abstract. In our museums of popular art hang many silent works presenting a mysterious countenance to us . . . How were such intentionally abstract works possible? How were men able to formulate such abstract thoughts without our

present-day capacity for thinking in the abstract? Our European inclination toward abstract form represents nothing other than our highest consciousness, our vigorous answer to and conquest of our sentimental spirits. Primitive man, however, had not yet encountered sentimentalism when he loved the abstract." The fact that Kandinsky and Marc chose to ornament their Blaue Reiter almanac of 1912 with many examples of Bavarian folk art, glass painting, votive offerings, children's drawings, etc., may perhaps be explained by a conviction generally held by various members of the Blaue Reiter group and often affirmed by Kandinsky — that the true and genuine (such as the various types of folk art, for example) must spring from an inner compulsion. Kandinsky, in fact, admitted that, on this basis, it does not matter whether an artist avails himself of abstract or realistic form as long as he remains faithful to the principle of inspiration. Such an inspiration moved Henri Rousseau (whose works were highly regarded by the Blaue Reiter painters) to crystallize his feelings within a clearly defined stylistic framework.

The Blaue Reiter painters required an entirely new artistic language because they were engaged in putting their inner vision on canvas without reference to external phenomena. Using methods of construction and composition that no longer depended on ordinary logic but arose in an order dictated by the imagination, they explored the inexhaustible inward potentials of their art. They annulled every physical aspect of matter, viewing it in terms of the spirit and attempting to distill the absolute reality.

The expressionists, Brücke and Blaue Reiter alike, had to bear a great deal of misunderstanding, as do all avant-garde movements. Herwarth Walden, whose gallery and periodical [both called "Der Sturm" (The Storm)] encouraged new artists, showed few works of the Brücke group. Paul Cassirer, an art dealer who favored the avant-garde less than did Walden, was not often favorably inclined toward the Brücke painters. He did organize Kokoschka's first one-man show, held in Berlin in 1910, and was his principal patron until 1931. The Sturm gallery showed works by Kokoschka in 1912 and helped to create a misleading conception of expressionism by including under this heading many painters who had very little in common with the movement, for example; Georges Braque, Marc Chagall (qq.v.), Auguste Herbin, and Francis Picabia.

Hostility in official circles, political and nonpolitical, constituted the greatest threat to the expressionists' work, from the days of the German empire to the days of the Third Reich. The arrogance and ignorance of the official attitude are typified by the declaration of Kaiser Wilhelm II when he opened Berlin's Sieges-Allée (Avenue of Victory) in 1901 stating that art which trespassed beyond the boundaries he had laid down was no longer art. Hitler, too, imposed rules and limitations by which, in 1933, he described most modern art as *entartete Kunst*, or degenerate art. Hitler's ordinances on art led to exclusion of painters from the academies, confiscation and destruction of their works, and even prohibition of painting to artists who refused to conform to the official standards. Hitler insulted these artists and issued decrees depriving Germany of works that would have been important contributions to the national culture and to the world's art.

Typical of contemporary general opinion was a Cologne journalist's review of the 1911 Brücke exhibition at the Tietz Gallery in Düsseldorf. He wrote: "These pictures reach a new low in useless design. They are nothing but multicolored cannibal daubs. From the pictorial point of view they are proof of the end of art, and are absolutely stupid. Yet there is an even more horrible aspect of these works. Whatever has been said about the unimportance of the subject in a work of art, it is here interpreted in the worst possible way . . . What is on show here has the flavor of the most lurid dens of vice in any capital city and it is evidence of a spiritual level that can be understood only in pathological terms."

Despite all this unofficial contempt and official condemnation in its country of birth, expressionism, launched into life by the consciously Germanic Brücke painters, nourished deeply by German influences, and soaring into spiritual space on the wings of the Blaue Reiter, fostered a renaissance of artistic ideas

in the world art community. The Blaue Reiter group had an international orientation in the field of history and culture and initiated a progression of ideas which spread onward through time. It generated the artistic energy for the development of abstract expressionism. So directly and deeply do the Blaue Reiter works state convictions and inner feelings, that the paintings have proved to be of far greater importance than their painters' pronouncements upon art. These painters set about "creating a tradition" instead of following one, as Marc pointed out. During the first half of the 20th century, the Blaue Reiter artists, and above all Kandinsky, intensely influenced the art that was to follow in the century's second half.

**EXHIBITIONS OF THE BRÜCKE GROUP.** 1906, Oct.: Dresden-Löbtau (Seifert lamp factory), paintings. - 1906-07, Dec.-Jan.: Dresden-Löbtau (Seifert lamp factory), woodcuts. - 1907, Aug.-Sept.: traveling exhibitions, (1) Bonn, Göttingen, Königsberg, Hagen, Solothurn, Freiburg im Breisgau; (2) Flensburg, Hamburg, Dresden (Kunstsalon Emil Richter), Magdeburg. - 1908: traveling exhibitions, (1) Karlsruhe, Krefeld, Gotha, Erfurt, Dortmund; (2) Kiel, Copenhagen, Christiania, Rostock, Naumburg; (3) Dresden (Kunstsalon Emil Richter), Zittau. - 1909: traveling exhibitions, (1) Frankfurt on the Oder, Gera, Dessau, Speyer, Frankfurt on the Main, Aachen; (2) Dresden (Kunstsalon Emil Richter), Altenburg, Brunswick. - 1910: traveling exhibitions, (1) Danzig, Schwerin, Lübeck, Düren, Hagen, München-Gladbach; (2) Dresden (Oct.; Arnold Gall.), Weimar. - 1910, May-June: participants in Sezession exhibition, Berlin (Gal. Maximilian Macht). - 1910, Oct.-Dec.: participants in Sezession exhibition, Berlin (Gal. Maximilian Macht), graphic arts. - 1911, Feb.-Mar.: participants in Sezession exhibition, Berlin (Gal. Maximilian Macht), paintings. - 1911, Nov. 18, 19; and 1912, Jan. 31: participants in Sezession exhibition, Berlin (Potsdamer-Strasse), paintings. - 1911: traveling exhibition, Leipzig (Jan.; Gal. del Vecchio), Jena, Hanover, Frankfurt on the Main, Düren. - 1911, Apr.: Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt), Düsseldorf (Gal. Tietz). - 1912: traveling exhibition, Berlin (Apr.; Gal. Fritz Gurlitt), Frankfurt on the Main (June; Gal. Bangel), Hamburg (Aug.-Sept.; Gal. Commeter), Chemnitz, several south German cities, and Prague. - 1912: participants in the Sonderbund exhibition, Cologne. - 1913: Munich (Jan.; Der Neue Kunstsalon), Berlin (Jan.; Gal. Hugo Moses). - 1913: participants in the summer exhibition of the Sezession, Berlin. - 1913, Oct.: exhibition of works by M. Pechstein, Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt). - 1913, Nov.: exhibition of works by E. L. Kirchner, Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt). - 1914, Jan.: exhibition of works by O. Mueller, Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt). - 1914, Mar.-Apr.: exhibition of works by E. Heckel, Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt). - 1914, Apr.-May: exhibition of works by K. Schmidt-Rottluff, Berlin (Gal. Fritz Gurlitt).

**EXHIBITIONS OF THE BLAUE REITER GROUP.** 1911-12, Dec. 18-Jan. 3: Munich (Gal. Thannhauser). - 1912: first traveling exhibition, Berlin (Mar. 12; Gal. Der Sturm), Cologne (June; works of W. Kandinsky and A. Macke included in Sonderbund exhibition), Hagen (July; Mus. Folkwang), Frankfurt on the Main (Sept.; Kunsthandlung Mac Goldschmidt). - 1912, Mar.-Apr.: Munich (Gal. Goltz), graphic works. - 1913, Sept.-Nov.: First German Autumn Salon, Berlin (Gal. Der Sturm).

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Umbro APOLLONIO

Illustrations PLS. 203-214.

**EYCK, HUBERT and JAN VAN.** Founders of the Flemish school of painting. According to a tradition which goes back to the 16th century the two brothers Van Eyck came from Maeseyck in the province of Limburg, which would account for their family name. Their birth dates are unknown; the

various dates which can be found in modern handbooks are mere guesswork. It has always been assumed that Hubert was the elder brother; although this may well have been the case, it is only deduced from the fact that he died before Jan.

Very little is known about Hubert. From an old copy of the inscription on his tombstone we know that he died on Sept. 18, 1426, and was buried in the Church of St.-Bavon in Ghent. He is apparently the painter who is mentioned in documents in Ghent in the years 1425 and 1426 as Master Luberecht, Ubrechts, or Hubrechte.

Jan's biography is much better documented. From 1422 to 1425 he was "peintre et varlet de chambre" of John, Count of Holland, for whom he worked at The Hague. After the death of Count John he entered the service of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who bestowed on him the same title. In 1426, 1428, and again in 1436 Jan van Eyck received payments for long and secret journeys. The only one of these journeys about which details have come down to us took place in 1428-29, when he traveled via the south of England and through Spain to Portugal to arrange the marriage of Duke Philip with Isabella, the daughter of King John of Portugal. Jan accompanied the ambassadors in his capacity as a painter; he had to paint a portrait of the Duke's future wife, which was sent to Burgundy by special courier. When not away on one of his secret missions, Jan worked at Lille and later at Bruges, where he died and was buried on July 9, 1441.

Their main work and the only one in which the two brothers collaborated is the famous polyptych in the Church of St.-Bavon in Ghent (PLS. 215, 216), the outstanding achievement of early Flemish art. The 20 panels of this altarpiece are now reunited in the church after having been dispersed in the 19th century. The paintings are in almost perfect condition; only the panel with the Just Judges, which was stolen in 1934, has had to be replaced by a faithful modern copy.

When the polyptych is closed, the outside shows three superimposed rows of paintings. The top one consists of half-figures of prophets and sibyls, whose scrolls announce the future salvation of mankind. Below them the Annunciation is shown distributed over four panels, so that the angel and the Virgin appear on the outer ones, while on the two inner ones the sunlit room is seen empty of human figures; in the left panel a window opens into the streets of a Flemish town, while on the right there is a still-life group of a shining brass ewer and basin together with a towel on its rail. The center of the lower row is occupied by the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, one the patron of the church (which was only later dedicated to St. Bavon), the other of the chapel. These two figures are painted in *grisaille* as a trompe-l'œil imitation of stone sculpture. To their right and left the donors, Jodocus Vijdt and his wife, kneel in prayer.

When the altarpiece is opened, the sober, restricted chromatic scheme of the exterior gives way to a fanfare of intense pure colors. The Adoration of the Lamb occupies the center of the work. In a landscape of luxuriant southern vegetation glowing with color, angels carrying the instruments of the Passion surround the throne of the Agnus Dei. To the left of the fountain of life in the foreground are the prophets and patriarchs, kneeling and standing; to the right are the apostles and martyrs, among them St. Lieven, the patron saint of Ghent. Two processions of saints (PL. 215) appear in the distance. On the horizon one sees silhouetted against the sky the buildings of the Heavenly City, among them one which is clearly inspired by the tower of Utrecht Cathedral. The landscape and the procession of saints are continued on the four wings with the Just Judges, the Warriors of Christ, the Holy Hermits, and, lastly, the Holy Pilgrims with the gigantic figure of St. Christopher. The upper row is dominated by the hieratic group of God the Father (also interpreted as Christ) between the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. To the left and right appear angels singing and making music (Psalms, CL:4), and at either extremity come the figures of Adam and Eve in all their stupendous realism (PL. 216). Above them in *grisaille* are Cain and Abel. A predella with the Souls in Limbo is known to have existed from an old reference.

The starting point for any attempt to distinguish the share of Hubert from that of Jan in the Ghent Altarpiece must be the inscription in leonine hexameters which is painted on the frame. It reads: *Pictor Hubertus eeyck maior quo nemo repertus / Incepit pondusque Johannes arte secundus / Frater perfectus Judoci Vijd prece fretus / VersV seXta Mal Vos CoLLoCat aCta iVerI* ("Hubert van Eyck, the greatest painter who ever lived, began the work, which his brother Jan, the second in art, finished at the instigation of Jodocus Vijdt"). The last line contains a chronogram, for the letters here printed as capitals, but which in the original are written in red, give the date 1432. The only doubtful point in the inscription is the beginning of the third line, where the first two words are no longer legible. A copy taken by a local antiquarian in the 17th century reads "...Frater perfectus." Various emendations have been proposed, among them "frater perfectit." This would make better sense and seems to fit what is left of the original letters.

How much had Hubert finished when he died in September, 1426? The literature on the subject is extensive, but none of the numerous solutions proposed has found general acceptance. The hope that the restoration of the altarpiece undertaken in 1950-51 and the X-ray photographs taken at the same time would solve the problem proved vain, since the results of the scientific examination were inconclusive. Stylistic comparisons can be made only to the well-known style of Jan's later works, as no authenticated painting by Hubert is known. As Hubert died in September, 1426, and the altarpiece was finished in May, 1432, Jan's part in it must have been considerable, although one has to deduct from the intervening five and a half years the time he spent on his missions abroad. In calculating the time it may have taken to paint the altarpiece, it is worth noting that, according to Lucas de Heere (1565), Michiel van Coxie spent one to two years on his copy of it.

Differences in style between the various parts of the altarpiece are undeniable, but they are not necessarily differences of personality, since they would not be surprising in a work which took so long to complete. Without the express testimony of the inscription, it seems more than doubtful whether the question of dual authorship would ever have arisen. The inscription itself is undoubtedly genuine, although an amateurish attempt has been made to declare it a forgery.

The possibility of collaboration on the part of pupils must also be borne in mind. In the early 19th century scholars were inclined to regard the prophets and sibyls in this light; while to our eyes there appears a perceptible difference in the style of the Cain and Abel.

There is also the danger of taking iconographical differences, e.g., between hieratic and realistic figures, for differences of style. Above all, we must not forget that the polyptych dates from the time of the birth of modern realistic painting. Any work of art from these years may show conventional medieval features side by side with surprisingly modern ones.

As to the respective shares of Hubert and Jan, so many theories have been advanced that only a few can be quoted here. Jakob Burckhardt (*Kunstwerke der belgischen Städte*, 1842) assigned to Hubert the Adoration of the Lamb and the Deësis, consisting of God the Father, St. John the Baptist, and the Virgin; only in the latter was he willing to admit a certain collaboration on the part of Jan. M. Dvofák's solution (*JhbKk-SammelWien*, XXIV, 1904) differed from this only in some of the details. He attributed to Hubert the foreground of the Adoration of the Lamb and the Deësis. That the subtropical vegetation in the Adoration of the Lamb with its orange trees, date palms, and cypresses must be due to Jan, who had visited Spain and Portugal, is an idea advanced by Alexander von Humboldt in his *Kosmos* (1845). Other scholars regarded the whole altarpiece as executed by Jan. The latest thorough study of the polyptych by Ludwig Baldass (1952) makes an important step forward by distinguishing between concept and actual execution. According to Baldass, Hubert conceived the Adoration of the Lamb, God the Father, St. John, the Virgin, the Angels singing and making music, and, on the exterior, the Annunciation. All the rest was conceived and executed by Jan, who also retouched Hubert's part. Only large parts of

the Adoration of the Lamb, most of the Deësis, and three of the singing angels would now appear to be more or less as Hubert left them.

While no authenticated painting by Jan is known which would precede the Ghent Altarpiece, quite a few exist which date from the years immediately following it. Jan van Eyck was in the habit of signing and dating his works, even adding the month and day, usually on the frame of the painting. In several cases this information has been lost together with the frame. Sometimes the signature is followed by the artist's device "Als ich kan."

The paintings preserved are only a fraction of what once must have existed; for example, those painted for Philip, Duke of Burgundy, are lost. Practically all of them were executed for private patrons. Jan's official duties must have left him sufficient time to accept orders from private individuals, among whom were the members of the wealthy Italian merchant colony which flourished at Bruges.

Jan's portraits anticipate Holbein (q.v.) by their objectivity, precise draftsmanship, and loving care for exact detail. The earliest is the one of a young man in Italian dress, inscribed "Leal souvenir," now in the National Gallery in London. It was painted in the same year as the Ghent Altarpiece and finished on Oct. 10, 1432. *The Man with the Red Turban*, also in the National Gallery, dates from the following years. The penetrating glance of the eyes, unusual in portraits by Jan van Eyck, has suggested to various scholars that it might be a self-portrait; it had already been listed as such in the inventory of the Arundel collection in the 17th century. Jan's highest achievement as a portrait painter dates from 1434; it is the wonderful double portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife in their wedding chamber (London, Nat. Gall.; PL. 223); it is distinguished by a hitherto unheard-of intensity of color and atmosphere and a profound feeling of calm. A mirror on the wall of the chamber shows the back view of the bridal couple and two men coming in through the door (PL. 222). A similar effect in Velázquez' *Las Meninas* recalls the fact that the Arnolfini portrait used to belong to the Spanish Royal Collection and so must have been known to Velázquez. The portraits from the last years are more restrained in their color schemes; for example, those of the goldsmith Jan de Leeuw (1436; Vienna Kunsthist. Mus.) and of Jan's wife, Margarethe van Eyck (1439; Bruges, Groeninge-Museum; PL. 221).

The portraits which are not dated or signed no longer possess their original frames with the customary inscriptions. Among these is the masterly portrait of Cardinal Albergati (PL. 219), to give it its traditional name, about which some doubts have been raised. The painting belongs to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, while the original drawing for it is preserved in the Print Room at Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett). Paradoxically, the drawing shows more "painterly" qualities, the painting itself more linear draftsmanship. The other portraits are those of an unknown goldsmith of Italian nationality, to judge by his dress (Bucharest, Nat. Mus.), the portrait of Baulduyn de Lannoy, who went with Jan to Portugal (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), and a second portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini (Berlin, Staat. Mus.).

Of the religious paintings dating from these years the small *Madonna* of 1433 in Melbourne (Nat. Gall.) anticipates to a certain extent the interior of the Arnolfini portrait which Jan was to paint in the following year. In *The Madonna with Canon van der Paele* (1436; PL. 218) the feeling for light and for surface texture of materials reaches its highest point (Bruges, Groeninge-Museum). The date 1437 is inscribed on the frame of the *St. Barbara* (Antwerp, Mus. Royal des Beaux-Arts; PL. 220) who is seen sitting in front of the tower with the three windows, which according to the legend of the saint symbolize the Three Persons of the Trinity. Painted in gray on gray with only here and there an occasional indication of color, it is usually regarded as unfinished. Although this opinion dates from the 16th century, it seems to be contradicted by two facts. First, that Jan signed it carefully on the frame, and, second, that *grisaille* paintings with some slight use of color are not uncommon among Flemish wall paintings and book illuminations.

A recent cleaning has shown that the miniaturelike triptych in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, is dated 1437. As with the portraits, the religious paintings of Jan's last years show a certain degree of simplification, as in *The Madonna at the Fountain* (1439; Antwerp, Mus. Royal des Beaux-Arts) and the *Head of Christ* (1440; English private coll.; a very similar version of 1438 is known from copies).

It is, of course, impossible to be certain about the undated religious paintings. But generally speaking, they may be classified as being later than the Ghent Altarpiece. In all likelihood some were painted while Jan was occupied in completing the work of his brother. *St. Jerome in His Study* (Detroit, Inst. of Arts), at one time attributed to Petrus Christus (q.v.), was recognized by Baldass as a comparatively early work by Jan van Eyck. It is perhaps the picture which once belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici. From about the same period is the *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Philadelphia, Mus. of Art, Johnson Coll.; another version, Turin, Gall. Sabauda). The grandiose *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin* (Paris, Louvre; PL. 224) is famous for its landscape with the bright sunlight reflected in the river. The *Annunciation* in Washington (Nat. Gall., formerly in The Hermitage) seems to date from the same period as *The Madonna with Canon van der Paele*, while *The Madonna in an Interior*, also known as "Madonna and Child" or "The Madonna in Her Chamber" (Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstit.), may be slightly later.

There are surprisingly few paintings of which the attribution is open to doubt, if we except the much disputed group of very early works. Jan's mature style is unique and does not lend itself to imitation. Practically the only outstanding work about which opinions differ is the *Man with a Pink* in the Berlin Staatliche Museen. Most modern scholars believe this portrait to be the work of a later imitator of Jan's style, although the traditional attribution has much to recommend it. The doubts about *The Madonna of Maelbeke* arise from the deplorable state of the painting. It is mentioned as an unfinished work of Jan van Eyck in 16th century sources, but the painting as we now know it seems to be largely the work of a modern restorer; however, a drawing in the Albertina in Vienna provides us with a faithful record of its original unfinished state.

The number of lost works is considerable. A few are known from old copies, like the *Lady at Her Toilet*, one of the earliest genre paintings. A series of the twelve apostles survives in a set of drawings in the Albertina. The *Fountain of Life* is known from two 15th-century copies, one in the Prado, the other at Oberlin College, Ohio. Stylistically and iconographically this *Fountain of Life* seems to be an earlier version of the center panel of the Ghent Altarpiece; most scholars, however, incline to see in it the work of a pupil. Other works are unfortunately known only from descriptions or inventories. One, described by Bartolomeo Facio, was a genre painting with bathing women. It was one of the pictures that had already reached Italy by the middle of the 15th century. Facio gives also a description of a pictorial map of the world which Jan painted for Philip of Burgundy. It was apparently this map which inspired Jean Germain to write a *Mappemonde spirituelle* for Duke Philip.

Opinions differ widely over Hubert's and Jan's early creations, that is, from the period previous to the Ghent Altarpiece. The works in question are five or six paintings and a number of illuminations in the *Heures de Turin*. The homogenous character of this group is far from being undisputed, and for every single item in it each of three possible attributions, Hubert, Jan, or a follower, has at some time been suggested.

The *Three Marys at the Sepulchre* (Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans-Van Beuningen) combines many archaic features with an Eyckian landscape. Baldass and other scholars regard it as a work of Hubert. The *Christ on the Cross* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.) and the two wings with the Crucifixion and Last Judgment, which passed from The Hermitage to the Metropolitan Museum are, according to the same scholar, the work of a follower. Panofsky has claimed for Hubert an *Annunciation* in the Metropolitan Museum. Its relation to this group is not very close, and an alternative attribution to Petrus Christus has to be taken into consideration.

*The Virgin in a Church* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.; PL. 217) is the only work concerning which a certain unanimity has been reached. Most scholars regard it as a youthful work of Jan. There exist two old copies of it (Antwerp, Mus. Royal des Beaux-Arts; Rome, Gall. Doria Pamphili); in both the Virgin occupies the left half of a diptych, the right half of which contains the portrait of a donor, different in each case. This makes it obvious that the original was also once a diptych. In all likelihood the copy at Antwerp has preserved the original aspect of the missing wing with the exception, of course, of the features of the donor. The interplay of light and shade, the patterns formed by the sunbeams on the pavement of the building give *The Virgin in a Church* its quasi-impressionistic appearance. It is typical that Cavalcaselle (*Storia dell'antica pittura fiamminga*, Florence, 1899) refused to believe that such a picture could have been painted in the 15th century. In his opinion the effects of light were such as to suggest that a later Dutch master, perhaps Pieter de Hooch, had copied a Van Eyck painting.

*The Virgin in a Church* is nowadays no longer so isolated as it was when Cavalcaselle formed this theory, for in 1902 a group of closely related miniatures came to light. They form part of the *Heures de Turin*, a prayer book which had a particularly checkered history. It was never completed, and the single parts of the manuscript became separated at a very early stage. Here we are only concerned with the miniatures of Eyckian styles, although the codex also contains illuminations by earlier and later hands. It was a tragic loss when a considerable portion of the manuscript with some of the finest miniatures perished in the burning of the Turin Library in 1904; luckily they had been published in fairly good collotype reproductions shortly before the disaster. Some years later another fragment of this Book of Hours, also with Eyckian miniatures, was discovered in the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan and belongs now to the Museo Civico in Turin. The miniatures of the *Heures de Turin* are unique in 15th-century art for their anticipation of later pictorial developments. Dutch interiors and landscape paintings of the 17th century come readily to mind. The *Cavalcade by the Seashore* and the *Voyage of St. Julian* are the first seascapes in the history of art; the interior of the *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, with its light effects and view into another room through the open door, anticipates similar effects in the paintings of Pieter de Hooch, the very name which suggested itself to Cavalcaselle when he studied *The Virgin in a Church*.

The *Cavalcade by the Seashore* shows a prince on horseback at the head of his retinue. One of the knights carries a banner with the coat of arms of the Counts of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault. Accordingly the prince has been identified as William VI, the last of his line. Count William died on May 31, 1417, and the miniatures must therefore have been painted before that date. Many scholars refused to accept this date as being impossibly early and regarded the miniatures as the work of a follower of the Van Eycks who worked in the 1430s. In order to circumvent the heraldic evidence, it has been suggested that the prayer book was written not for Count William himself, but either for his widow, who died in 1441, or his daughter Jacoba, who died in 1436. These possibilities can be safely ruled out, as the text of the miniature is a prayer destined for a ruling sovereign.

Recently published is a drawing (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) representing a fishing party at the court of William VI. This drawing, the style of which fits a date of about 1417, contains a portrait of William VI that agrees in all details with the one in the *Cavalcade*. Since in the Louvre drawing the Count is wearing the insignia of the Order of the Garter, his identity is established beyond doubt and confirms the much disputed identification of his portrait in the *Heures de Turin*. This also precludes a recent hypothesis that the prince leading the cavalcade might be William's brother, and Jan van Eyck's first known patron, John of Bavaria.

The miniatures, with their feeling for atmosphere and light, have rightly been called "precocious," but they relate to Jan's later works, especially to *The Virgin in a Church* and the landscape of *The Madonna with Chancellor Rolin*.

When, in 1456, Bartolomeo Facio in his *De viris illustribus*

wrote a short biography of Jan van Eyck, he enumerated among the artist's achievements his many discoveries "de colorum proprietatibus." Filarete mentions Jan van Eyck (Giovanni da Bruggia) and Rogier van der Weyden as the most distinguished practitioners of the northern technique of oil painting. It was Vasari who declared Jan van Eyck to be the "inventor" of oil painting, and as such he remained famous even when and where no works by him were known. Leasing (*Alter der Ölmalerei*, 1766) was the first to challenge the traditional view by pointing out that oil as a medium for painting was mentioned long before the time of the Van Eycks. Since then many more early references to the use of oil in painting have become known. It remains, however, an undeniable fact that Jan van Eyck's works are painted in a technique which differs in every respect from that found in 14th-century paintings. His characterizing of objects, the endeavor to bring out intense, individual colors in full light, to render the surface texture of stone or shining metal, of Oriental carpets, etc., would have been impossible with the means of the traditional tempera technique. The new style brought forth a new medium. It became possible, then, to "paint" instead of drawing with the brush, to graduate the colors instead of laying one brushstroke next to another as the tempera painter had to do. In the course of the 15th century the new oil technique spread from the Netherlands to Italy, Germany, and other countries.

A considerable part of the modern literature on the Van Eycks is dedicated to a discussion of the symbolic contents of their paintings. That they made use of the symbolical and typological conventions of late medieval art is in no way surprising. It is, however, not the iconographical aspect of their art which has aroused the interest of the modern mystagogues. Jan's paintings are full of innumerable details: plants, fruits, objects of daily use, architectural forms, etc. Are these all significant? According to his modern interpreters, every such detail conveys a hidden message for the erudite onlooker. Jan's paintings are a kind of problem picture, every detail of which has to be "decoded." There exists, however, no contemporary evidence for an all-pervading and ever-present symbolism. When an accomplished Humanist such as Facio described Jan's paintings, he stressed their realistic detail without ever hinting at the possibility of a deeper meaning. Van Eyck's learned contemporaries who looked at his paintings with fascination were, it would appear, completely unaware of any secret message.

"The discovery of the visible world" has always been stressed as the great achievement of the Van Eycks. The revolutionary character of their art cannot be denied, although they are in many ways indebted to the achievements of the generation immediately preceding. In the paintings of Melchior Broederlam the colors reached a glow and intensity hitherto unknown. It has often been said that the art of the Van Eycks had its roots in that of the Limbourg brothers, but if one accepts the early date of the *Heures de Turin*, they would be almost exactly contemporaneous with the *Très Riches Heures* of the Limburgs. The importance of Italian Trecento painting in the formation of the typical Van Eyck style has been little studied, and it would be not so much among the painters of Florence and Siena, but rather among the "realists" of northern Italy that we would find true affinities. Tommaso da Modena's portraitlike Dominican saints in their cells, with all the paraphernalia of the scribe or the author (Treviso, Seminario Vescovile), are true forerunners of the paintings of Jan van Eyck. This pre-Eyckian character is even stronger in the famous portrait *Petrarch in His Study* in the Sala dei Giganti at the University of Padua; the original aspect of this heavily repainted fresco can best be studied in an excellent and contemporary miniature copy in a Petrarch codex at Darmstadt (*De viris illustribus*, Landesbibliothek, Coll. 101).

For most modern scholars the true founder of the Flemish school of painting is not Hubert or Jan van Eyck, but the Master of Flémalle (see CAMPIN, ROBERT). His early works have much in common with the Van Eycks but seem to be more "primitive" and therefore earlier. This is now the accepted view. The Annunciation of the Mérode Triptych by the Master

of Flémalle (VI, PL. 66; New York, The Cloisters) and that of the Ghent Altarpiece show such striking similarities that the latter has been described as a "Flémalleque interior." In the absence of any externally dated early works by the Master of Flémalle the question of priority can be decided only by style.

Here it is necessary to reexamine the Antwerp copy of Jan van Eyck's previously mentioned *Virgin in a Church*. This copy forms one half of a diptych, the other wing of which shows a donor in what one scholar has called an "interior in Campin's style." The copy dates from the end of the 15th century, and it would be inconceivable that such an archaic interior could be the invention of the late copyist. If, as seems more than likely, he copied faithfully (excepting the likeness of the donor) the original by Jan van Eyck, the typical Flémalleque interior, which had such a wide success in early Flemish painting, might also be Jan's creation. The priority of Jan van Eyck would also explain the many Eyckian features in the works of the Master of Flémalle. The question is, of course, intimately connected with the date of the *Heures de Turin*; and to regard the Master of Flémalle as the creator of the new style is the consequence of giving a late date to the miniatures.

The whole development of Flemish painting in the 15th century and even in the 16th would be unthinkable without the Van Eycks. As has been shown, this influence may have made itself felt at an early date in the works of the Master of Flémalle and was continued in those of Rogier van der Weyden. Jan van Eyck's influence is particularly strong in Rogier's *Madonna with St. Luke* (Munich, Alte Pin.) and in the *Seven Sacraments* (Antwerp, Mus. Royal des Beaux-Arts). Pupils of Jan van Eyck are mentioned in documents as early as 1423 and 1433, but their names are unknown. We do not know whether or not Petrus Christus (q.v.) actually worked in Jan's studio, but he is regarded as his pupil and continuator. His works are often more or less similar versions of paintings by Jan. Even his main work, the *Saint Eligius in His Shop with Two Customers* from 1449, probably a wedding portrait (New York, R. Lehman Coll.), may be a copy after Jan van Eyck; at least a now untraceable painting by Jan van Eyck with exactly this subject, signed and dated 1441, is described in an old catalogue.

Quickly, partly during his lifetime, Jan's influence spread all over Europe. The Catalan Luis Dalmau painted in 1445 a *Madonna with Saints and Singing Angels* (Barcelona, Mus. de Arte de Catalunya) which is full of reminiscences and borrowings from the Ghent Altarpiece. The influence is so strong that it has been suggested that Dalmau, who had been to the Netherlands in 1431, may, while there, have served a second apprenticeship in the studio of Jan van Eyck. In Italy the Flemish style and color first appeared in Naples and then spread to the rest of the peninsula. Omitting mention of chance and fleeting echoes of the Eyckian style, it will be sufficient to refer here to Colantonio, Antonello da Messina, and the mysterious Justus de Alemagna who in 1451 painted an Eyckian *Annunciation* in S. Maria di Castello in Genoa. In France the tradition of Jan van Eyck is represented by the *Annunciation* of Aix (V, PL. 394), and in a spirited and highly personal version by the Master of René of Anjou (*Maître du Cœur d'Amour épris*). In England an anonymous follower of Jan van Eyck painted (ca. 1447-49) a portrait of Marco Barbarigo, the future doge, who was then Venetian consul in London (London, Nat. Gall.). While this is to be considered an isolated instance, the influence of the Van Eycks was particularly widespread in Germany. An unknown Rhenish artist painted a double portrait which is based on the Arnolfini portrait down to such details as the reflection in the mirror (Bad Godesberg, Aloisius-Kolleg), while Conrad Witz (q.v.) and Lukas Moser drew the inspiration for their landscapes from paintings or miniatures by Jan van Eyck.

It has often been said that in Italy of the 15th century, Flemish paintings were regarded as a kind of *chinoiserie*, worth collecting but possessing a slightly exotic flavor. That this is far from true is shown by Bartolomeo Facio, who called Jan van Eyck "nostri saeculi pictorum princeps." Only toward the middle of the 16th century do we find a distinction being



drawn (as in B. G. Gelli's *Commento sopra la Divina Commedia*, 1556) between the inferior genre of the Flemish paintings, with their delight in color and variety in landscape, on the one hand, and the grandiose, almost monochromatic and anthropocentric art of Michelangelo, on the other.

In the 17th and 18th centuries writers on art did little more than repeat what Vasari and Karel van Mander (*Schilderboeck*, Alkmaar, 1604) had said. Nevertheless the great Netherlandish collectors of the 17th century were obviously proud of owning one of the rare works by Jan van Eyck. Rubens possessed two portraits, Rembrandt the head of an old man, and the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm the portrait of Cardinal Albergati (PL. 219).

In 1791 Georg Forster in his *Ansichten vom Niederrhein* criticized the polyptych at St.-Bavon in Ghent for its lack of orderly composition, ignorance of perspective, incorrect draftsmanship, and glaring colors without shadows, saying, "That is how they painted in Italy before Perugino." But by then a new appreciation of painting "before Perugino" was already evolving. It would be wrong to give all the credit for the rediscovery of the brothers to the romantics, however, for the new attitude had made itself felt much earlier. In 1769 Cornelis van Noorde had published an engraving after the *St. Barbara*, which is now in the Museum at Antwerp. Goethe wrote an epigram entitled *Modernes* in which Phidias, the sculptor of the Elgin Marbles, and Jan van Eyck appear as symbols of two mutually exclusive but equally valid worlds. In 1822 Gustav Friedrich Waagen published his learned book *Über Hubert und Johann van Eyck* and started the never-ending stream of critical literature devoted to the two brothers.

**SOURCES.** The documents and early literary sources can be found in the following three publications: A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, I, Vienna, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 517-20; W. H. J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck*, London, New York, 1908, p. xxvii ff.; W. H. J. Weale and M. W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, New York, 1912, p. xxxi ff. An important source, not included in these collections, is Antonio de Beatis, *Itinerario*, 1517, in L. Pastor, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, Freiburg, 1905, p. 117.

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Otto Kurz

Illustrations: PLS. 215-224.

**FABRITIUS, CAREL.** Dutch painter (b. Midden-Beemster, near Amsterdam, 1622; d. Delft, Oct. 12, 1654), whose patronymic was Pietersz. Carel Fabritius was the son of a schoolmaster who is said to have painted in his spare time and may well have been the first teacher of both Carel and his brother Barent, who was also a painter. Both boys took the name "Fabritius" from their original trade of carpentry, which Carel practiced at least until the time of his marriage in 1641. Up to 1650 he lived alternately in his little native town and in nearby Amsterdam. In the early 1640s, very probably about 1642, he studied painting in the studio of Rembrandt, who was then enjoying the peak of his popular success and had just produced the so-called *Night Watch* of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. We do not know how long Carel Fabritius remained with Rembrandt, but it is certain that from 1650 until his death — four years later — he lived in Delft, where he became a member of the local painters' guild. His short life ended as the result of injuries he received in the tragic explosion of a powder magazine in Delft.

Very few works that are surely by Fabritius have been preserved; it is likely that many of them were destroyed by the same accident in which he lost his life. He is known to have made wall paintings in Delft — perspective views in an illusionistic style. Although none of these still exist, a signed painting (1652) in the National Gallery, London, which shows a view of Delft rendered with exaggerated foreshortening and great emphasis on perspective, suggests how his murals may have looked. The London picture has been thought to be part of a peepshow box or perhaps the decoration of a cabinet. Some scholars have suggested that the charming *trompe l'œil* painting of a goldfinch (PL. 324) may originally have been such a decoration.

The earliest work surely by Carel Fabritius is the *Raising of Lazarus* (Warsaw, Nat. Mus.). It clearly reveals the influence of the style in which Rembrandt was painting at the time when Fabritius was studying with him. Later works show a more individual character and are noticeably lighter in general tone. Three important paintings by Fabritius are portraits, one representing Abraham de Potter (1640; Amsterdam, Rijksmus.), and two showing a young man, very probably the artist himself (PL. 302, Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans-Van Beuningen; the other, with fur cap and cuirass, 1654; London, Nat. Gall.). This artist, whose works are intrinsically beautiful, also played an important role in the development of Dutch painting of the 17th century. In Delft he exerted a strong influence on Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch.

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**FALCONET, ETIENNE MAURICE.** French sculptor (b. Paris, Dec. 1, 1716; d. Jan. 24, 1791). His master was J.-B. Lemoyne. His first important marble, a small *Milo of Croton* and the *Lion* (1754; Louvre), echoes the waning Bernini (q.v.) tradition of dazzling virtuosity, emotional unrestraint, and pictorial reality in images and textures. At the same time, in its brutal physical anguish and jagged, eruptive composition of interpenetrating diagonals, it pays belated homage to Puget (q.v.), the great French representative of the baroque tradition. Soon Falconet so suppressed these baroque extremes that he actually prefigured later 18th-century classicism. In the beautiful marble *Allagory of Music* (1751; Louvre), made for Pompadour, then the arbiter of advanced taste, the composition is retracted into a simpler cohesive mass, and motion calmed to a restrained gesture and a gentle flow of drapery. Its suave elegance and amiable idealism are surpassed in the nude *Baigneuse* (1757; Louvre), whose long, unbroken contours enclose a form smoothed nearly to abstraction, yet marvelously, almost surreptitiously, quickened by ca-



reaching nuances of modeling. This image, reconciling an allusion to classical antiquity with an intimate prettiness redolent of the rococo boudoir, is the quintessence of 18th-century taste. Among Falconet's other mature masterpieces in marble are *Cupid's Warning* (1755-57; Louvre), repeated in Fragonard's *The Swing*, and *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1763), extolled by Diderot. Falconet's enthusiastic contemporaries demanded small reproductions of works like these in every medium, often even adapted to clocks and furniture. Ever since 1757, when Falconet was appointed director of sculpture at the Sèvres porcelain manufactory, they have been continuously reproduced in semitranslucent unglazed pottery. Falconet himself was not prolific (approximately thirty major sculptures, many lost), but his range was extraordinary. His only bust, of his cousin Dr. Camille Falconet (1747; Lyons), in terra cotta, periwigged — more baroque than a later version (1761; Angers), wigless, significantly antiquarian — constitutes an ultimate distillation of Berninesque "speaking portraiture," purged of pomposity and imbued with 18th-century vivacity, wit, and individuality. Falconet's voluptuously worldly statuary has obscured the fact that a quarter of his work was religious, but the only example to escape revolutionary vandalism is the deeply felt *Christ in Gethsemane* (1757-62; Paris, St-Roch Church). In 1766 Catherine the Great called him to St. Petersburg for his last and greatest commission, the huge bronze *Equestrian Monument to Peter the Great*. It epitomizes two centuries of changing European sculpture. Still baroque are the theatrically picturesque setting, the allegory (the figure charges up a craggy rock, trampling a serpent symbolizing evil), and the graphic rearing horse in strenuous motion, with fluttering saddle fringes and streaming mane. For the Czar himself, however, classic impulses foreshadowing Canova (q.v.) inspired an imperial image invoking the authority of antiquity; draperies and pose observe the greater dignity and restraint advocated by the classicist Winckelmann. Yet the stirring ensemble also prophesies the excitements of romanticism, with its fiery steeds and heroic riders. Falconet (PL. 417) is considered France's most versatile representative 18th-century sculptor. His learned, articulate writings (*Oeuvre*, 6 vols., Lausanne, 1781 ff.) surpass those of any other major sculptor.

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James HOLDERBAUM

**FALSIFICATION AND FORGERY.** The fabrication of forgeries and the foisting of falsifications have always been highly relevant to the history of art, and they are especially so today. The distinction between forgery and falsification should be made clear at the outset. True forgery is the deliberate manufacture of a spurious object with intent to deceive. Falsification, a broader term, includes, in addition to forgery, the misrepresentation as "the real thing" of a copy or imitation not originally produced for deceptive purposes. Their relevance to the history of art lies in their reflection of the general cultural level, the critical orientation (see CRITICISM), and the taste of any period in which they are perpetrated, for developments in deception mirror prevailing conventions in collecting (see MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS). In its technical aspects, forgery is artistically illuminating in two other ways: the degree of approximation of the original and the degree of individualization of the imitation.

**SUMMARY.** The nature of falsification (col. 333). History of falsification (col. 335): *Falsification of antique works*; *Falsification of medieval and modern art*; *Falsification of Oriental works*; *Falsification of tribal and pre-Columbian art*. Procedures for detection of forgery (col. 348).

**THE NATURE OF FALSIFICATION.** The subject of falsification and forgery, when treated pragmatically, is usually approached as a matter of method, but here we shall begin by examining what constitutes the counterfeit. Let us first establish as a premise that falseness is a subjective human value; it exists

only when it is intended and perceived as such; it does not inhere in the object itself. In the case of counterfeit money, for instance, the falseness is not inherent in the coin itself nor in its alloys themselves, whether or not these contain materials of value equal to the genuine. It was a sound judgment which decreed that it was a crime to coin sovereigns which were not products of the English mint, even though they had the same gold content and other physical properties as their genuine sterling counterparts. The counterfeiting lay in the creation of coins without required legal validation, regardless of their gold weight. Thus the important fact is that falsity is not a property of the object in question but is an aspect of judgment concerning the relation of the object to the idea and intention of its creation and distribution. A relative judgment, therefore, is required in deciding what is false. In making the decision, one must determine what qualities the object should possess and whether it does possess them or merely pretends to possess them. If judgment establishes a discrepancy between the object and its purported character, the object itself is spoken of as being "false," although, as we have stated, the object as such does not have this quality.

This distinction is an indispensable premise to further distinctions between copy, imitation, forgery, and falsification. These further distinctions are based on the intentions causing objects to be made and circulated. We may make the three following classifications of objects that may be, but are not always, falsifications: (1) In the case of copies and imitations, the production of an object conforming to the style of a particular period or artist may have no intention other than documentation of the original or delight to be derived. (2) In the case of forgery, the production of such an object has the specific intent of deceiving someone as to the period, the material, or the author. (3) In the broader field of falsification, the object, even though originally not intended to deceive, is put into circulation with intent to mislead as to its authenticity of period, material, or workmanship. In our first classification, copy and imitation are not the same thing but represent two different aspects of the process of reproduction (see REPRODUCTIONS) of a single work, or of a certain manner, or of the particular style of a period, or of an artist, and may not have meretricious purpose. The second and third classifications distinguish cases universally regarded as deceitful in intention as to creation or circulation.

The history of falsification must take into account copies and imitations as well as definite forgeries, not only because of the similarities of procedure in both cases but also for two reasons of another order: the difficulty of proving fraud, which is essential for the judgment of forgery as distinct from an innocent imitation; and the possibility that even in the remotest periods of civilization there were intentional fakes, since civilization is virtually synonymous with commerce, and commerce by its nature invites human craftiness.

Because of the difficulty of proving fraud — or what "animus" presided over the production or sale of an object — one must retain the assumption of good faith unless the contrary is proved, and therefore it becomes all the more impossible to exclude from the history of falsification the use and production of copies, replicas, and imitations.

Historical forgery may be considered a subclassification here, since every artistic object is also a historical monument and since the intention to deceive is identical.

It might be supposed that copy and imitation could be differentiated from falsification and forgery, not only on the basis of intention, but also by deduction from particular characteristics, considering the diversity of motive for making a copy or creating a counterfeit. But at best this evidence as to diversity of motive serves only as a symptom of prior reasons which might have existed for making the object, and proves illusory as a trustworthy basis of sound judgment. Whatever the difference in objective — be it for innocent documentation or for fraud — the copyist functions in the field of his own culture and consequently in an orbit of historically determined fashions and tastes, and he is thus moved to document or counterfeit what the preferences of his period appreciate or

seek. The result will not be the original in its totality, but some aspect of it. Because copyists and forgers are thus compelled to emphasize qualities currently esteemed, and inevitably to neglect or dilute other qualities, copies usually reveal the period to which they belong. Even when they are produced mechanically, it is not always impossible to distinguish them from the originals. All this applies to every field of falsification — coins, statues, or pictures. Since copies, imitations, and forgeries inadvertently testify to the taste of their times, one sees that the history of art falsification comes right down to the history of taste and of art criticism. We now realize that what is faked may mirror a given historical period's mode of "reading" a work of art and of deducing style. Forgeries which even 50 years ago deceived the most expert connoisseurs are unmasked fairly easily today with our different criteria for examining and evaluating works of art. In this connection, one may recall the works of Alceo Dossena, pivoted on a sly stylistic contamination intended to suggest intermediate masters or intermediate phases of well-known masters — a system exploiting the methods of criticism then in vogue which aimed at "freezing" style.

As only the animus or intent to deceive determines the judgment of forgery, it is desirable to dissolve a prejudice which, especially in modern artistic life, has acquired a certain importance. The question is whether the creator of a particular work, in reproducing it later, be allowed to predate it or cause it to pass for the product of a previous period of his career. If the real date is included upon it, the judgment of fraud cannot be made, but when the date is deliberately changed or a false one inscribed, the intention to deceive is evident, and the artist — forger of himself — may not assume a moral or legal position different from that of any other forger, nor expect a prejudice in his favor.

It remains for us to examine whether, over and beyond the unhappy situation which its production or sale implies, a falsified work of art possesses any value in and of itself. From the point of view of technical execution such a work could, of course, have the value of a historical document. But the reasoning is different if we are dealing, not with a copy or a substitution, but with an independent interpretation of the style of a given master. However, the esthetic admissibility of a copy, apart from its technical skill of execution, is a function of its fidelity to the original, and yet frequent reproduction weakens the impact of the original.

It would seem that taking up the style of a great master with variations and interpretations has never been considered censurable either morally or esthetically, although in cases such as Giotto versus Maso, Giorgione versus Titian, and Masolino versus Masaccio, distinctions are difficult and opinions vary. Recently a right based on such precedents was claimed for one of the most famous forgeries of modern times, the *Supper at Emmaus* by Hans van Meegeren, done in imitation of Jan Vermeer of Delft, but it would not be possible to admit this right. The style of Vermeer was handled according to the system of Dossena, that is, it pretended to be a transition work from the least documented period of Vermeer's career, and it was precisely in this deception that the powerful appeal of the painting lay. When, however, a copy or imitation gives unmistakable evidence of the infusion of a new sensibility, so that the date of its creation is not in doubt, it acquires a value of its own and is no longer subject to stigmatization as a forgery.

CÉSARE BRANDI

**HISTORY OF FALSIFICATION.** The history of falsification begins logically the moment after the formation of critical judgment and taste, as their negative corollary. Because fraud follows the law of supply and demand, it is a faithful image of the taste of its time. For its reflection of its period and often for its technical treatment of material, a forgery may acquire a historical "personality," which would otherwise be prohibited by its spurious origin.

In classical times, before the cult of the artistic personality and the vogue of antiquarianism, falsification was directed

toward deception as to material. Pliny and Vitruvius tell us how to imitate chrysocola, indigo, purple, minium, sandarac, and pewter. Pliny mentions the existence of treatises on how to make false jewelry. One of these was openly sold to the Empress Salonina, wife of Emperor Gallienus. The fact that some precious colors were provided directly to a painter by his patron suggests that it was feared that inferior and less costly pigments might otherwise be employed. In Papyrus X of Leiden, compiled in Egypt in the 3d century of our era from receipts which had appeared in various previous works, falsification is concerned primarily with the counterfeiting of gold and silver, a deception taking on the aspect of alchemy.

We cannot speak of true forgery in connection with the phenomenon of archaism, which was related to motives of veneration and taste for Greek art from the last decades of the 6th century, B.C.; nor, on the whole, can we regard as falsifications the archaistic and eclectic works of Hellenistic and Roman times, or their copies, because there was no fraudulent intention on the part of the artist, the owner, or the intermediary merchant. But probably even in the oldest collections there were certain kinds of fakes. The fashion of collecting began in Rome immediately after the conquest of Greece; it was certainly for the new and rather unskilled collectors that sculpture and silverware signed by Phidias, Polykleitos, and Praxiteles were made (Martial, iv, 39; ix, 59), or for whom artists of the time affixed to their own marble statues the name of Praxiteles and to their own silver figures the name of Myron (Phaedrus, *Fabulae Aesopiae*, V, prologue). Johann J. Winckelmann himself noticed the falseness of Lysippos' signature on a statue of Hercules; and the *Dioscuri* of Monte Cavallo, probably Roman copies of Greek works of the 4th century B.C., still bear the names of Phidias and Praxiteles. Although this inscription dates from the time of Sixtus V, it copies an older one of about A.D. 450, when the Baths of Constantine, where the statues were placed, underwent a restoration.

**Falsification of antique works.** The renewed interest which the Renaissance took in the ancient world opened new ways to falsifications. Even great sculptors succumbed to the fashion for "redoing the antique." The most striking example is perhaps that of Michelangelo himself (Vasari, VII, pp. 147-48), who, according to tradition, made a Cupid in marble and "antiqued" it by burying it in a vineyard. Later it was sold as an ancient work. Lorenzo Ghiberti counterfeited Greek and Roman medals (Vasari, II, p. 223), and there were artists who signed gems carved in intaglio with the names of Philaretes, Pyrgoteles, and Leukos in Greek letters (Vasari, V, p. 369). The intention of these artists was certainly not to deceive (except for reasons of playfulness or eagerness), but to draw nearer to the ancient world and become identified with it in their artistic re-creations of its style. The works referred to were not forgeries but imitations, just as were the integrations of Montorsoli (VII, PL. 189) in the *Laocoön*, or the addition of the twins to the *Capitoline Wolf* (an addition attributed by tradition to Guglielmo della Porta, the same sculptor who had restored the *Farnese Hercules* and *Flora*), or the numerous series of the 12 *Caesars* (PL. 225), or of the philosophers which it was the fashion to display in patrician palaces. Even though some of these were mistaken for antiques, they were not falsifications.

Forgeries and falsifications flourish in proportion to discoveries, and therefore it is only in the eras of great archaeological discoveries that falsification comes into its own. In our civilization, this began in the 18th century.

André Vayson de Pradenne divides falsifications into two classes: those which consist of wholly or partially disguised archaeological objects (these he calls "frauds") and those which are newly created ("forgeries"). We prefer an approximately chronological classification for our enumeration of falsifications which follows, because a time sequence places them in relation to the period when and for which they were fabricated. Looked at in the perspective of time, falsifications reveal the sole, if extrinsic, meaning separating them from an unimportant role as curiosities. We shall point out the most outstanding technical peculiarities in their execution to show how technical ability

in executing fakes corresponds to the technical and archaeological knowledge of the immediate market.

The second half of the 18th century was the period that saw the excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and simultaneously the first forged Roman paintings appeared, utilizing some antique elements. Very famous in this connection was Giuseppe (I) Guerra, a pupil of Solimena and fairly well known in Naples in 1745 (d. 1761), who succeeded in selling 72 forgeries to the Jesuits for their Museo Kircheriano in Rome. He did not paint in fresco, or at least not in fresco alone, but rather with a mixed technique utilizing encaustic and, sometimes, fragments of 16th century frescoes. According to a very likely hypothesis set forth by M. Cagiano de Azevedo (1950), three forgeries of Guerra may be recognized in two fragments of painting from the Museo Kircheriano (now in Rome, Istituto Centrale del Restauro; PL. 227), and in one further fragment in the Louvre. To the same period may probably be ascribed the so-called "Polyhymnia," painted on a slab of slate in a technique resembling encaustic (PL. 227).

The fields of paleontology and prehistory are studded with sensational frauds made possible by the lacunae necessarily existing in these studies. In England the founder of prehistoric frauds was one Edward Simpson, best known as "Flint Jack" among his various aliases. From 1841 to 1862 he made objects in flint and of flint chips glued together with alum. At about the same time an Albert C. Koch engraved scenes of prehistoric hunting on flint and authentic bones found in Missouri. Other frauds of this sort included the lacustrine discoveries at Concise, Switzerland (1859), where old fragments were used in some faked objects, while others were entirely fabricated; bones from the grottoes of Chaffaud, France (1863-65) incised with Sanskrit characters and Celtic engravings by a certain Meillet, who had collaborated in the excavation of the grottoes; the bear and wolf, copied from a book on zoology, engraved on bones in the grotto of Kesslerloch at Thayingen near Schaffhausen (1873-77); the necklaces sold as authentic to the visitors to the grotto of Menton (1892), and to the grottoes of the Dordogne River (1900); and the flints deceitfully deposited in the island of Riou near Marseilles (1905-07), which, because of close resemblance to those of the Fayum, led to the hypothesis of an Egyptian settlement there.

Archaeologists were victims of many of those frauds. François Lenormant, for instance, supported the validity of the false inscriptions of the Chapelle Saint-Eloi (1854-56) in the Department of the Eure. The directors of the Berlin museum acquired (1872-76) some strangely inscribed terra-cotta objects which were supposed to have come from Palestine and were called "Moabite." Luigi Palma di Cesnola "discovered" the supposed treasure of Kurion (1875-85) and left it to the Metropolitan Museum. The Campana collection of antique pottery, when it was bought from the Papal government by the Louvre (1863), contained several forgeries which had been published as being genuine. These were the works of Pietro Pennelli, former curator of the collection, and it was he (or his brother) who sold an "Etruscan" terra-cotta tomb to Alessandro Castellani, from whom the British Museum acquired it in 1873, only to recognize it later as a forgery — and Pennelli admitted it.

To a period about 1860 belong four heads in low relief executed in pentelic marble in Athens and recently studied as falsification by Bernard Ashmole, together with another older one (prior to 1837). All were copies from the Parthenon, probably intended originally as imitations and then sold on the market with intent to deceive, which had drifted for decades through various museums and collections as genuine, according to Ashmole's findings (1954).

The last decades of the 19th century saw the publication of some extraordinary Russian and French discoveries in the Cimmerian Bosphorus; at the same time there was a series of forgeries from workshops in Kerch and in Romania, the most noted being the "Tiara of Saitapharnes" (PL. 233). This was a headress in solid gold weighing 443 g. In the form of a miter richly decorated in relief with scenes from the *Iliad*, it bore an inscription in Greek letters stating that it was a gift from the

senate and people of Olbia in Greece to the Scythian king Saitapharnes. In the lower border a frieze depicted scenes from Scythian life. Together with some other gold objects, the tiara was taken to Vienna in 1896 by a grain merchant named Hochmann from Ochakov (near Odessa). He told various collectors that it had been found in a mound in the Crimea together with a red-figured vase of the 4th century B.C., which had seemed to confirm a 3d-century B.C. dating for the tiara. The tiara was acquired by the Louvre, but its authenticity was very soon placed in doubt. Evidence supporting these doubts included some stylistic incongruities, the presence of motifs and groups which had appeared in contemporary publications, the absence of the characteristic patina of gold, the similarity of text and characters of the inscription to a known inscription on stone, and the attribution of Greek physical characteristics to Semitic personages, and vice versa. The controversy waxed and the tiara became the affair of the defamatory press. Finally after an inquiry, one I. Ruchomowsky of Odessa confirmed police suspicion that he was the tiara's author.

Apart from such famous falsifications as these, there has grown a veritable industry devoted to the fabrication of minor objects of art, beginning in the 18th century and enjoying an uninterrupted tradition down to our own day in certain regions such as Apulia, Latium, and Tuscany (PL. 233). It is to the workshops of this industry that must be ascribed the numerous "Etruscan" and "Greek" vases and Hellenistic terra cottas which have invaded the antique-art market. The first half of the 19th century is the period of the "Tanagra" figurines. About 1850 in Sardinia, "Sardo-Phoenician" idols were plentifully fabricated, found their way into the museum of Cagliari, and only after fierce disputes were withdrawn. (Sardinian forgeries again come to notice with the numerous "medieval" and "Renaissance" documents known as "the parchments of Arborea.") In 1880 in Paris a number of terra cottas from "Asia Minor" were sold, probably because the recent acquisitions of the Louvre had turned the taste of collectors in this direction. Sometimes false vases had antique material but modern painting, as was the case with the bowl of Nephele, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz Collection, according to Furtwängler (1899).

A singular personality in the history of forgery was that of Alceo Dossena. Born in 1878 in Cremona, Dossena was a sculptor who became expert in various antique techniques, not imitating but drawing the inspiration for his creations from Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and Renaissance works. The quality of the style and the nature of the patina embellishing his works puzzled more than one archaeologist and started arguments which have not yet ceased. Among his most famous creations in the archaic style may be mentioned the so-called sculptures of "Velia," an Athena at one time in the Cleveland Museum, a goddess fighting with giants, and an "Amazon" acquired by Marshall in Rome and taken to London. Dossena has also been credited with a Diana in terra cotta with a little calf by her side, in Etruscan style, acquired by the City Art Museum of St. Louis (cf. Pallottino, AC, 1954, pp. 170-71). Other scholars, notably Herbig (1956), have defended the work as authentic.

Dossena probably had some collaborators and imitators to whom some forgeries have been attributed, such as an "archaic" Kore (of which a Stockholm museum bought the torso in 1913 and later the head, which revealed the falsity of the whole more clearly), and other forgeries among the many formerly in the collection of Wladimir de Gruneisen. Many of these frauds were detected by C. Albizzati, a persistent exposé of archaeological deception. Some, like the "tondi of Centuripe," saw famous archaeologists drawn up in opposing camps. These tondi were of terra cotta and were adorned with painted portraits which G. B. Rizzo published and dated between the end of the 3d and the first half of the 2d century B.C., but in fact only the terra cotta was ancient. The painting and the drawing were modern. The falseness of an "Attic stele," formerly in the Schiff-Giorgini Collection, is now generally recognized.

Besides the forgeries already acknowledged as such by most scholars, there are numerous works relegated to a limbo from which only a definite verdict can rescue them. These victims of contending attributions, deprived of documentary support,

are buffeted back and forth, alternately considered genuine and false. In this situation for many years were three colossal terra-cotta statues of warriors in the Metropolitan Museum, about which an argument centered from the time of their acquisition (1915-21). While some scholars defended these works, others, such as M. Cagiano de Azevedo (1950), attacked them on esthetic and technical grounds. Early in 1961, Harold W. Parsons, a retired American art buyer living in Rome, obtained a signed confession from one of the forgers of these figures. At the same time the museum revealed the negative results of its own laboratory tests, publicly acknowledging the forgeries.

A prolonged ambiguous state is due in many cases to the astuteness of forgers and the presumption of good faith by scholars, positions which exist on two levels of the human conscience. Their coexistence enhances the possibility of error. Two further points, applicable particularly but not uniquely to archaeological forgeries, are these: lacunae in the history of ancient art admit the possibility that unusual or doubtful works may be hitherto unknown expressions of artistic imagination, and the artisan element in the art of the past facilitates imitations and deceit. The fear of being "taken in" has caused various well-known works to fall under suspicion of various kinds. So it was with the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, which was not called a forgery although its attribution has been questioned, according to C. Blümel (1948), and with works such as the so-called "Seated Goddess" in Berlin, although the circumstances of its discovery were known, according to C. Picard (1935).

From the monuments relegated to this limbo of uncertainty we shall cite only one — the case of the "Boston Throne" — because it recapitulates all the possibilities which beset such works. This complex sculpture appeared in the Roman art market in 1894 while the English collector E. P. Warren was negotiating for the acquisition of the "Ludovisi Throne" (III, PL. 350), and the newcomer too was said to have come from the Villa Ludovisi, where it had been set in a wall and used for a fountain. Warren acquired it, transferred it to England, and from there it passed to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The doubts that the work soon stirred up were due to insoluble problems of an exegetic sort, to stylistic inconsistencies, and to the coincidence of its supposed or real discovery just when interest was being aroused in the first "Ludovisi Throne," while on the other hand there was total lack of ancient evidence for such a singular monument. Even today there is still a question whether the "Boston Throne" is by an artist of the 5th century B.C., or a Roman archaizer, or a forger of the late 19th century.

It is interesting that scholars, easily deceived by spurious antiques, refuse sometimes to believe in the authenticity of genuine discoveries which do not coincide with their preconceived image of ancient art. This was the case with the portraits of the Fayum which Otto Benndorf declared to be forgeries when they were first exhibited by Graf in Vienna; again, when the unusual and striking *Capestrano Warrior* was discovered in 1934 (PL. 35), unwarranted doubts were expressed as to its authenticity.

The matter of counterfeit money is a separate chapter in the history of falsification. Counterfeit coins existed in ancient times: they were imitations of money in current circulation but coined from baser metals, such as copper silvered over or gilt, instead of silver or gold. Forged examples of didrachmas of Thurn of the 4th century B.C. and some coins of the late republic and the empire exist.

In the Renaissance the imitation of antique coins was widely practiced, especially for collections. We have seen how Ghiberti and numerous other sculptors of some fame imitated ancient coins and medals, and while for these artists the motivation was to perfect their knowledge of the antique, there were others for whom it became forgery. There was, for instance, Marmitta, an artist from Parma who left painting to take up the casting of medals and the imitation of the antique, "from which he profited much," says Vasari in his life of Valerio Belli. Whether or not this was the original purpose, the end results certainly appear fraudulent.

Certain Paduans of the 16th century distinguished themselves as money forgers, including Giovanni Cavino and the Bassianos, who used old medal dies to create an impression of age. Guillaume Duchoul of Lyons and a certain Laroche were French forgers of this period. One of the most celebrated of all coin counterfeiters was Carl Wilhelm Becker (1771-1830), a well-known antiquarian of Offenbach, who struck more than 600 coins — "Greek" and "Roman" — which were sold and long believed to be genuine until the fraud was exposed by one Sestini. Another renowned counterfeiter of the 19th century was Luigi Cigoi (1811-75) of Udine. His false money was of four kinds: invented struck coins, imitations of struck coins, coins fused from genuine examples, and engraved coins.

Licia VLAD BORRELLI

*Falsification of medieval and modern art.* The history of falsification as it concerns art of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times may be told as a chronicle of specific cases significant to the history of taste and collecting (see MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS).

From a technical point of view it is obvious that the forger's problems grow or diminish in direct ratio to the age of the object to be forged, because there are few, if any, technical difficulties in forging a contemporary object, but many and serious are those which arise successively the farther back the forger reaches into the past. In spite of this, the forgery of a contemporary work is always the least perfect, because real understanding of the artistic quality of the object to be forged requires an adequate historical "distance." When this is lacking, the attention of the forger is naturally directed to the external and most easily recognizable characteristics of the original, and hence his work betrays the superficiality of his esthetic approach. While the same limitations affect the knowledge of the "consumer," he has means of defense. He can ask the judgment of the supposed artist or of reputable persons close to him. This type of forgery is not likely to retain credence for long. Had it been preserved for us, it is probable that the oldest "contemporary" forgery of which we have record — the "Flemish" portrait of Charles of Burgundy by the Neapolitan Colantonio — would astonish us by the ingenuity of its aim to deceive, according to F. Nicolini (1925, p. 161).

Other historical records of forgeries tell us of works not contemporary with the originals, and these cases are more typical. But considering the times in which they were executed, it is certain that the forger was not confronted with insurmountable difficulties such as he might face today, given the knowledge of the originals which we have acquired directly and from studying photographs, and the advanced state of our historical studies. The few examples which have been handed down reveal clearly the easy conditions under which the old forger worked, so much so that it is amazing to us that anyone would be deceived. The artisans' self-revelations are our good fortune, since from the technical viewpoint such forgeries are practically indistinguishable from originals — there being no scientifically datable difference among materials of similar nature with which the true and the false are constituted. In many cases we should speak of interpretations (rather than forgeries) of the works of others accomplished by genuine artists whose own personalities become evident later. So it is with the celebrated *Christ Healing a Lame Man*, a false Dürer executed by Luca Giordano and signed with both his name and Dürer's, as pointed out by W. R. Valentiner (1913, p. 195). Another forger-interpreter was the Venetian Pietro Muttoni, called Pietro Vecchio because of his ability to restore and imitate the works of others, and of whom Luigi Lanzi writes that "some of his pictures still pass for Giorgione, for Licinio, for Titian." None of the examples of his work known to us seem today to have been painted as purposeful forgery; evidently they could pass as such only because of ignorance of the origin as on the part of Muttoni's contemporaries.

From the guileless falsifications of history we must turn to the frauds of modern times. In the 19th century sculptures such as Alceo Dossena (PL. 230) and Giovanni Bestetti

(PL. 229) imitated Florentine Renaissance sculpture with astonishing skill. Some examples of their work were bought as originals of Desiderio da Settignano and Mino da Fiesole. In painting, a forger such as the German F. W. Rohrich (1787-1834), specializing in Cranach — but unconsciously giving him the Biedermeier touch — is easily identified today because of his inadequate stylistic understanding of his models, although technically he had extraordinary ability, according to N. von Holst (1934). On the other hand, his contemporary Jacob van Stry (1756-1815) produced false Albert Cuyp in which the blending is inferior to that in the originals. The forgeries of H. van Meegeren (PLS. 235, 236) and of other Dutch forgers became extremely famous. The production of false Corots and Van Goghs reached such a point that actual catalogues of these fakes were compiled (PL. 237). And it may be said that the production of forgeries has always flourished in proportion to the conditions obtaining in the art market (see DEALING AND DEALERS), addressing itself to the counterfeit of those works on which the demand of collectors was concentrated at the given moment.

As for forgeries made in our day, we must admit the theoretical possibility of a "perfect" forgery, one which corresponds perfectly to the degree of our knowledge and understanding of the original. Even though a forgery is always inferior to an original, the hypothesis of the "perfect" forgery is useful in order to take account of whether means exist, ideological or technical, which can surely reveal it as false. It is well to make clear at once that we cannot expect any real help from methods of scientific investigation. A technically perfect forgery is not a hypothesis such as the stylistically perfect forgery but an actuality found quite frequently. This arises from the circumstance that science furnishes only the means capable of revealing the age of the materials in a work, but the forger himself can anticipate such detection by using old materials or materials practically indistinguishable from the old — both in the foundation (wood or canvas) and in the colors themselves. Only the employment of colors invented in modern times (Prussian blue, cadmium yellow, zinc white, etc.) can be detected by chemical analysis; but this cannot be used to identify the media which compose the chromatic material, and even when technique of the chromatic analysis has been perfected, it will always remain difficult to distinguish between an antique medium and the same medium used by a forger. The X-ray photographs of a forgery and of an original can present the same characteristics; to be revealing, X rays are useful only when forgery has been reconstructed on prepared original foundations. Ultraviolet rays and infrared photographs, extremely useful for revealing pentimenti and repaintings, or for confirmation of barely legible particulars, are no help whatever in detecting forgery.

If science is not able to aid this particular type of investigation, neither are direct observation and comparative examination of certain material characteristics appearing in the original and reproduced in the forgery. Such, for example, is the craquelure, or network of small lines — actually cracks, sometimes only in the color, sometimes also in the groundwork underneath — appearing on every old painting. This is brought about by the natural process of aging: the pigment dries, contracts, and splits, and so does the underlying preparation, which is further affected by the expansion and contraction of the wood or canvas. It is understandable that the form of the crackle is extremely variable, and although some types of crackle are more characteristic of one period than of another, the differences do not provide sound criteria for classifications. All the forger needs to do is to imitate the crackle in its more apparent characteristics, such as the neat edge of the border and the dark colors of the background. As long as these approximate traits are respected, and the tricks are not too coarse, no crackle in itself will give away the fraudulence of the whole. Similarly, worm holes and the excrement of flies can be very well reproduced, although these details are not indispensable, for many originals lack these evidences of age.

Esthetic judgment, then, remains the best instrument for detecting what is false, even though in any historical situation the connoisseur is subject to the same conditions of culture,

taste, and critical understanding as is the forger. The contradiction is only an apparent one in that the judgment of the most expert individual art critic has full validity only if it attests a truth valid for everyone. Esthetic judgment is concerned with art, and the values of art are universal, grounded in the unanimity of human consciousness. In this sense the specific condition for the effective reality of a work of art is that it be recognized by everyone, while the forgery is fabricated only for the restricted number of persons whom the forger, for his own personal advantage, wishes to deceive. A "perfect" forgery may exist for one, for 10, or for 100 persons. One might consider that if it were perfect for everyone, it would no longer be a forgery but an original. Naturally this does not mean that the ideal condition for uncovering a forgery would be to have it passed on by all humanity, but certain it is that the more the public knows of the values in the original work of art, the less easily can the activity of the falsifier develop.

Giovanni URBANI

*Falsification of Oriental works.* In China, where serious problems of falsification abound, the faculty of intuitively recognizing works of art is developed more highly than anywhere else. The Chinese look upon this faculty as natural; one of their sayings is: "Open the door and you will see the mountain" — such is the naturalness and immediacy with which an authentic art work strikes them, and thus profoundly the difference is felt between an artist of genius of the past and his modern colleague. The faculty of intuitive "knowing" is more necessary in China than in any other part of the world, because the Orient has developed in the highest degree the qualities which forgery requires — perseverance, hard work, patience, and a willingness to gamble.

It is the general opinion of experts that this intuitive intelligence most easily manifests itself in the field of decorative objects. The blue-and-white porcelains of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and its polychrome porcelains are among the easiest objects to judge, as a quick estimate of the vigor of the design which disappears with the fall of the Ming dynasty is sufficient to establish authenticity. Up to our own times, this kind of porcelain was fired in the old kilns with a technique and technical results similar to its prototype. In the 18th century a different kind of porcelain with the so-called *famille-rose* design (see CERAMICS; CHINESE ART), made in a period when the strength of artistic expression was declining, is extremely difficult to evaluate because judgment has to be based entirely on color.

In the porcelain and semi-porcelain vases which precede the Ming dynasty, a practiced eye can judge by the color and the form and, as a last resort, the critic can consider the weight. There is something elusive in the creation of the forms (cups, plates, vessels with spouts, or vases) which can somehow illuminate and orient one's evaluation of the design. As in the case of color, experience catalogues a number of nuances which the inner eye perceives and cannot ignore; meanwhile a kind of unconscious registering of weights is imprinted on the memory. This criterion is particularly adapted to gauging the objects of porcelainous stoneware, such as the Chün-yao (Chün ware), Ko-yao, Chien-yao, and the *temmoku*. In the Ting-yao, *ying-ch'ing* (or *ch'ing-pai*, as they are called today), as also for the Lung-chü'an-yao (celadon) utensils, all from the Sung dynasty (960-1279), incised and stamped decorations are often especially helpful in making a qualitative judgment. With these vessels, especially the *temmoku* and celadon, copied to technical perfection by contemporary Japanese forgers, it would be impossible to arrive at a safe judgment by taking into account the material only. This is proved by the case of the famous Hsing-yao of the T'ang dynasty (618-906) and the entire series of fine funerary pottery of this period, constantly forged, and almost perfectly, at Peking by modern ceramists and sculptors. The forgers, besides using the clay of Lo-yang with which the original vases were made, have perfected their own personal talent by taking the advice of merchant-connoisseurs. It is worth underlining that technique in the East has been handed



down from generation to generation, and that probably forgers have never needed to master the methods of their forerunners.

With the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221), there appeared a green glaze which, after prolonged contact with the earth, acquired a gold and silver hue. To achieve this effect, forgers made use of vinegar and urine. But the good results attained by these means tended to disappear when the object so treated was immersed in water for a day or two, while the true "silver glaze" had to be washed very much longer if it were to fade at all. The fine neolithic pottery of Kansu began to be imitated, and the primitive simplicity of the design looked as if it were well adapted to forgery. But this project became unprofitable when the new vases were transported in quantity from their place of origin to the coast by enterprising airline pilots.

It is necessary to note that the bases or feet of earthenware objects have always provided a revealing point of reference for the whole gamut of ceramics and porcelains. The connoisseur turns the object over and taps it for resonance before giving his opinion. The Chinese student uses his knowledge of calligraphy to consider the chronological marks, often quite beautiful in themselves, yet he does not place much faith in their accuracy, as he knows that Chinese potters have always made these marks with less regard to history than to obsequious or superstitious attachment to one or another monarch. Frequently these marks have shown that a piece was not authentic, because of some extravagant blunder committed by the ignorant forger, and occasionally an attentive examination has revealed that the countersign had been placed over another, less acceptable one.

In the field of archaic bronzes, forgers have been at least as active as in other areas of antique Chinese art. They even worked in the rather remote past—in the Sung and Ming dynasties on copies of bronzes from the Shang-Yin period (ca. 1500-1028 B.C.) and Chou dynasty (1027-256 B.C.), so well known to collectors and students. While the character of these copies can be judged on the basis of the absence of the patina which time adds, more recent forgeries present greater difficulties, because the modern copyist has become very skillful in reproducing patina and in restoring vases from a handful of broken fragments. Before the use of the ultraviolet lamp for detecting damage and restoration became general, museums and collections contained many pieces that were supposedly absolutely intact. But after some identifications of restorations, suspicions grew and led to the discovery that there were entire pieces which were forgeries, sometimes cast as they should be in bronze, and sometimes, especially in the case of borders, cut or cast in lead, the whole cleverly covered with patina or incrustations. The patina was attained with an oily varnish first, and then with addition of vinegar or suitable chemicals (recent technical progress has produced wonderful renderings of nuances in a great variety of effects); the incrustations were obtained by the application of powdered stone to the surface, sprayed on with modern water-resistant adhesive. Nothing, however, can rouse the suspicion of students more than the ideograms which too often appear to establish the date or the history of archaic Chinese bronzes. The philological and ethnographical interest which these inscriptions awakened among scholars prompted the forgers to inscribe the vases at the request of the cultivated merchants who owned them (PL. 238).

However, the complex and powerful designs which decorate archaic bronzes prohibit wholly successful imitation of entire vases. There is no doubt that attentive examination of superimposed designs—using the criterion of expressive power—is here, as with decorated porcelain, the best way of discovering a forgery. The spirals, which form the basic decorative element of these vessels, are neither completely round nor completely rectilinear, and no forger has ever succeeded in rendering them perfectly.

Excellent imitations have been made of the bronze statuary of the great periods of Indian art. It is believed that the greater part of these are cast from the originals. Until recently, the problems relating to patina had not been adequately solved. This was the case also with Siamese and Indo-Chinese bronzes, but the cost of the originals was so low that it was hardly worthwhile to undertake the elaborate process of casting in bronze,

necessary for forging them, especially in view of the lack in those countries of persons specialized in art work. One fact lights up the whole industry of forgery: there are no forgeries of inexpensive objects. The effort of imitation is a waste of time when the genuine object can be easily acquired.

Forgeries of stone sculpture—as well as those of painting—have worried Western scholars and purchasers the most. There must be something intrinsic in the material which allows the minutiae and individual character of a stone piece to be rendered. After all, the most successful Western forgeries have also been those of sculpture in stone. Important museums on both sides of the Atlantic have acquired from dealers, often in good faith, fake statues from Lung-mên, T'ien-lung-shan, and Yün-kang. Reproduction of relatively small-dimensioned marble sculpture of the Shang-Yin and Chou periods, with its compactness of line and power of conception, must have presented many more difficulties. Because of these and the scarcity of extant examples of this very ancient sculpture, the few who have tried its imitation have produced rather insignificant creations.

Oriental forgers of sculpture in stone have employed all the artifices known to their Western colleagues: long immersion of marble in urine and corrosive acids, the application of incrustations according to the method already described in connection with bronzes, and polishing by hand to obtain that smoothness so convincing to the unfortunate purchaser. The forger has then broken his work in pieces in order to put it together again with the same fish glue used by the sackers of the caves of Lung-mên. He has exposed the surface of the low relief to soot just as the originals (made of the same stone) had been so exposed during the centuries when dissentient monks or bandits had cooked their meals, sheltered from the authorities in this labyrinthine refuge. The effect of nearly black lacquer, typical of Lung-mên, was increased by the use of encaustic technique and polishing with wool cloths. The surface thus obtained is difficult to distinguish from the beautiful effect created by time.

In the case of marble and stone of lesser density, the forgers of modern times have adopted the method of washing the raw material with a solution of water and green vitriol. The bland coloring effect of this treatment penetrates the stone so deeply that even an accurate "scientific" observer may be frequently deceived. For the observer with the artistic point of view, an agreeably variegated effect is created by the forger's use on the same piece of sculpture of graduated solutions, and often of different coloring agents applied when the stone has been rendered receptive by the solution of water and vitriol.

Forgery of stone statuary may be detected from the occasionally committed blunder of uniting elements belonging to different periods of the evolution of the great Buddhist sculpture in India and China. These mistakes are more frequent than one might suppose, probably because the modern sculptors and, for that matter, those of the Wei, Sui, and T'ang periods, were simple artisans who did not work under the intellectual direction of cultivated merchants.

Ivory sculpture, perhaps because of some organic and lively characteristic inherent in the material, is easier to judge. The forger cannot make his handiwork speak to us with the miraculous immediacy of genuine Ming examples. These beautiful statuettes must have been used for family altars, and the incense fumes together with the normal effects of time have given them a fine reddish-brown patina. Modern imitators can reproduce the patina by subjecting ivories to immersion in tea and direct exposure to smoke and can fake the pleasing blue cracks found in old ivory by placing an ivory object in a furnace and then introducing varnish in the cracks thus obtained.

Wood sculpture, too, has been much imitated. The wood used for copying Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Ming and Sung periods was mostly derived from cutting down telephone poles. Small statues should be examined with particular care, for none of the character of the original was omitted: believers used to paint and repaint divine images as a pious practice, and thus the antique figures carried many layers of paint. At least one of these had the color of skin burned by the sun in the part where the body of the divinity was naked. An examination



of this particular color can be a good guide to an observer with special competence based on experience in the matter of color.

A good general rule for evaluating color, both in decorated wood sculpture and in ceramics, is that it be as fresh and brilliant as if it had been put on yesterday. The T'ang, Sung, and Ming artists used blue and red coloring essences with the property of durability, but modern forgers have neither these brilliant colors nor the courage to apply them if they had them. The same can be said of gilding, and it is well to beware of buying small bronze Buddhistic sculptures of the Wei, Sui, or T'ang types if they are covered with a dull gilding. Gold always has a lively luster, but forgers seem to forget this fact. A freshly redecorated original or a true forgery is usually covered with a dull, weak gold or with some metal of yellow color having nothing to do with authentic gold.

One can say with certainty, regarding Chinese painting, that a sure criterion for judging falsification is virtually nonexistent. So much of what we have today is brazen imitation that to be certain a picture is truly by the master to whom it is attributed is mere folly, whether it has been considered from the artistic or the scientific point of view. To paint in the style of one or another of the great T'ang and Sung masters or to copy bit by bit the work of one of them has always been the principal occupation of the most honest and distinguished Chinese scholars and painters. No guilt was ascribed to the copyist for not stating publicly that these works were copies and for affixing to them the seals, signatures, and inscriptions which were on the originals. The copying was done in a spirit of the greatest esteem and reverence for the originals. It is too vast an undertaking to determine the proper places of all these individuals' copies and other innumerable copies executed by workshops of specialists throughout the centuries. But they should be mentioned, for there remains little doubt in the minds of Western scholars that it is the work of copyists which largely fills the museums and collections of the world and constitutes the model for the activity of modern forgers.

This activity is as intense today as that of forgers in all the other fields of Oriental art. Here one encounters all the first requisites of the originals. The silk on which much Chinese painting is done is soaked in tea or left exposed to the sun and rain — either before or after the actual painting, since the colors, of mineral origin, change little or not at all under this exposure. As with bronzes, the forger of silk painting prefers to reconstruct rather than to create, using an original fragment as a clue to style and technique. Because this type of very remunerative work must be undertaken by intelligent and cultivated painters (in China painting is and has always been associated with erudition), the results have been more successful than those of forgery in any other field. The Chinese custom of mounting and remounting paintings on new paper backgrounds has been of great use to forgers because the "old" silk merely needs to be held together, thread by thread, if necessary, with glue; the paintings on paper are even easier to execute, since an "original" — a hundred or a thousand years old — may be forgiven if it is torn here and there.

What has been noted concerning the freshness of color applied to wood sculpture or pottery is equally valid for painting. But much better than this criterion is a feeling for the artistic ability which has guided the execution of the object under examination — the pure artistic ability as judged by that delicate instrument of personal measurement which we have tried to define above. It requires genius to give life to a bird or to render the soft atmosphere in the empty space of a Sung painting, and this genius is inimitable.

In the reproduction of antique jade the Chinese were able to avail themselves of an admirably seasoned material — the cushions on which the men of the Han era and their predecessors had been wont to rest the heads of their deceased parents. These slightly indented cubes, many in that state of decay which the Chinese call "chicken-bone jade," were carved with great skill to reproduce prototypes of Shang-Yin and Chou funerary amulets. Next to painting and stone sculpture, these are probably the most difficult of Oriental objects to decipher, especially if

the researcher lacks the talent to recognize the power which emanates from the work of an authentic artist.

The imitation of later jade has been rather a matter of copying to the extent that the difference in price between an old and a new piece is in favor of the old. Moreover, it seems almost an impossibility to reproduce completely the borders of the fine Ming and Ch'ien-lung jade. The methods of polishing or the special resins used by the earliest artists seem to be beyond the possibilities open to the modern cutters. The antique pieces are refinished on the surface in the same manner as are the borders: a silky smoothness is attained which is perceived by both the eye and the touch. It is worth noting that there are other materials which can pass for jade, such as glass and the whole range of the soft stones from transparent basalt to steatite. A test for glass is its quick adaptability to temperature change, while jade seems to retain in itself the cold of the night; and while steel does not scratch jade, it can cut the softer stones which merchants of doubtful honesty have attempted to put on the market as "new jade."

In conclusion we must emphasize again the artistic criterion — the capacity to discern the expressive vigor of the true artist: only this can be counted on when we are confronted by other expressions of Oriental art, such as Chinese and Japanese lacquer, embroidered silk, tapestries, and the fine hammered gold and silver of Persia, India, and China. This is the criterion which the Orientals themselves have always used, although they are now beginning to be less mistrustful of scientific methods.

Mario PRODAN

*Falsification of tribal and pre-Columbian art.* Objects of ethnographic interest have various kinds of value: intrinsic, esthetic, functional, historical, and commercial — hence they are sought by different men for diverse purposes. When the demand for certain objects is high and the supply is short, the incentive appears for opportunists to make and sell imitations.

That esthetic motives are not always the guiding ones is proved by the zeal some collectors put into amassing gruesome trophies. Favored among these were the shrunken heads (tsantsas) preserved by Jivaran head-hunters of Ecuador and Peru. Since head-hunting has been officially prohibited by South American governments, the supply of shrunken heads has decreased, although a small local business furnishes monkey heads, which, after being smoked and tied, assume a certain resemblance to authentic tsantsas.

Pablo Picasso was involuntarily responsible for some rather amusing French forgeries of African art. He and his colleagues took as inspiration the primitive art of Africa, and soon these masks and sculptures were in demand by collectors. When the supply of originals diminished, some young French artists manufactured "African" art. This activity has nearly ended, but the falsifications are more in demand than the originals.

In the United States there is no lack of forgery of Indian artifacts: Folsom points (chipped stone projectiles, supposedly from Stone Age dwellers in New Mexico), Hopewell figurines (allegedly from a prehistoric mound-building culture in the Ohio valley), ceramics, peace pipes, tomahawks, banner stones, and arrowheads. Recently Indian spokesmen complained to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs that the Japanese were making cheap reproductions of Indian handicrafts, such as kachina dolls and silver necklaces. Miniature totem poles, such as those found on the American northwest coast, have been made in bright colors for several years in Japan. The Japanese even went to the length of incorporating a town called Usa so that they could stamp on the bottom of their imitations "Made in USA."

If all of the falsifications were to remain in the hands of souvenir hunters, the situation would not be quite so serious. However, several museums have been plagued with falsifications in the past few years, generally in the form of donations from individuals who sincerely believe that the objects are genuine. Since museum curators cannot be experts on objects from every part of the world, some museums have on their shelves a number of falsifications. This has bestowed on some

forgeries an aura of authenticity which could prove misleading to future historical studies.

At present some of the finest imitations of archaeological objects are made in Mexico. In the towns of Taxco and Teloapán forgers make stone masks, plaques, statuettes, figurines, and vessels. They are so exquisitely contrived and so ingeniously aged that even well-known collectors have been fooled by them. The makers and dealers sometimes bury their forgeries under an ancient pyramid or near an Indian's hut; then the prospective victim is advised that in a certain place marvelous things are being found, and he is given the privilege of watching the excavations — and of purchasing the objects found. Taxco and Teloapán craftsmen — expert at working on stone, even obsidian — also make very decorative zoomorphic stone figures: frogs, lizards, crocodiles, jaguars, and birds.

The artisans have learned what physical characteristics arouse the suspicions of the collector and how to correct their mistakes — breaking off pieces of the object, producing cracks or scratches, and artificially aging the fractures. A common way of aging an object is to bury it in earth moistened by filth or to pour urine on the soil where it is buried. The objects are sometimes rubbed with pebbles or sand to produce realistic scratches. Iron staining is imitated by using mild acids. Surface textures indicative of age and the mineral accretions sometimes found on ancient stone sculptures are obtained chemically with acids, or with sugar and heat, or by burying the object in shallow limy earth and building a fire on top of it. Primitive boring methods are used on the best pieces, and signs of chipping are left as a proof of antiquity. Modern tool marks are erased by using abrasive powders with a moistened revolving cloth disk.

Specialists in Mexican art can distinguish a modern from an ancient piece by noting the general feeling of the craftsman toward the stone and by evaluating the symmetry and internal balance of the piece; here there will be at least one error to disclose deception. It may be something intangible, such as style; even the best forgers lack the sensitivity and inimitable "touch" with which ancient sculptors carved stones and modeled clay. The forgeries have, in general, a certain rigidity and exterior coarseness which betray the copy mechanics and show lack of respect for the material. The proportions and planes may be out of balance. Signs of modern tools may remain in corners. The workman may also give himself away by putting identical details on pieces supposedly from different regions.

Impetus was given to the forgery market by recent genuine finds of Olmec figurines by archaeologists at La Venta in Veracruz. Collectors, seeking to acquire some of the lovely figurines and jade ornaments, determined the production of forgeries necessary to supply the demand.

At another well-known center of falsifications, near the Teotihuacán pyramids in Mexico, visitors are offered obsidian trinkets, "jade" ornaments, large idols, vessels, and figurines in clay. The clay objects are difficult to verify because the falsifiers have found many of the ancient and genuine molds with which they make modern copies.

An amusing attempt at falsification was made in San Luis Potosí, Mexico, in 1952. Newspapers published the discovery of figurines representing humans riding on the backs of dinosaurs, and other fantastic creations. A government inspector, invited to the site, caught a man in the act of placing figurines in the ground. The man confessed that the figurines were made nearby and that he was burying them for a compensation. In the state of Michoacán, Mexico, there was once a large archaeological site called Chupicuaro, which furnished collectors with thousands of beautiful pieces of polychrome pottery and figurines, until construction of a government dam caused the locality to be flooded. The hunters of vases then decided to make reproductions for sale as antiques. The pottery they sell is pretty enough, but the colors are not quite true, and the figurines are rather rough when compared with the originals.

One of Mexico's best hoaxes was carried out in Acámbaro. Again, the newspapers were the first to announce the discovery of art works by "inhabitants of a lost world," supposedly dating from pre-paleolithic days. The forgeries include men fighting dinosaurs and other extinct monsters. The capacity of the

forger seems to have been about four hundred a month because this was the rate at which a local collection grew, eventually reaching 25,000 pieces. In another Mexican hoax, some very able sculptors made hundreds of figurines in Jaina style (PL. 238). These statuettes were executed in dramatic attitudes: priests sitting upon a throne in the shape of a jaguar, a conqueror imperiously passing judgment on two bound victims, human sacrifices, and warriors in combat. Some were sold at high prices to several museums, and the curator of one museum was forced to resign because of his imprudent acquisition of one of these forgeries.

There are only 17 pre-Columbian Mexican codices, each one priceless. However, hundreds of spurious copies are in circulation, jealously preserved by their owners, who believe them genuine. In 1957 a publisher bought a "Mayan" codex on deer skin, without having submitted it to competent judges. He published an ostentatious edition before critics revealed to him that the codex was a forgery.

Frederick A.

Among the most numerous ethnographic forgeries are those of Negro sculpture executed in Europe. Forgers of statues and masks in Belgium and Germany have used various technical procedures to create the impression of antiquity and exotic origin, such as fumigation of the object over a wood fire, a process common to the arts of the African savannas.

A famous workshop of primitive forgeries, especially of jadeite sculpture in the style of the Maoris of New Zealand, existed in the Oberstein-Idar area of the Rhineland. Only a specialist with knowledge of minute technical particulars could distinguish an authentic tiki from one made in Germany.

**PROCEDURES FOR DETECTION OF FORGERY.** From this brief account of the history of falsification it can be deduced that empirical methods are the only means for the detection of forgeries, even if applied with the aid of some scientific techniques. Since the forger is imitating works of art, the esthetic criterion comes first. The forger is inspired by various archetypes, and it is seldom that we do not find in his work a confusion of styles, a disharmony, and subtle signs of the style of his own period which easily betray the artifice. The models which are foremost in the mind of the forger are those rendered famous by publications or exhibitions of his own time. For example, the reliefs of the "Tiara of Saitapharnes" (PL. 233) were inspired by the contemporaneous publications of Count I. I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, as well as those of other scholars; and for one of his groups Dossena took his clue from the Theus and Antiope discovered in Eretria.

Besides esthetic and critical investigation, a group of chemical and physical experiments may be considered for ascertaining the structure and age of the materials in a doubtful object. Explorations of sections of the object with the microscope and the magnifying glass are very important for revealing chemically and optically the structure and stratification of material. A false patina can thus be discovered from the presence of a thick stratum of dirt deposited by time between it and the surface of the pigment; the cracks in marble may appear fresh and artificially aged, their granulations and chalky deposits apparently produced with mastic or cement; the deceptive craquelure may have resulted from scalding the surface and then pouring cold water over it; the corrosion may have been brought about by hydrochloric acid; and the calcinations may have been created with the aid of an oxyhydrogen flame or by baking in an electric oven. All these tricks are used to accelerate in the material that seasoning and dilapidation which normally is effected only by the vicissitudes of time. Mineralogical and petrographical examination can show the source of a particular marble; quantitative and qualitative chemical tests can disclose the composition and the proportions of materials and of colors, including such compositions as were not used and such substances as were not known — for example, aniline dyes — at the time of the object's supposed creation.

Sometimes it is not possible to remove a section of the object for tests, and so recourse is had to optical instruments. X rays and infrared rays show up the defections, the carefully concealed repaintings, and the applications of gesso. The differing fluorescence of the surfaces of different materials in ultraviolet light allows us to discover restorations, the employment of new materials, strange colors, and other valuable evidence. Research into the indexes of refraction, of gravity, of specific weight, of density, the normal spectra, and X rays are further collateral experiments for identifying physical properties of materials. In these ways it is possible to discover the false patinas put on bronzes with varnishes in the simplest cases or, in the more complicated ones, with nitric acid, hydrochloric acid, copper acetate, salts of ammonia, wine vinegar, or even by electrolytic processes; false painting, often on an antique base as in the case of the "tondi of Centuripe," or of certain white Attic lekythoi (jugs often decorated by vase painters); the engravings on antique mirrors not originally so decorated, done with nitric acid or the burin; or, again, aniline dyes, employed even in some presumed ancient works, such as an "Etruscan" sarcophagus in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

For organic materials, when one has at one's disposal a sufficient quantity, measuring the intensity of residual radioactivity in carbon 14 is very useful in establishing approximate chronology, since, with time, its radioactivity weakens. To all these measures of detection the forgers and falsifiers oppose increasingly astute devices, using marbles or stones from excavations, imitating the techniques and materials of the ancients, employing tricks continually more difficult for the eye — or chemistry — to discern, and in a general way keeping pace with the new means of physical and chemical investigation.

The counterfeiting of gold coins is often revealed by a difference in weight, by traces of the file, and by the appearance of the surfaces; false silver coins show, in addition, a false patina or gloss, traces of sulphur on the surface, and alterations on the obverse and reverse faces, visible under the magnifying glass. The simplest method of making counterfeit money is to take an impression of an authentic piece and on this model to pour the molten metal. The new coin thus made is slightly smaller than the original because of contraction caused by the cooling of the metal, and shows traces of the file and the burin when these have been used to reduce the granular appearance. A more expert system is to hammer the coin on a false die. Here the forger can be betrayed only by questionable technique in engraving. Sometimes forgers use authentic coins with damaged and oxidized surfaces which are hammered with false dies. A rarer procedure is electrotyping, as is the reuniting under pressure of two molds of an authentic piece. Photographs of a coin or of a detail, greatly enlarged or with special lighting effects, are useful means of revealing technical details which differentiate the false from the original: the difference in the structure of the metal, in the depth of the "field" of the coin, in the methods used for patination, and in the sharpness of the contours of the lettering and of the outlines of the figures.

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Illustrations: PLs. 225-238.

**FANTASY.** As early as the Italian Cinquecento, the literature on art, especially concerning mannerism (q.v.), dealt heavily with the idea of fantasy: art was seen as the representation of images largely independent of nature, with the artist most interested in essentially decorative figures, somewhat unreal or even abnormal, the products of a sudden play of fancy. This sort of fantasy, usually expressed by the Italian word "capriccio," generally lacked specific purpose or intent and treated the artistic motif either as a free expression of the unconscious, as in surrealism (q.v.), or, with some exceptions, disregarded the religious or ethical meanings associated with it (see CHARACTERIZATION; COMIC ART AND CARICATURE; MONSTROUS AND FANTASTIC SUBJECTS). The idea of fantasy emerged in the form of the capriccio with particular force in reactions against classicism (q.v.) or against any other established norm in art.

Essentially a characteristic of the Western world since the Renaissance, the capriccio as an artistic genre appears to be rooted in the decorative grotesque evolved by Italian artists in the early 16th century — based in turn on Roman wall paintings (PL. 241). The capriccio reached its culmination in two great print cycles by Goya (q.v.): *Los caprichos* (1796-98; PL. 241) and *Los disparates*. These combine mordant social comment and caricature with folklore and proverbial material.

**SUMMARY.** History of the term "capriccio" in the arts (col. 351). Capriccio as a genre in the representational arts (col. 352).

History of attitudes toward capriccio (col. 354). Motifs allied to fantasy and capriccio outside the Renaissance and post-Renaissance Western world (col. 356).

**HISTORY OF THE TERM "CAPRICCIO" IN THE ARTS.** In Italy the term derived from "caporiccio," meaning "fright" (Battisti and Alessio, 1951, p. 745), and seems to have been connected originally with ideas of magic. For Italian writers of the 14th century, "capriccio" signified horror, or shudder. With the Italian writers of the 16th century, the word took on the significance of fantastic, bizarre, and abnormal; a capriccio was a "ghiribizzo," or "doodle." (For an example of this use see Tommaseo, 1830, pp. 247-48.) It was used both for the idea and for the artistic forms in which the idea was expressed (cf. Caporali, *Satirici e burleschi del secolo XVI*, Venice, 1787, p. 229). Toward the middle of the 16th century, capriccio had acquired a precise significance as an anecdotal, fantastic, and farcical literary genre with a moralistic character (Aretino, 1534, 1538; Gelli, 1546). For example, the curtain used at the performance of Ariosto's *Gli suppositi* depicted the buffoon Fra Mariano amid a number of devils and bore the inscription "Questi sono li capreci de fra' Mariano" ("These are the capriccios of Fra Mariano"; A. Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Turin, 1888, p. 369).

As an independent genre in the visual arts, the capriccio was first identified in the second half of the 16th century, associated with terms such as "grotesques" (PL. 239) or "chimeras." Vasari (1568) described the capriccio as "a kind of painting full of license and absurdity, admired by the ancients as room ornaments." Thus, says Vasari, it was "not subject to the ordinary rules. For example, a weight is attached to a very slender thread which cannot possibly support it, or leaves sprout from a horse's leg . . . and the more strange the imaginative license, the better it is thought to be" (Vasari, prologue, p. 193). Vasari's discussion had as antecedents two passages from Pliny: In one, Pliny speaks of the artist Peiraikos, who painted earthly, "sordid" subjects (*Historia naturalis*, xxxv, 112); in the other, Pliny mentions Antiphilas, who "painted a figure in an absurd costume known by the jocular name of 'gryllos,' the name consequently applied to every picture of that sort" (*ibid.*, 114). Most important to Vasari, however, and a direct influence on the Cinquecento conception of the grotesque as a genre, was a passage from Vitruvius (1st cent. B.C.) describing the grotesque aspects of Style IV of Pompeian painting (*De architectura*, vii, 5, 1-8). To Vasari capriccio had a strongly positive connotation. It was further associated with ornament, extravagance, variety, and invention. Vasari found the historical precedent of the capriccio in the Gothic (Vasari, I, p. 229), which observation frequently recurred in writers of later times (A. C. Daviler, Fénelon, and Baldinucci in the 17th century, Trevou and Walpole in the 18th, and in Jovellanos and the German romantics in neoclassical times). He also gave to capriccio a meaning of a superior inventiveness in the creative sense (*ibid.*, II, p. 203). Thus, paralleling contemporaneous ideas relating to literature, Vasari saw capriccio as applying not only to the inventive capacity but also to the art deriving from it: he speaks of the "strani capricci" of Filippino Lippi (*ibid.*, V, p. 242) and of the "capricciose invenzioni" of Piero di Cosimo (*ibid.*, IV, pp. 131-44). Lomazzo, writing in 1584 that "the motifs of capriccio are absurd, bizarre, fantastic" (I, I, II, chap. 16, p. 288) suggested a connection with contemporary comedy and farce.

Vasari recognized in Michelangelo that the inventive faculty (to which the capriccio is connected) had to be differentiated from classical canons regulating the structure of a work of art (Vasari, VII, p. 210). Invention was only one, though an important, part of painting, and capriccio alone would clearly be insufficient to give an idea of the work's true value (Lomazzo, 1584, I, I, II, chap. 2, p. 180).

The writers of the Cinquecento also speak of the capriccio in connection with Bosch (Vasari, V, p. 439). Felipe de Guevara in his *Comentarios de la pintura* . . . (ca. 1560; Madrid, 1788, p. 41), noting that the classical grylls seemed similar to those of Bosch (q.v.), observed nevertheless that the fantasies of Bosch were very different from the Latin capriccios, especially

from the Italian, in that they were inventions completely dissociated from reality; Bosch went beyond combining elements in the real world in strange and fanciful ways, inventing a world of his own out of new elements. De Guevara took issue with the idea that these were merely "oddities falling outside of normal rules," since Bosch had, after all, deliberately chosen Hell as his subject.

With his extremely fanciful subjects, Bosch is an example of the great importance of the capriccio in Flemish and German art of the 15th and 16th centuries. The capriccio in this area of its development departed from the Italian Renaissance idea of free fantasy without special ideological meaning; it assumed an ethical content, becoming a personal vision of the world. The ethical value in Bosch's capriccios was later noted by Karel van Mander (1604) and was the basis of the energetic defense of Bosch's work by J. de Sigüenza: "They are paintings full of wisdom in as much as they are a violent satire on sin" (1605, II, pls. 446-52; III, pp. 837-41). Associated with the northern European capriccio are caricature, allegory, and the demoniacal (see COMIC ART AND CARICATURE; DEMONOLOGY; SYMBOLISM AND ALLEGORY), as in Cranach, Dürer, P. Bruegel the Elder, Schongauer, J. Patinir, H. Baldung-Grien, D. Bouts (qq.v.), Herri met de Blea, P. Juys, J. Mandyn, and J. Brueghel the Elder. It should be noted that this same cultural milieu produced such literary works as S. Brandt's *Das Narrenschiff* (1494) and its derivative, Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1509), both of which show a transformation of the capriccio into allegory.

The 16th- and 17th-century Italian usage of the term influenced the English word "caprice." The French word "caprice" was also derived from the Italian cognate, and was applied to a particular musical motif established at the end of the 16th century; it was later extended to a literary genre in France and to a type of fireworks. As a musical genre the capriccio, or caprice, was associated with lute, keyboard, and vocal music. It was an improvisational fantasy with numerous themes, and came to be much in vogue during the 18th and 19th centuries (Grove, 1927-28). In the 17th century the capriccio as a farcical literary genre was allied to the *maccheronico*, or doggerel mixture of Latin and Italian (Orsini, 1638).

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the capriccio continued to represent a literary and above all a theatrical mode: L. F. de Moratín spoke of "comi-drama; Capricho satirico-cómico" (F. Ruiz Morcuende, *Vocabulario de L. F. de Moratín*, Madrid, 1945, p. 272); Alfred de Musset published the comedies *Les caprices de Marianne* (1833) and *Un Caprice* (1837).

The contemporary meaning of "capriccio" (used frequently in English with its Italian spelling) is a work of art in a more or less free form, often in a whimsical style. Along with its derivatives and synonyms, the word carries the idea of something out of the ordinary, with an undertone of the irrational (*Enciclopedia filosofica*, I, Venice, Rome, 1957, p. 890). As a literary genre it has died out, but it lives on as a musical term.

**CAPRICCIO AS A GENRE IN THE REPRESENTATIONAL ARTS.** R. Borghini in *Il riposo* (1584) first attempted a systematic discussion of the capriccio. There are, he says, two types of invention: "invention deriving from someone else and invention originating with the artist himself." To the first category belong mythological and literary subjects — where the meaning is preestablished. To the second category belong the artist's "free inventions, such as costumes dictated by his fancy [*a suo capriccio*], hunts, battles, balls, weddings, bath scenes showing voluptuous women and amorous young men, children's pranks [*scherzi*], and a vast number of similar things" (pp. 65-76). Particularly known for this kind of free invention were Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine, and it was to them that Borghini — following Vasari, G. B. Armenini, Lomazzo, and others — attributed the revival of grotesques. Borghini's distinction between types of invention did not long remain unsupported. Comanini (1591, pp. 29, 53) wrote that the painter can make "descriptive representation of something from nature" or else "a fantastic representation," taking as a model "something imaginary which exists only as a fantasy of the man who

is doing the representation"; that is, "he will paint a capriccio of his own, not derived from anyone else, at least as far as he knows." Not very different in meaning is F. Zuccari's opposition of "artificial" and "linear" design (II, 1607, p. 5). In addition, the definition (see also Scannelli, 1657, I, I, pp. 85-86) of the specific decorative function of these inventions (as well as "grottesche") was clarified by Armenini (1587; Pisa ed., 1823, chap. 12, pp. 216-17), following Vasari (I, pp. 193-94).

Attacks on the capriccio, which indirectly reveal how widespread the taste for it was, are to be found in Counter Reformation propaganda. The capriccio, Comanini declared, should not be used in sacred subjects (1591, p. 187).

In the 17th century the capriccio came into its own as a genre (q.v.) in the representational arts, with precisely circumscribed limits. Scannelli attributed "copious inventions" (of figures), "capricious and bizarre," to Pieter Mulier (Cavaliere Tempesta) and to Stefano Della Bella; "unusual landscapes with bizarre monsters" to P. Breugel the Elder, Herri met de Bles, and Paul Brill; and noted "other ultramontane subjects," such as those of Arcimboldi (PL. 240; Scannelli, 1657, I, I, pp. 85-86). In the first part of *La galleria* (1620) G. B. Marino listed "fables, stories, portraits, and capriccios." Fables referred to mythology, stories to the Bible, and portraits to great classical authors such as Homer; capriccios included such creatures as a spider, a bee, a butterfly, an ant, or a mosquito (as in B. Castello). That is why for the Italian writers of the 17th century Bosch remained a painter of capriccios (Baldinucci, 1846, II, p. 139). In 1617 Jacques Callot (q.v.) published in Florence the famous series of etchings entitled *Capricci di varie figure* (PL. 241). Callot, Pieter van Laer and the Bamboccianti (q.v.), and Salvator Rosa all figured in the definition of the genre of capriccio given by Scannelli (see Passeri, 1772). In the opinion of Caravaggio, the genre was limited: he considered everything not based upon nature to be "mere bagatelles, childishness, playthings" (J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, Nürnberg, 1675, p. 93).

In the realm of capriccio we must count the perspective panoramas of the 17th and 18th centuries (see works by G. Curti, the Mitellis, G. Mengozzi-Colonna, the Bibienas, etc.) and also perspective tricks and anomalies such as anamorphoses (see PERSPECTIVE; PERSPECTIVISTS). The significance of the capriccio in perspectivist style is suggested in a passage by E. Tesauro (*Il cannocchiale aristotelico* . . . , Venice, 1655, p. 20): "It is a curious and pleasing thing to see a number of objects in perspective illusion as if the originals were passing before your eyes."

During the 17th and 18th centuries the *scherzo* entered into the concept of capriccio. The word means "jest," or often "sketch," the latter in a technical sense as a term in drawing connected with capriccio (Baldinucci, 1765, p. 10). Bellori tells us that among the engravings of Annibale Carracci (q.v.) there was a "book of *scherzi* representing nude women" (*Le vite de' pittori* . . . , I, Rome, 1672, p. 116; cf. also *Le vite inedite del Bellori*, ed. M. Piacentini, Rome, 1942, p. 133, re the decoration over six doors by Maratta). Tiepolo entitled his second series of etchings *Scherzi di fantasia*, a series of prints entirely free from the limitations of ordinary subject matter.

In the 18th century the capriccio was more precisely defined than before, both verbally and through works of art: F. Guardi (q.v.; 1712-93; PL. 241) painted free inventions combining architecture, landscape (here the genre was connected with *paesaggismo*, or "landscapism"), and the Seicento fondness for anecdote as represented in Callot, the Bamboccianti, S. Rosa, P. Pannini, M. Ricci, and the inventions of F. de Nomé or others passing under the name of Monsù Desiderio (PL. 240). In 1745 G. B. Piranesi (PL. 241) published *Invenzioni capricciose de' carceri*. In 1749 Tiepolo etched various capriccios (PL. 241), published in the *Raccolta di stampe diverse* of A. M. Zanetti; later Tiepolo's *Scherzi di fantasia* (see above) appeared. La Roque wrote of Watteau's *petits sujets galants*: "There is an agreeable mixture of the serious, the grotesque, and the capricious in old and modern French manners" (*Mercur de France*, Aug., 1721). A fusion also occurred, in the 18th century, between

capriccio and caricature in the works of Hogarth and Goya (qq.v.; PL. 241); hence the relation between the capriccio and the study of physiognomy (see CHARACTERIZATION).

At the end of the 18th century and during the first decades of the 19th, Goya used the capriccio in its new function of social and ideological criticism and clearly confirmed the tendency, already present in France and England, to open the door to the world of the unconscious. In the titles of many of the Spanish capriccios of the last decade of the 1700s the word *sueño* (sleep) occurred frequently; number 43 of Goya's *Los caprichos* is captioned "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos" ("The sleep of reason produces monsters"; VI, PL. 402). At this time the capriccio was making a political allegory of the opposition between the rational and the irrational to serve the purposes of the Enlightenment.

Into the genre of capriccio there also entered some purely decorative elements — mainly *bisarreries* and grotesques — which affected fashions and furnishings (see CERAMICS; FURNITURE; TAPESTRY AND CARPETS; ZOOMORPHIC AND PLANT REPRESENTATIONS); although these decorative elements appeared before the 18th century, they were of particular significance during the later period.

The decorative vocabulary of the era included classical and Oriental motifs; the latter may be seen in the so-called "chinoiserie" such as those of Watteau (see ANTIQUE REVIVAL; EXOTICISM).

In the romantic period (see ROMANTICISM) the example of Goya, who was more and more noticed in France from 1820 on, encouraged the independent survival of the irrational elements he indirectly suggested; these were identified with the idea of capriccio, particularly in France and Spain. After the romantic revival, when the sublime (q.v.) and the picturesque (q.v.) merged, and there were signs of the coming realism, capriccio as an artistic genre disappeared rapidly. As has been suggested, the influence of musical rather than artistic terminology is responsible for use of the word "capriccio" in connection with contemporary nonobjective works of a predominantly fantastic character (as in Kandinsky, Klee, qq.v.; see also NON-OBJECTIVE ART; SURREALISM).

**HISTORY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CAPRICCIO.** In the 17th century Baldinucci, in his *Vocabolario*, listed capriccio as "an original thought and invention" (1681, p. 28). Earlier, V. Carducho, in his *Diálogos de la pintura* (III, 1633), praised "those original painters who are compared to goats [after It. "capra," goat] because they negotiate difficult paths . . . . From this comes our way of referring to some new invention on the part of a painter as a 'capriccio.'" Also praising this type of originality, Bernini (according to Chantelou, *Journal du voyage* . . . , Paris, 1885, p. 134) discouraged pupils of the Academy from copying nature because "if their imagination is full of nothing else, they can never produce anything beautiful or great." Poussin, however, objected to the introduction of "novelties and things beyond reason"; these, he claimed, tend to harm the "excellence of style" ("Osservazioni . . . sulla pittura," in G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 462). André Félibien found fault with Michelangelo, whom he considered bizarre (1666-68; 1705, p. 209); Fréart also stigmatized Michelangelo as impious, inept, chimerical, and capricious (1662; 1809, pp. 57-59), agreeing in this with Maratta (Rome, Bib. Corsiniana, Ms. 660; see Battisti, 1957). During the 17th century capriccio was associated with the idea of "macchia," or "spot" painting (*Carta del navigar pitoresco*, Venice, 1660, pp. 294, 301, 339).

In the 18th century, attitudes toward capriccio were varied. Passeri (1772), discussing capriccio in connection with architecture, wrote that architecture "is an operation which necessitates good judgment on the part of the practitioner so that later, at the right moment, he can be free to discard the rules and the prescribed proportions [and] . . . indulge his inventiveness, caprice, and sense of novelty." Neglect of the rules became in itself a part of baroque esthetics (see BAROQUE ART; CRITICISM). Describing Borromini favorably as a "capricious architect," Passeri considered him "worthy of every praise and



especial esteem" (1772, II, pls. 433-45). Borromini himself spoke of "capriccio" and "bizzarrie." In his *Opus architectonicum* (Rome, 1725, p. 15) he noted: "I made use of a bizzarrie which I had seen in antique things." Piranesi spoke favorably of the "freedom to work according to fancy": the artist must show "an inventive genius and be almost a creator, and... must open the way to new types of decoration and new forms" (1759, p. 33). Here Piranesi was repeating the baroque idea of *licenza*, or freedom. In the name of freedom in fantasy and caprice, A. M. Zanetti even praised Giorgione (*Della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1771, p. 89). Joshua Reynolds classified among the minor styles (far distant from the "grand" style) the original and characteristic manner of Salvator Rosa; the style of Rubens he stigmatized, however, as flowery, careless, lascivious, and incorrect.

With the appearance of the classicizing tendencies of the late 18th century (see NEOCLASSIC STYLES; ROCOCO), a strong reaction against the capriccio emerged, which increasingly relegated it to a marginal role, occasionally even dismissing it as an unimportant creative factor (see De Crousaz, 1715). Edmund Burke removed the capriccio from among the "qualities of beauty" (1756, III, 18; 1958, p. 117). Father André, in his *Essai sur le Beau* (1741), condemned the "beauty of the capriccio" as part of an "artificial beauty" that does not rest on the solid basis of "essential beauty." Capriccio was grist to the mill of the Enlightenment (see CRITICISM). Members of the movement investigated the psychological nature of the capriccio, distinguishing it from fantasy: "It comes rather from character [and]... is easily connected with feelings deriving from contempt" (D'Alembert, quoted in Tommaseo, I, 1830, p. 247); here we have forewarning of the accusations of immorality that were to be brought against capriccio by the neoclassic movement. Diderot was against the genre, expressing his rejection of caricature because it was a caprice and an infraction of the rules (*Oeuvres*, ed. J. A. Naigeon, XIII, Paris, 1798, p. 394); Montesquieu conceded only to the brilliant Borromini the right to deviate from the rules (*Voyages*, ed. A. de Montesquieu, I, Bordeaux, 1894, p. 239).

While it is not possible to accept the Goyaesque capriccio as in any way directed against the Enlightenment, the case is different with the work of Henry Fuseli and Blake, which has a definitely preromantic tone (see ROMANTICISM). Here the capriccio was loaded with a particular dreamlike, unconscious, and metaphysical significance and became a vision of the world that was entirely irrational. Giuseppe Spalletti, in his *Saggio sopra la bellezza* (Rome, 1765), dedicated the whole of a short chapter to the demolition of the capriccio, which he claimed originated in pride, prejudice, and (false) education. Francesco Milizia's attack was also on moral grounds: "In architecture capriccio comes from luxury and an overabundance of good things"; it is, in sum, "a sworn enemy of the fine arts and particularly of architecture" (1787; 1827, II, pp. 206, 210).

The neoclassic writers of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century based their condemnation of the baroque and the rococo on their rejection of caprice and fantasy; thus they indirectly confirmed the acceptance of caprice and fantasy by 17th- and 18th-century writers. Milizia often spoke of *bizzarria*, *delirio*, and of *stranbalatezze* and *stranezze* (oddities) in connection with Borromini, comparing the architect to G. B. Marino — as A. R. Mengs compared Luca Giordano to the poet Góngora y Argote (1768; 1827, V, pp. 234-41). With Pietro da Cortona in mind, Milizia spoke of "architecture treated capriciously" (1768, pp. 217-21), and wrote that Bernini himself had substituted an elegant *bizzarria* for beautiful simplicity (1768, p. 277). For Milizia, baroque was "the superlatively strange, the excessively ridiculous" (1787; 1827, II, p. 131). Leopoldo Cicognara also wrote of Bernini and used the words "caricatura" and "bizzarrie" (*Storia della scultura*, 2d ed., VI, Prato, 1824, pp. 117, 134, 141). Mengs thought that Pietro da Cortona (as well as Giordano, who also followed the *stile facile*) had "almost separated invention from composition, paying much more attention to the parts that delight the eye" (1783, II, p. 60). Quatremère de Quincy wrote in a similar vein in his *Dictionnaire historique d'architect-*

*ture* (Paris, 1832; s.v. *baroque*, *bizzarria*, *caprice*, and *caprices*). Selvatico spoke of *barrocinismo* (quantity of odd things), *convulsioni*, and *bizzarrie* (*Sulla architettura e sulla scultura in Venezia*, Venice, 1847). The attribution of caprice to baroque and rococo (qq.v.) taste, as an inherent element of these styles, weighs on subsequent critical writing on the arts and is the reason for the condemnation and lack of appreciation of baroque esthetics (Croce, 1929; Anceschi, 1953). In the representational arts the capriccio did not, as such, affect the taste of later periods. It was, in fact, condemned by the futurists. Only Dada and surrealism (q.v.; see also EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS) have utilized fantasy, dreams, and the unconscious, which historically belong to the idea of capriccio. The concept reappears in other subsequent "irrationalist" movements up to the present so-called *informel* school. (See also NONOBJECTIVE ART; M. Drudi Gambillo and T. Fiori, *Archivi del futurismo*, I, Rome, 1958, pp. 212, 580; A. Breton, *Le surréalisme et la peinture*, Paris, 1928; J. Dubuffet, *Prospectus aux amateurs de tout genre*, Paris, 1946.)

MOTIFS ALLIED TO FANTASY AND CAPRICCIO OUTSIDE THE RENAISSANCE AND POST-RENAISSANCE WESTERN WORLD. Although the Italian Renaissance gave birth to the idea of the capriccio and later elaborated it, tastes and tendencies analogous to those which we have been examining have appeared in other cultures and in other eras. During certain phases of the Greco-Roman period, particularly in Hellenistic culture, certain images gradually lost their representational meaning (see LANDSCAPE IN ART) or their mythological, demonical, or "monstrous" character (see MONSTROUS AND FANTASTIC SUBJECTS). Some of these images remained the same in form and appearance (at times showing a clear typological continuity); others underwent later stylistic changes and distortions. In both cases, however, the images assumed an essentially decorative character that excited pleasure in curiosities and in fleeting and irrational inventiveness. From the 4th century B.C. on, figures transformed into vegetable elements (PL. 240) were found more and more widely. Figures were also included in architectural decoration such as capitals; here belong, no doubt, the *phantasiai* of Theon of Samos (see Quintilian, *Visiones* and *Institutio oratoria*, xii, 10, 6), the grylli, the "sordid" subjects — of which, tradition tells us, Antiphilas and Peiraikos were the initiators — and the comic scenes and fantastic landscapes of Style III and Style IV of Pompeii (Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxxv, 116-17). It is possible to interpret classical criticism of these "capriccios" by Pliny (*ibid.*, 112-18), Vitruvius (*De architectura*, vii, 5), and Petronius (*Satyricon*, 2) as reactions similar to more modern attacks on Renaissance and post-Renaissance fantasies.

The conception of capriccio in its strict sense is foreign to medieval art. We cannot designate as capriccio the fertile inventiveness of medieval decorative taste (PL. 242), which was disciplined by a rigorous stylization and abstraction that was part of that metaphysical vision of the world with which the entire artistic production of the Middle Ages was infused.

In Oriental cultures (both historical and prehistorical), the pre-Columbian world of Central America, Oceania, and folk art in general, it is not possible to find instances of motifs allied to fantasy and capriccio. The pressures of religion or magic precluded the possibility of the existence of any themes essentially purposeless or purely decorative in character. Islam, for all its geometric nonfigured decoration, is not an instance to the contrary; the intention there was to reveal the infinity of forms created by God, hidden from and unknown to men.

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ENRICO CRISPOLTI

Illustrations: PLS. 230-242.

**FANTIN-LATOURE, HENRI** (Ignace Henri Jean Théodore). French painter (b. Grenoble, Jan. 14, 1836; d. Buré, Orne, Aug. 25, 1904). As the son of a painter, Fantin-Latour began his artistic training early. In 1850 he entered the studio of Lecoq de Boisbaudran and later studied with Courbet (q.v.) as well as at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. He also worked as a copyist at the Louvre, selling mainly to American and English clients, and there met Whistler (q.v.) and Charlotte Dubourcq, later his wife. In 1859 Whistler invited him to England, where he befriended Edwin Edwards, who later became and remained his patron. In the same year his three entries were rejected by the Salon, and in 1863 he exhibited at the Salon des Refusés and became acquainted with Manet (q.v.) and his circle. He lived an increasingly secluded life in Paris, except for his trip to Bayreuth in 1876 to attend the first performance of Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*. Characteristic paintings include: *Still Life* (1866; Washington, D.C., Nat. Gall.); *Portrait of Manet* (1867; Chicago, Art Inst.); and *A Studio in the Batignolles Quarter* (1870; Louvre).

A friend and contemporary of the impressionists, Fantin-Latour never shared their artistic viewpoint but perpetuated both the realist and romantic attitudes of an earlier generation. Among his works the best known are the group portraits, which provide a rich gallery of prominent personalities, including artists (Manet, Renoir, Whistler), writers (Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Zola), and musicians (Chabrier, d'Indy). To these carefully arranged but realistically perceived groups may be added Fantin's many still lifes, similarly notable for their almost Whistlerian sparseness and elegance of color and composition. However, many of his paintings (as well as his numerous lithographs and pastels) were inspired by imaginative themes and presented in a hazy, muted style that is closer to the symbolist milieu of G. Moreau and Redon than to that of his impressionist contemporaries. He was especially stimulated by the program music of Schumann and Berlioz and, above all, by the Nordic mythologies of Wagner.

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Robert ROSENBLUM

## FASHION. See COSTUME.

**FATIMID ART.** The dynasty of the Fatimid caliphs (A.D. 990-1171) began with the fall of the Aghlabids of Kairouan, which permitted the Fatimids to assume the title and authority of successors (caliphs) to the Prophet, in opposition to the Abbasside caliphate of Baghdad (see ABBASSIDE ART).

This political opposition between the Fatimids and the Abbassides was colored by religious differences. The name of the Fatimids asserted their claim to descent from Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and symbolized their adherence to the Shi'ah sect of Islam. The Shi'ites maintained that the divine right to rule, and therefore the caliphate, was restricted to Ali, Fatima's husband, and their descendants. They opposed the principle of free election of the caliph, which was upheld by the Sunni sect, to which the majority of Moslems belong.

The Fatimids reached the height of their power with the conquest of Egypt. Into their new territory the Fatimids imported characteristic Ommiad (see OMMIAD SCHOOLS) and Moorish elements (see MOORISH STYLE) from northwest Africa. At the same time, they established contact — through the Red Sea — with Iran, which was largely Shi'ite, and with India.

Fatimid art — the result of a fusion of local Egyptian elements with others imported from the West — must be studied in the light of the historical forces that produced it. In its turn, Fatimid art exercised a notable influence on the art of Sicily and southern Italy.

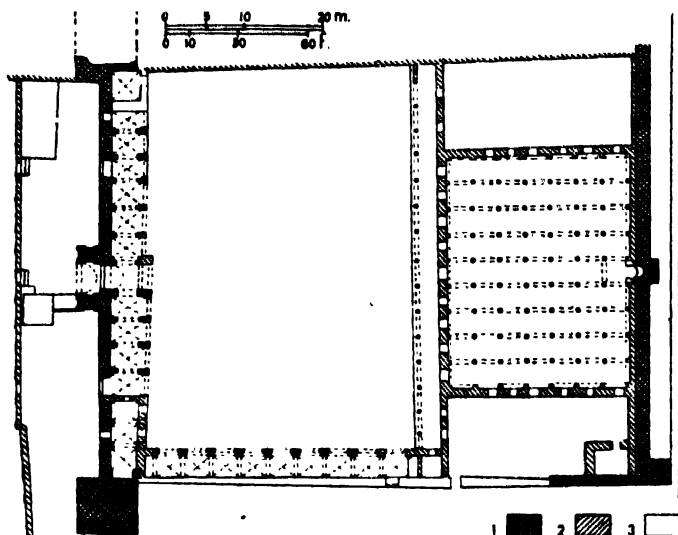
SUMMARY. Architecture (col. 358). Decorative arts (col. 364).

**ARCHITECTURE.** Fatimid architecture begins in Ifrikiya, Tunisia, with the fall of the Aghlabid dynasty (800-909) and the seizure of power by 'Ubayd Allāh, the Mahdi. Feeling that his position was not really secure, 'Ubayd Allāh decided that he needed a new capital and stronghold. He settled on the site of Mahdia on the Gulf of Gabès, between Susa and Sfax, where a rocky peninsula with a narrow neck juts into the sea for nearly a mile. The walls were begun on May 10, 916; in al-Bakrī's time (1068), there were 16 towers of which 8 belonged to the original foundation and 8 to an extension of a later date. The Spanish historian L. del Mármol Carvajal, who was present when the entire fortifications were blown up by Charles V in 1553, described the work in detail in his *Descripción general de Affrica* (see below, *Sources*).

The Great Mosque (PL. 245; FIGS. 359, 360) was built on reclaimed land, its *qibla* side touching the sea. (The *qibla* indicated the direction of Mecca, toward which all mosques are oriented.) The mosque has a monumental entrance in the middle of the north side. In the center of this entrance is a horseshoe arch which forms the outer end of a barrel-vaulted passage at the back of which is the door into the mosque. To the right and left of the main entrance are two more entrances, beyond which the wall terminates in a solid rectangular salient (the left salient has been partly destroyed), presumably the lower part of a square minaret, exactly as in the Mosque of al-Hākim in Cairo (PL. 246; FIGS. 361, 362).

The original sanctuary had a remarkable fluted mihrab, and nine aisles — according to al-Bakrī — almost certainly perpendicular to the back wall as now; the central aisle was probably wider than the rest. The remainder of the mosque was built more recently. The portico in front of the sanctuary is dated 1005-06. The interior consists of nine aisles formed by eight arcades of seven arches each; it all dates from 1800. Behind the present mihrab, which is dated 1915-16, is a small clear space with remains of the original mihrab, first described by Georges Marçais.

This mosque is of great importance because it has the earliest monumental entrance known in Moslem architecture. Earlier mosques had plain, generally rectangular, entrances built flush with the wall. After Mahdia, we have the main entrance of the Mosque of al-Hākim, clearly derived from it, and then



Mahdia, Tunisia, plan of the Great Mosque. Key: (1, 2, 3), probable order of building periods (from Creswell).

the main entrance of the Mosque of Baybars (1266-69). Both of these mosques are in Cairo.

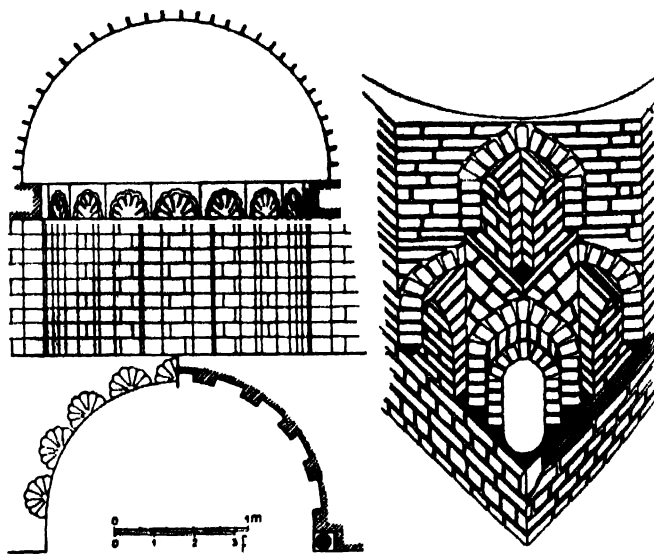
Ismail, the third ruler of the dynasty, died in 953 and was succeeded by his son al-Mu'izz, who conquered Egypt in 969. His general, Gawhar, marked out the site of the palace destined for al-Mu'izz at Cairo in the middle of an enclosure about 1,435 yd. square with walls of mud brick (*labin*). In this enclosure, besides the palace, he built quarters for the garrison, a great mosque, a mint, an arsenal, stables, etc. Ibn-Duqmāq (14th-15th cent.; see below, *Sources*) says that Gawhar "built palaces for his master so that he and his friends and their armies were separate from the general public." In many respects this recalls the arrangement at Peking (parts of which were called the "Chinese City," the "Tartar City," and the "Forbidden City"), as laid out by Kublai Khan three centuries later (see CHINA). Nothing remains of the palace, but P. Ravaisse (1887-89), basing himself on Maqrizī, has been able to fix the alignment of its principal façades.

Maqrizī says that after Gawhar had marked out Cairo and finished building it, he began the Mosque of al-Azhar on Apr. 4, 970, and finished it on June 22, 972. In spite of alterations and many additions on every side, it is fairly easy to see that the original mosque consisted of a rectangle with only three axial entrances. The sanctuary consisted of five arcades on marble columns running parallel to the *qibla* wall and cut through the center by a transept, so that nine arches of each arcade were at the left of the transept and nine at the right. At the end of the transept was a domed bay in front of the mihrab. Maqrizī says that the dating inscription ran around "the dome which is in the first arcade (*riwāq*) to the right of the mihrab and the pulpit." There must therefore have been a dome in the right back corner of the sanctuary, and doubtless one in the other corner also, for symmetry, exactly as in the Mosque of al-Hākim. The walls were of brick, and the original stucco decoration is still well preserved on what remains of the original back wall, on the semidome of the mihrab, around the five windows to the left side of the sanctuary, on the sides of the transept, and at its north end. The foundations of the Mosque of al-Hākim were laid in A.D. 990 and the work was finished in 1013 (FIG. 361). The mosque consists of a great rectangle measuring roughly 397 ft. in width and 370 ft. in depth, with a hollow salient at each end of its main façade.

In these salients stand the minarets. The walls are built of small, roughly dressed blocks of stone, known locally as *talatū*, except the minarets, the monumental entrance, and the door frames of the lesser entrances, which are all of cut stone finely dressed. In the center of the main façade is a monumental entrance, as at Mahdia, only much larger. Its flanks are decorated with two arched panels, across which runs a band of ornament which follows all the salient and reentrance angles. It may be described as arabesque worked into the framework of a classical entablature. In the original structure, it continued across the front of the gateway, where an arched panel flanked the great entrance arch, turned in, and ran across the arched panel under the vault and then continued around the other half. There were two lesser entrances in each curtain wall and lesser monumental entrances in the two lateral façades. The sanctuary was five aisles deep. The piers and arches are of brick, and they rest on continuous foundations.

The most remarkable features of this mosque, however, are the two splendid minarets of cut stone carved with fine calligraphic friezes. The tops of these two minarets fell in the great earthquake of 1303 and were replaced by brick and stucco *mabkharas* in 1304. The northern minaret consists of a cylindrical shaft rising from a square socle with handsome classical moldings; that on the west consists of a square shaft surmounted by three receding octagonal stories and the remains of a fourth. There is a fundamental difference between the two minarets, not only in form but in decoration: Although the northern minaret has two fine bands, one calligraphic, the other of arabesque, its decoration is chiefly concentrated on the beautiful window frames; in the western minaret, on the other hand, all the windows are small, narrow, and generally perfectly plain, and the decoration is concentrated on four splendid bands of ornament, two calligraphic and two of arabesque. It seems probable that these minarets were the work of two different architects.

The Seljuk Turk Atalz appeared before Cairo in 1077. He made further attempts to conquer the city in 1079 and 1085, and this, together with the fact that the town had outgrown the original enclosure of Gawhar, prompted the vizier Badr al-Gamālī to construct new fortifications. Of these fortifications there still exist three splendid gates — the Bāb an-Naṣr (PL. 247), Bāb al-Futūḥ, and Bāb Zuwayla.



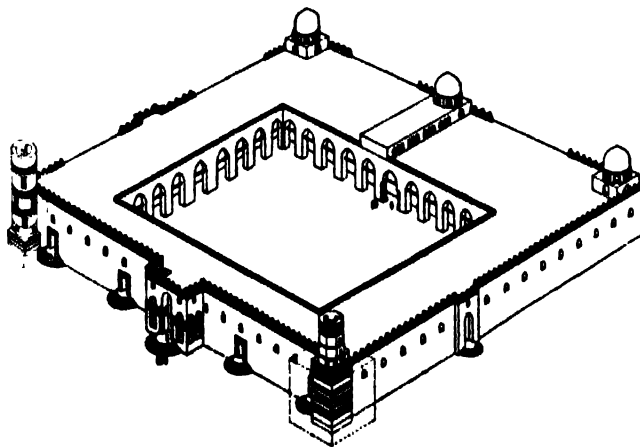
Left: Mahdia, Tunisia, Great Mosque, elevation and plan of the mihrab. Right: Cairo, Mausoleum of Umm Qulthūm, pendentive scheme (from Creswell).

The Bāb an-Naṣr consists of two square towers, wide and solid for two-thirds of their height, flanking a fine arched bay — set back about 14½ ft. — at the back of which is the actual gateway. Behind the gateway is a cross-vaulted passageway with a massive granite sill, now covered up. Behind the eastern

tower and echeloned with it is an oblong tower containing a very fine spiral staircase, with a rising barrel vault of cut stone, leading up to the platform over the passageway. The ninth course of masonry is remarkable for a series of stone circles, placed about 6 ft. apart, which run all around the outer faces, the sides of the vaulted passageway, the staircase tower, and all along the north wall. They are the ends of a series of columns that were let into the masonry as a bond between the rubble interior and the outer face of dressed stone. This same technique could also have been observed in the walls of Alexandria as they were in the 18th century. The object was, of course, to prevent the upper part of the wall from falling, should the part near the ground be undermined, as Maqrizî observes when speaking of Caesarea. The technique had been employed at 'Akkâ by ibn-Ṭūlūn (d. A.D. 883) and, as noted above, at Mahdiya. A Kufic inscription, dated 1087, runs across the Bâb an-Naṣr gateway on a level with the platform, and above it is a curious cornice supported by modillions almost classical in form.

The Bâb al-Futūḥ (PL. 247) is generally more admired than the Bâb an-Naṣr, separated from it by about 620 ft. It consists of two oblong, round-fronted towers, solid for two-thirds of their height, that flank a great archway set back between them. The passageway is covered by a shallow dome on spherical-triangle pendentives. The towers rest on rectangular plinths with fine moldings. The lower parts of the towers are decorated with three great arched panels; they are without moldings, but those on the side next to the gateway are decorated with an inner ring of cushion voussoirs (the earliest example known of this feature, earlier than any in the Romanesque architecture of France).

Two more mosques must be mentioned — al-Aqmar (1125) and aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'î (1160). The former is the earliest building in Egypt in which the façade conforms to the line of the street while the axis of the interior conforms to the direction of Mecca. The feature of greatest interest, however, is its façade, which constitutes an ambitious architectural scheme. The entrance bay, which is 23 ft. wide, is placed in the center of the façade, from which it projects 27½ in.; the left wing measures 21½ ft., and the right is hidden by a house. The entrance proper is set in a rectangular recess covered by a beautiful fluted hood with a pierced medallion in the center; above the lintel is a band of Kufic inscription running across the façade (PL. 248). The fluted niches that flank the entrance bay are each set in a larger shallow niche crowned with three tiers of stalactites. The left wing is relieved by a central panel with a shallow fluted hood above which is an oculus flanked by two little

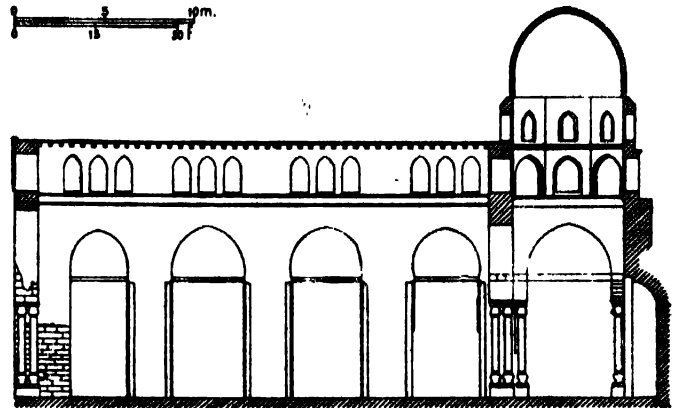


Cairo, isometric reconstruction of the Mosque of al-Hakim (from Creswell).

panels of ornament; in the left wing is a lamp hanging from the apex of an arch, the earliest known example of this motif.

The Mosque of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'î is the first example of a *mu'allāqa* ("suspended") mosque (i.e., a mosque raised some 16 ft. above the level of the street, with a row of shops on three sides). It has three axial entrances approached by staircases

perpendicular to the façade, each ending in a little bridge so that shoppers can walk along the whole length of each side without having to make a detour. It also has another remarkable feature — a portico of five bays on the northwest side, closed at each end by square rooms, so that it forms a portico *in antis* (PL. 248), recalling the Bū Fatātā mosque in Susa (838-41).



Cairo, Mosque of al-Hakim, section of the transept (from Creswell).

The original bronze-plated door is now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. The sanctuary is three aisles deep, and though there were lateral *riwāqs*, there was originally no northwestern *riwāq* (the present northwestern *riwāq* is an erroneous reconstruction). Above the columns of the sanctuary are carved impost blocks (*ṭablīya*) of wood, beautifully preserved, with tie beams to match.

The earliest collections of Hadith (sayings attributed to Mohammed) are unanimous in stating that Mohammed (ca. 570-632) expressly forbade the erection of any kind of building over a grave. The first breach of this injunction occurred when the caliph al-Muntaṣir died in 862 and his Greek mother asked for and obtained permission to erect a mausoleum for him, the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣulaibiya at Samarra. This mausoleum consists of a square chamber (octagonal externally) covered by a dome on squinches and surrounded by an octagonal gallery. There is a doorway in each side of the room and ambulatory, but these doorways have no reveals, from which the writer concludes that they were never closed by doors.

Succeeding mausoleums were that of Ismail the Samanid (d. 907) at Bukhara and that of Ali at an-Najaf. The three above-mentioned tombs were of the canopy type. In the Saba' Banāt (seven daughters; PL. 249) at the south of Fostat, Old Cairo, four of the original little canopy tombs are still standing. Each of these tombs consists of a square lower story with an arch in the center of each face, surmounted by a square zone of transition with four squinches, four windows, and an octagonal drum. The dome (*qubba*) has fallen in each case. Two or three similar canopy tombs still exist in the cemetery of Aswan. The next step was to close the mausoleum on the *qibla* side in order to provide place for a mihrab, as for example the Mausoleum of Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣawātî near the Mausoleum of Imām ash-Shāfi'î. The next step was to close all four sides and make a door opposite the mihrab. Examples of this type are the Mausoleum, opposite Khānqā, of Baybars II (ca. 1100), the mausoleums of Muḥammad al-Ga'farî (ca. 1100), Sayyida 'Atika (ca. 1100-20; PL. 249), Shaykh Yūnus (ca. 1094-1120), Ikhwat Yūsuf (ca. 1125), and the mausoleum beside the Great Mosque of Qus (ca. 1120-30). Toward the end of the Fatimid period another type of mausoleum appears in which the domed chamber is surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory and in which there are three mihrabs, the outer pair being placed on the axis of the side aisles. The first example of this type of mausoleum is that of Umm Qulthūm (1122), which is followed by the mausoleums of Yahyā ash-Shabīḥ and Qāsim Abū Ṭayyib, both dating from approximately 1150. The second is the most elaborate of these three, for the ambulatory on the

east side opens into a court with a laterally developed hall of prayer on the *qibla* side.

In the Mausoleum of Umm Qulthūm, the absence of plaster enables us to study the setting of the brickwork. The limits of the pendentive scheme (FIG. 360) are chosen to show the method of converting the square into an octagon. The four lower courses of the lower tier employ bricks with one end beveled off; these are required for the flanking niches. The central niche is formed of two arches, one recessed within the other, and as the bricks are set at a 45-degree angle, their corners project also.

In each pendentive the lower central niche is really a small squinch of less than half the span that would be required were the transition to be effected by it alone. On each side of it is a squinch of the same width and height, so constructed that the apex forms a little corbel. On the two advanced points of support so provided is set a fourth squinch, and one side of an octagon is formed by continuing the front face of this group until it meets the side walls. The function of the second tier is to cover the gap left open at the top of the first. Bricks with one edge beveled off are used for the outer edges of the upper niche, and a rib, which projects to the same extent at its springing, rises up at the back, expanding gradually until it meets the apex of the arch and forming, as it were, one quarter of a cross vault. Just as in earlier domes the eight faces of the octagon of transition always consist of four squinches alternating with four windows of the same size and shape, so in this new type of pendentive we find the intermediate spaces occupied by four trefoil windows, the outlines of which have obviously been set out on the same outline as the pendentives. These openings, however, are weak, since they lack a central frame converting them into windows of three lights. This weakness was soon remedied, for in the Mashhad of Sayyida Ruqayya, built in 1133, the windows are strengthened by central Y-shaped frames — a practice followed in the Mausoleum of ash-Shabiḥ. The next step in the evolution of the so-called "stalactite" pendentive was not taken until late in the Ayyubid period.

Nine Fatimid minarets have survived, the earliest being the minarets of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, mentioned above. Next in point of date are five minarets in Upper Egypt: the Ṭābiā at Aswan; the Mashhad al-Baḥrī and the Mashhad al-Qiblī, both at Shellāl; the Abu'l-Ḥaggāg in the temple of Luxor; and the Great Mosque at Isna (Esna; 1081-82; PL. 250), the most developed architecturally. These minarets each consist of a tall, square lower part, surmounted by a tapering cylinder crowned by a little octagonal pavilion with concave sides, the upper corners of which curve outward like horns.

The next and last two Fatimid minarets are those of the Mosque of al-Guyūshī (1085) and Abu'l-Ghaḍanfar (1157; PL. 250). In the first case a square shaft is surmounted by a cube with an arched opening in each face, above which is an open octagon surmounted by a dome. In the second, an open octagon takes the place of the cube, above which is a tall, keel-arched dome. The north side of the shaft is decorated with a pair of fluted, keel-arched panels. The two minarets form the starting point from which the Ayyubid and Early Mameluke minarets were evolved (see MAMELUKE ART).

Fatimid mihrabs are always set in a rectangular frame of ornament but, with one exception (the original mihrab of al-Azhar), the semidome appears to have been left smooth. The fluted hood first appears in the Mashhad of Sayyida Ruqayya in 1133. The latter has five mihrabs, two under the portico and three in the sanctuary, the central one being a splendid piece of work about 16 ft. high, of great richness, with a triple scalloped edge to its semidome. Fatimid wooden mihrabs, sometimes portable like that made for Sayyida Ruqayya and another from the Mausoleum of Sayyida Nafīsa, are wonderful pieces of wood carving in which the interstices of a geometrical framework are filled with arabesque.

Iranian influence, so frequently asserted to dominate in Fatimid architecture, is absent. The Egyptian stalactite pendentive evolved in a manner completely different from that of the Iranian, and similarly the Fatimid mihrab and minaret. North African influence, on the other hand, is very much in

evidence, as might be expected of a dynasty that came from Mahdia. The principal examples of North African influence include the monumental entrance, minarets placed so as to form salients at opposite ends of the main façade, domes fluted externally and internally, and octagonal drums with concave sides. Examples of Syrian influences are the three axial entrances and the fortifications of Badr al-Gamālī; almost all the features of the gateways are north Syrian, except the ornament on the brackets of the Bāb al-Futūḥ, the medallions of arabesque in the panels of the towers of the Bāb Zuwayla, and the medallion on the vault of the loggia above the gateway.

SOURCES. Al-Muqaddasī (10th cent.), *Kitāb aḥṣān al-taqāsim fī ma'rifa al-aqālīm*, in *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, part 3, al-Mokaddasī, *Descriptio imperii muslimici*, Leiden, 1877, pp. 162-63; al-Bakrī (second half of 11th cent.), *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, in *Abou-Obaid El-Bakrī, Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and trans. by W. MacGuckin, Baron de Slane, 2d ed., Algiers, Paris, 1911, p. 30; see also al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. W. MacGuckin, Baron de Slane, revised and corrected, Algiers, Paris, 1913, p. 67, par. 75; Ibn-Duqmāq (14th-15th cent.), *Kitāb al-Intiqār li-wāṣiṭat iqd al-amṣār*, in K. Vollers, *Ibn Duqmāq, Description de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1893; al-Maqrizī (1364-1442), *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-I'tibār fī ḍikr al-biṭā' wa 'l-Āfār*, ed. Būlāq, II, 1270 A. H. (1853-54), pp. 273-77, 459; *Chronicle of Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Makrizī*, Entitled *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma'rifa duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M. Mustafa Ziada, I, Cairo, 1939, p. 526; Ibn-Muyassar (13th cent.), *Aḥbār Miṣr ta'rif Muḥ ben 'Alī ben Yūsuf ben Galb al-ma'rūf bi-'bn Muyassar*, *Annales d'Égypte: les khalfes fātimides*, Arab text ed. by H. Massé, Cairo, 1919, pp. 24-25; L. del Marmol Carvajal (16th cent.), *Descripción general de Africa*, II, Granada, 1573, fol. 270a.

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Keppel Archibald Cameron CREWELL

DECORATIVE ARTS. The Fatimids ruled in Egypt for more than two centuries, bequeathing a very rich collection of monuments and objects. In this period the main stream of Islamic art passed from Baghdad to Cairo.

As regards painting, two main points should be remembered: first, the attitude of the Fatimids (who were Shiites) toward the representation of human figures or living creatures is just the same as the attitude of other Moslems (the Sunnites). The second point is that these figural representations were used to decorate only secular objects and buildings. In mosques, ornamental paintings — but never figural representations — were used (see IMAGES AND ICONOCLASM).

Among our main sources of Fatimid decoration in the western Moslem world are the remains in the Great Mosque of Kairouan (see AFRICA, NORTH), painted about 1040.

That the Fatimids were, nevertheless, very fond of figural representation may be gathered from literary sources. Maqrizī states that al-Yazūri (1050-88), one of the Fatimid ministers, was a great amateur of illustrated manuscripts. Equally interesting is Maqrizī's description of the portraits of various poets living in the time of the 10th Fatimid caliph, al-Āmir (1101-31), that were painted under arches in the caliph kiosk. Archaeological evidences support this literary data.

In 1934, fragments of frescoes (PL. 252) were unearthed by the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. They came from the ruins of a bath in the south of Cairo where they had decorated the dome. These frescoes, which are now exhibited in the Fatimid Hall of the Museum, are attributed to the 11th century. The best preserved piece depicts the figure of a young man carrying a cup in his hand. Another remarkable example of Fatimid frescoes is the decoration on the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, probably executed by Moslem painters who were living there and were still following the Fatimid traditions of art. The different portraits and the Arabic words reveal the strong influence of Fatimid pictorial art.

Miniature Fatimid paintings are very rare. The only examples that have reached us and that can be attributed with little doubt to this period are four leaves said to have come from the mounds of Fostat: one with the portrait of two officers (PL. 252), and the second with the drawing of a battle scene between Moslems and crusaders in front of a castle (London, Br. Mus.). The first of the other two leaves (both in private collections) is the portrait of a man; it has been studied by G. Wiet (BIE, XXVI, 1944). The second miniature represents a wine-drinking, lute-playing entertainer; it has been studied by D. S. Rice (BSOAS, XXI, 1958).

Although our knowledge of Fatimid painting is limited to these few examples, we can assume that it was a well-established Fatimid art.

Because of the favorable climate in Egypt, a great quantity of Fatimid textiles has been preserved (PL. 243). Most of them embody decorative motifs and historical inscriptions (PL. 251).

In the beginning of the Fatimid period, the style of inscription resembled that which was prevalent before; gradually the monumental appearance of inscription was replaced by an elegant style characterized by the elongation of some letters in perpendicular line instead of the curved sloping line ("swan's neck") that was familiar before. The spaces between the letters were filled with scrolls, and the law of proportion was strictly observed in designing the letters: some low letters were intentionally elongated to reach the level of the long letters, and some long letters were shortened to be in proportion with the low letters. Toward the end of the Fatimid dynasty, the round Neskhi (Ar., *naskhi*) inscription was used, and later on the debased Neskhi appeared. Generally speaking, the debased Neskhi is dependent on round Neskhi inscription, but does not follow its rules accurately.

The motifs used to decorate these Fatimid textiles were not new, but they were rendered in an exquisite manner not known before in Islamic art; for example, birds were drawn inside or outside medallions, confronted, or with crossed tails.

The Dār at-Tirāz (state textile factory) played a prominent role in the development of Fatimid textiles. It furnished the government with the textiles needed for various purposes: the *kiswa* (*al-kiswa*, curtain of the Kaaba), the *khilat* (*al-khil'at*, robe of honor), and presents. This state factory still exists in Cairo under the name of Dār al-Kuswa, the only place where the curtain of the Kaaba is made. A great quantity of Fatimid *tirāz* fabrics has come down to us. Nearly all of them came from Egypt, and it is sufficient to describe here four of the important examples.

On the earliest dated example (Cairo, Mus. of Islamic Art), two lines of Kufic inscription — containing the name of the 4th Fatimid caliph, al-Mu'izz — are embroidered with colored silk. It dates from 956, and is probably from the Tirāz of al-Manṣūriyya, the capital of the Fatimid dynasty in Tunisia.

One of the few dated examples from the late Fatimid period (Athens, Benaki Mus.) has a wide band of decoration containing birds, four-footed animals, and an inscription in debased Neskhi with the name of the 11th Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥāfiz (1131-49).

Only two complete costumes have come down to us: one is a *khilat* made in the state factory of Damietta in Egypt with the names of the Fatimid caliph al-Musta'li (1094-1101). It is known as the veil of St. Anne in the Church of St. Anne in Apt (Vaucluse dept.), France. The second costume is the coronation mantle made in the state factory of Sicily in 1134 for the Norman king Roger II, according to its Kufic inscription (PL. 244).

From literary sources we know that rugs were made and used in Egypt in the Middle Ages. We are told that during the Fatimid period, in the time of al-Āmir, woven silk carpets were spread in his audience hall in summer in place of the woolen carpets used in winter. Archaeological finds support these literary sources. The mounds of Fostat have furnished us with several small fragments of rugs attributed to the Fatimid period on stylistic grounds.

Stucco and stone sculpture on Fatimid buildings and tombstones clearly illustrates the evolution of Fatimid decorative

arts. The stucco decoration of al-Azhar mosque (PL. 246), with its abhorrence of unfilled areas, is mostly derived from the art of Samarra introduced into Egypt during the Tulunid period. In the stucco and stone sculpture of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (PL. 246) and in the façade of the Mosque of al-Aqmar (PL. 248), the pure Fatimid art with its new principles of decoration appears. The pattern is now placed — as in pre-Tulunid times — on a neutral ground, and developed arabesques are found. The monumental inscription in Kufic writing forms an essential part of the decoration, the letters terminate in arabesques and are placed on a background of scrolls. The mihrab of the Mosque of al-Guyūḥ (1065) displays the highest standard of Fatimid stucco art.

The style of woodwork produced during this period was related at the beginning to the Aghlabid art in North Africa (e.g., a door in the Mosque of Sidi Okba, near Biskra in Algeria, supposed to have been ordered by the 3d Fatimid caliph, al-Manṣūr), and to the Tulunid art in Egypt (e.g., the folding door of al-Azhar that bears the name of the caliph al-Ḥākim; Cairo, Mus. of Islamic Art). The decoration of the wooden tie beams under the dome of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (990-1013) also follows the Tulunid traditions and shows nothing of the new style that is manifested in the stucco and stone carving of this mosque.

The real Fatimid style is best illustrated by the wonderful panels that once decorated the western Fatimid Palace in Cairo and were most probably ordered by the 8th Fatimid caliph, al-Mustanṣir, between the years 1055-65. Most of these panels are in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, and some of them are exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. They reveal most of the various motifs peculiar to the Fatimid decorative arts: representations of figures (princes, warriors, falconers, dancers, merchants with loaded camels, and musicians playing the lute, tambourine, or flute), animals (gazelles, bears, griffins, sphinxes), birds (ducks, peacocks), and floral motifs (scrolls, fleurets). These various scenes have helped us to enrich our knowledge of the life and customs of the Fatimids.

More than twenty pieces of woodwork — dated by their inscriptions or by the way in which they were used in buildings of definite dates — have come down to us. Three of these, from North Africa, Egypt, and Sicily respectively, deserve special mention. The *maksoura* (wooden screen) in the Great Mosque of Kairouan, made in about 1040, is considered the most important object of wood in North Africa. Two innovations which appear here for the first time played a prominent role in Islamic art later on — the tressed Kufic inscription and the moucharaby (turned-wood technique).

The *minbar* (pulpit) of the al-Āmir mosque at Qus in Upper Egypt (PL. 251) is a work of exceptional beauty. Its entry bears a Kufic inscription containing the date A. H. 550 (1155-56), and its lateral surface is covered with a pattern of small polygonal panels decorated with palmettes and grapes occasionally placed on the leaves. The railings of the stairs, in the moucharaby technique, have frames containing the same decoration.

The style of the carved panels of the folding door of the Martorana in Palermo, built by George of Antioch, the admiral of Roger II, is closely related to the Fatimid art by its deep cup and floral motifs.

In addition to the works mentioned above, another specimen of Fatimid skill in wood carving is the altar screen from the Church of Sitt Barbara, now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. It is attributed to the Fatimid period because of the strong similarity of its style to dated Fatimid objects. It is a remarkable piece of woodwork decorated with rectangular panels.

Two new techniques were introduced by the Fatimids: the assembling of small panels and the moucharaby work. These techniques resulted in the appearance of new patterns which evolved into the Islamic polygonal pattern during the succeeding periods and became the most characteristic Islamic contribution to the decorative arts. These techniques arose from climatic conditions which render wood liable to shrinkage and warping, and from the scarcity of timber of good quality that obliges the carpenter to make use of the smallest possible fragments.



Closely related to the carved woodwork is a group of ivory objects (PL. 251), attributed to the Fatimid period merely on stylistic grounds (see *IVORY AND BONE CARVING*).

The pear-shaped ewer made of rock crystal that bears a Kufic inscription with the name of al-'Aziz (978-98) represents one of the finest achievements of Islamic rock-crystal carvings (VI, PL. 42). It is decorated with two seated lions confronting a tree of life and is now in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice. There is a homogeneous group of these rock-crystal ewers dispersed among various collections. One of this group, now in the Museo degli Argenti of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, has been studied by D. S. Rice (1955), who attributed it to the commander in chief of al-Hakim (996-1020). Rice correctly read the Arabic text carved on it, which does not simply express banal good wishes to the owner of the ewer as was previously thought, but says that the ewer was made for the personal use of al-Hakim's commander. The inscriptions on both ewers are, in fact, the key to dating the whole group.

There are other Fatimid rock-crystal works in various forms: ewers, bottles, cups, saucers, boxes, chessmen, and flasks of different shapes. One of these interesting pieces is a dated, crescent-shaped work in the Germanisches National-Museum in Nürnberg. It was originally used as an ornament for one of the horses of the caliph al-Zahir (1020-35), whose name is inscribed on it. Nearly all these precious crystals were originally given as gifts dedicated to religious use by pious donors in medieval times. They were converted into reliquaries and enriched with mounts of gold or silver in European style.

The mounds of Fostat were the most important sources of glazed and unglazed Fatimid pottery (see *CERAMICS*). Unfortunately, these mounds were ransacked by scavengers, and excavations carried out by amateur archaeologists were not scientifically controlled. Thus no record was made of the position and level at which the huge quantities of shards were found, nor was there any attempt to relate these shards to other nearby objects which might be dated or datable. There is only one dated example among these millions of Fatimid shards. It is a piece of a big plate made of luster pottery and is in several fragments now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. It is decorated with floral ornaments and has a Kufic inscription with the name of al-Hakim. This unique example is, in fact, the key to the dating of some complete bowls and many fragments of the same type of pottery. Among these examples are some which have the name "Muslim" written inside the base ring. This potter was very probably a painter in luster and represented a school of potters whose pieces are characterized by their white glaze, golden luster, and bold style. The favorite devices used on these pieces are usually made up of animals, birds, floral motifs, and Kufic inscription. The ornaments are always painted; they are never formed by incised lines.

Another famous name that appears on Fatimid luster pottery is that of Sa'd. This signature is seen on a prominent part of the vessel, generally on the outside, and is painted in decorative Kufic letters. This painter and his followers used a bluish, reddish, or turquoise glaze; the luster color has, in most cases, an olive-yellow tinge, and sometimes polychrome luster was used. The style is graceful and elegant. Very often the motifs that decorate the inner part of a piece of this pottery are incised only in the luster painting and do not reach the clay. One of the most marvelous and complete works by Sa'd is a bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It bears his signature, and on the inside is the representation of a Coptic priest swinging an incense burner.

Another type of Fatimid glazed pottery has incised or *champlevé* ornament underneath a monochrome glaze. A great variety of coloring — such as opaque white, green, purple, blue, yellow ochre, and celadon — is seen here.

The Fatimid love of beauty is evidenced by the exquisitely formed *à jour* filters of unglazed pottery water bottles (PL. 253). These filters are placed at the mouths of the bottles and they often go unnoticed, though they are very beautifully decorated. Some are lacelike and others have bold and striking motifs.

Few examples have survived of the enormous quantities of Fatimid metalwork recorded by the contemporary Persian trav-

eler Naser-i-Khusrau, or transcribed by Maqrizi from the early archives still existing in his time.

Of the few remaining examples, only three can be attributed with little doubt to this period: a lantern in the Great Mosque of Kairouan, a peacock in the Louvre, and the griffin in Pisa (PL. 254). The lantern has a Kufic inscription with the name of the Zirid prince al-Mu'izz, who ruled Tunisia during the Fatimid period but acknowledged the sovereignty of the Abbasside caliphate. The peacock has the Latin inscription "Opus Salomonis erat" and an Arabic inscription giving the name of the artisan as "Abd al-Malik the Christian." Some scholars have attributed it to Sicily and others believe that it comes from Egypt, but both groups agree that it is a Fatimid object or at least that its design was strongly influenced by the Fatimid style in metalwork. The griffin — which according to tradition was brought from Egypt to Italy by Amalric I, King of Jerusalem (1162-74) — is considered to be the finest and most imposing of all Fatimid bronzes. It is about 40 in. high, and its neck and wings are decorated with scalelike feathers. Its hips are marked with pear-shaped fields containing engraved animals and birds, and its back is covered with what looks like a close-fitting cloth patterned with roundels and bordered with a Kufic inscription. Neither this inscription nor that seen on the chest of this fantastic animal gives any clue to the origin of this monumental piece of cast bronze; both inscriptions are merely blessings to the owner.

Fatimid jewelry was made of silver or of gold; some pieces were made in the filigree technique and some were enameled in the *cloisonné* technique. Most of these were found in the mounds at Fostat and have been acquired by museums or private collections. An exquisite example of *cloisonné* enamel on gold is in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo; it is in the shape of a small medallion, decorated with arabesques and a short religious sentence in Kufic.

It is rather difficult to establish a complete chronology and classification of glass (q.v.) as has been done with the other decorative arts. There is, however, not the least doubt that the kilns continued their manufacture without any sharp interruption in technique or style during this period. Blowing in the molds, turning with a tonglike instrument, applying, engraving, stamping with inscriptions, and cutting were still practiced as before.

A large quantity of glass in the shape of coins stamped with the names of Fatimid caliphs has come down to us.

A partially complete glass cup (one-third is missing) in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo has ornaments obtained by engraving and cutting. The patterns consist of a Kufic inscription (unreadable), four-footed animals cut in the blue coating, and a number of declivities.

Naser-i-Khusrau mentions the high level of the glass industry in Egypt. He says that the Egyptian glassmakers manufactured a very fine, transparent glass resembling emerald, which was sold by weight. A fine example of this type — a bottle with molded and applied decoration — is in the collection of the Islamic department of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Around its neck is a series of medallions, each enclosing the representation of an animal; above these is an Arabic inscription.

A remarkable achievement of the Fatimid glassmakers was their technique of decorating the glass by painting it with either luster or gold. Many fragments of objects decorated in this manner have been found in the mounds of Fostat.

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Illustrations: PLB. 243-254; 4 figs. in text.

**FAUVES.** The movement known as Fauvism, which arose in France in the decade 1898-1908 and constituted the first of the 20th-century revolutions in art, was not based on any established program. It was the result of contacts and influences exchanged among a number of independent artists with similar ideas on esthetic principles and on the need for revitalizing art.

**SUMMARY.** Introduction (col. 369). Matisse and the atelier of Gustave Moreau (col. 372). Derain and Vlaminck at Châtou (col. 373). The pointillist phase (col. 374). Matisse and Derain at Collioure (col. 376). Maturity of Fauvism (col. 377). Fauvism outside France (col. 380).

**INTRODUCTION.** When at the famous Salon d'Automne of 1905 the Fauve artists grouped themselves around Matisse, the explosive violence of their works gave rise to a scandal comparable to that which had been excited by the first showing of the impressionists in 1874 (see **IMPRESSIONISM**). "A pot of paint has been flung in the face of the public," Camille Mauclair protested indignantly. Louis Vauxcelles, the witty critic of *Gil Blas*, who in 1908 was to coin the term "cubism," on this occasion also immediately hit upon an appropriate epithet. Noticing a sculpture by Albert Marquet in Renaissance style in the middle of the central gallery, where the strident colors of the Fauve painters (until then known as the *Invertébrés* or *Incohérents*) set up their clamor, he exclaimed to Matisse, "Donatello in a cage of wild beasts (*fauves*)!" Reprinted in the Oct. 17, 1905, issue of *Gil Blas*, this quip found favor immediately. It was resurrected the following year, when the members of the "cage" turned out in full force, augmented by a number of new adherents and fully conscious of their own revolutionary novelty. In 1906 they presented a spectacular display first at the Salon des Indépendants and later at the Salon d'Automne.

Although the chief center of Fauvism was in France, parallel currents appeared in Germany, and the movement assumed international importance before being supplanted by cubism (q.v.) and various types of abstraction in the years after 1906. The climax of an important preparatory phase, the collective paroxysm of Fauvism could not long sustain its original high state of tension. It had, however, a great effect on the evolution of modern art, exemplifying its subjective qualities, its unbridled freedom, and its striving for acceptance.

Because of its impassioned character and the large number and varying abilities of its adherents, the movement lacked the coherence and methodical progression of cubism. It did not evolve through a disciplined exploration of its own possibilities, but rather through a succession of extended experiments, manifested in a series of somewhat sporadic and isolated explosions,

which merged, giving Fauvism its short but flamboyant burgeoning before its expiration.

Three main groups of painters, together with the solitary figure of the Dutch-born artist Kees van Dongen (PL. 263), were responsible for the rise of the movement in France. The first group was composed of the daring, purposeful pioneers, all students of Gustave Moreau or the Académie Carrière: Henri Matisse (PLS. 258, 259), Albert Marquet (PLS. 256, 259), Charles Camoin (PL. 260), Henri Manguin, and Jean Puy. The second was comprised of their immediate followers, the boisterous pair from Châtou: André Derain (PLS. 257, 262) and Maurice de Vlaminck (PL. 261). Finally, there was the trio from Le Havre, converts from impressionism: Emile Othon Friesz (PL. 264), Raoul Dufy (PL. 255), and Georges Braque (see **EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS**). The relationships among all these artists found a common denominator in the great prestige and strenuous activity of Henri Matisse (q.v.), the oldest of them all; it was he who was both the innovator and recognized leader of the movement. After having attracted to himself the best students of Gustave Moreau's atelier, Matisse made a trip to Corsica and Toulouse in February, 1899, returning with a series of quick sketches rendered in pure colors. At the Académie Carrière he met Derain and Puy, who soon fell under his influence, his violent colors dazzling them for a long time. Through close association with Matisse, the others, especially Marquet, grew to share his ardor.

Derain and Vlaminck became associated and shared a studio in Châtou, a suburb of Paris, beginning in the summer of 1900. Working together there, the two young artists "squeezed their paints from the tubes straight onto the canvas," activated less by artistic impulses than by sheer desire for self-expression. At the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune in the spring of 1901, on the occasion of the retrospective exhibition of Van Gogh (q.v.), which was a revelation to all these artists, Derain introduced Vlaminck to Matisse; thus the trio who were to give Fauvism its initial impetus were brought together for the first time. From 1901 to 1903, while Matisse and his circle went through a period of relative calm and Derain was off on military service, Vlaminck alone continued to develop in accordance with his impassioned nature. He thus was later to claim that he was the true originator of Fauvism.

Kees van Dongen, a compatriot of Johan Jongkind and Van Gogh — whom he resembled in his violence and brilliance — came from Holland in 1897 and settled in Montmartre, as they had done. There he led an impecunious Bohemian existence before attaining success as a painter of society. From Le Havre, the home of Monet and Boudin, by whose work they were influenced for a long time, came three young painters: Othon Friesz in 1898, and Georges Braque and Raoul Dufy in 1900. They had studied in Le Havre under the excellent teacher Charles Lhuillier, the local counterpart of Gustave Moreau. Picasso (q.v.) also in 1900 made his first trip to Paris and soon sold his first paintings to Berthe Weill, whose little shop on the rue Victor Massé in Montmartre became a haven for the budding movements of modern art. Courageously this dealer welcomed Matisse and Marquet in 1902, Puy, Camoin, Manguin, and Dufy the following year, and Friesz, Derain, Vlaminck, and Van Dongen in 1905. She showed their works regularly at least once a year, either in one-man shows or as a group. Among the few other dealers who also supported the Fauve artists during these difficult early years were the erstwhile mattress maker, Père Soulier, and the photographer Druet, who opened a gallery on Faubourg Saint-Honoré in 1903.

The group showed publicly at the Salon des Indépendants and the Salon d'Automne, where they constituted the shock troops of the avant-garde. The Salon des Indépendants, first established in 1884, began its period of renewed activity in 1901 with the participation of Matisse, Marquet, and Puy, joined by Manguin in 1902; Friesz, Dufy, and Camoin in 1903; Van Dongen and Valtat in 1904; Derain and Vlaminck in 1905; and Braque in 1906. Almost all of them showed annually at this salon up to 1910.

The lack of admission requirements, however, filled the Salon des Indépendants with the work of mediocre artists and

gave rise to the need for a new salon, where a liberal jury serving in rotation could eliminate outworn stereotypes and the work of second-rate hangers-on without excluding that of experimental artists. To meet this need, the Salon d'Automne was established in 1903. Matisse showed there regularly from the outset and one by one enlisted the participation of his comrades. While the Salon des Indépendants was held in the spring and generally showed studio compositions executed during the winter, the new salon, as its name indicates, was held in the fall, giving the artists an opportunity to show work done outdoors during the summer. The Indépendants was confined to painting and sculpture, but the Salon d'Automne included all the arts and also extended its hospitality to foreign artists. Both organized important retrospective exhibitions, notably those of Seurat, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Cézanne, and Manet. Reaction to these shows stimulated the rise of the Fauve movement.

After his first exhibition at the gallery of Ambroise Vollard in June, 1904, Matisse spent the summer with Paul Signac and Henri Edmond Cross at the Mediterranean town of Saint-Tropez. Following Matisse's example, nearly all the Fauves went through a pointillist phase that seemed essential for the development of their style. Matisse's work in this technique resulted in the conversion of Friesz in 1904 and that of Dufy the following year.

The return of Derain from military service meant the resumption of close association between Matisse and the two youths from Căhtou, who manipulated their colors like "charges of dynamite." The following summer Derain accompanied Matisse to Collioure; the stimulating interchanges between these two lively, intelligent personalities working under the brilliant light of the Midi gave birth to the first paintings that may truly be called Fauve. At the historic Salon d'Automne of 1905 their works, together with those shown by Marquet, Manguin, Puy, Louis Valtat, Vlaminck, Van Dongen, Friesz, and Georges Rouault, created a sensation. (Rouault, who did not exhibit in the Fauve gallery, always stood somewhat apart from his friends because of his darker palette and the profoundly moral content of his art.) The Russian colorists Wassily Kandinsky (q.v.) and Alexei von Jawlensky (PL. 263) also exhibited at the salon, although they were not to enter their Fauve period until several years later. There appeared simultaneously in 1905 in Dresden the parallel movement the Brücke (Bridge), which included Kirchner, Heckel, and Schmidt-Rottluff (see EXPRESSIONISM). The French and German artists both discovered almost at the same moment the primitive arts of Africa and the South Seas, which soon supplanted the still-current vogue for Japanese prints.

Two essential characteristics of Fauvism — the cult of the primitive and freedom in the handling of color — had been initiated by Gauguin (q.v.), who was honored by a posthumous exhibition at the 1903 Salon d'Automne and by a more comprehensive retrospective in 1906. The latter year, in fact, marked the ascendancy of Gauguin's influence; he was the first, after Manet, to utilize the flat color patterning characteristic of modern painting and to exploit the expressive and spatial properties of pure color. The year 1906, which was the high-water mark of Fauvism, also saw the enrollment of Braque in its ranks. The style had attained its full development, and with all its adherents participating brilliantly, the movement triumphed at the Salon d'Automne. Kandinsky, then visiting in France, was deeply impressed, as his friend Jawlensky was also soon to be. At Dresden the Brücke group added new members and organized its first exhibition. Although the Brücke artists had no direct contact with the Fauves until 1907, their work closely resembled Fauve painting before it evolved in a more expressionist direction with characteristically Germanic psychological overtones. Thus, 1906 also marked the greatest international expansion of the Fauvist style.

Hardly had the Fauve movement attained its apogee in France when it began to decline under the influence of cubism, founded by Braque and Picasso but to some extent anticipated by Matisse and Derain. Cézanne (q.v.) succeeded Gauguin as the paramount influence. By 1908, when Matisse, after having executed a magnificent series of masterpieces, formulated his *Notes of*

*a Painter* as a vindication of the new possibilities of color, which he himself continued to exploit, Fauvism as a concerted movement had already ceased to exist.

MATISSE AND THE ATELIER OF GUSTAVE MOREAU. In 1892 while attending an evening course at the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs Matisse met Albert Marquet (PLS. 256, 259), a silent and tenacious youth from Bordeaux who was six years his junior. Their enduring friendship became cemented when they studied together at Gustave Moreau's famous atelier in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Here Matisse found a stimulating environment and "intelligent encouragement." He was cordially welcomed by the students already enrolled there (George Deavallières, Georges Rouault, René Piot, Henri Evenepoel) and through his ability and dedication soon attracted to himself the best of the new students (Jules Flandrin, Charles Camoin, Henri Manguin, Albert Marquet, and the curious personality Georges Florentin Linaret, an admirer of Cézanne and Van Gogh and a devotee of music and painting, who died shortly thereafter). As Roger Marx wrote in the *Revue encyclopédique* of Apr. 25, 1896, "All those who wished to develop their own individuality placed themselves under the aegis of Gustave Moreau." This instructor's liberal teaching opened untrod paths; he advised his students, as a double antidote to the academic, not to be content merely with frequenting the museums but also to go out into the city streets to paint. "I am the bridge over which some of you will pass," this admirable teacher told them. He also gave them this precept (never put into practice by himself but remembered by others), "In art, the simpler your means, the more apparent becomes your sensibility." And he prophetically told Matisse, "You are going to simplify painting."

Matisse, however, proceeded patiently and methodically. He concentrated on a study of tonal values, copied the classical style, turned to impressionism, frequented Rodin's studio, and, sometimes accompanied by Manguin, visited Camille Pissarro, whom he fervently admired, and received his advice. Following his marriage in January, 1898, Matisse visited London briefly, where he studied Turner, then spent six months in Corail, where he discovered with astonished delight the Mediterranean atmosphere that was to prove his true spiritual milieu; then he stayed for six months in the vicinity of Toulouse. This was a joyful year of relaxation following an arduous apprenticeship. He abandoned himself to his new freedom, reveling in painting outdoors and creating sketches rendered in vivid pure color — yellows, greens, and bright reds — which he executed in vibrant strokes that in some instances swept in continuous lines and in others were applied in dots.

Following his return to Paris in February, 1899, Matisse remained there until 1907, that is, throughout his entire Fauve period. After Moreau's death in 1898, Marquet and Camoin who came originally from Marseilles, had left the Ecole des Beaux-Arts to work at the Louvre and in the streets of the city, as their master had recommended. From 1899 to 1902 Camoin served in the army; he was stationed first at Arles where he sought out souvenirs of Van Gogh, and then at Aix-en-Provence, where he was cordially received by Cézanne. Meanwhile Matisse and Marquet resumed their joint expeditions. In the daytime they worked direct from nature at Arcueil four miles south of Paris, or in the Luxembourg Gardens making powerful studies saturated with pure colors; at night they sketched in music halls and cabarets, where like Toulouse-Lautrec they developed a sensitive and perceptive graphic style. In this type of draftsmanship (see DRAWING), so basic for an understanding of Fauvism, which matched its color with an equal audacity in drawing, Marquet was an incomparable master. Matisse acknowledged this in comparing his speed and sure touch with that of Hokusai.

Among the many influences that affected Matisse at this time the dominant stimulus was that of Cézanne, not solely for his use of pure colors but also for the vitality and structure of his composition. It was from Cézanne that Matisse learned that "colors are what give dynamic force to a painting." Color relationships, therefore, had to be carefully balanced and their

gradations painstakingly worked out. This principle is apparent in several outstanding works of 1899, such as *Still Life against the Light* (Paris, private coll.) and *Street in Arcueil* (Copenhagen, Royal Acad. of Fine Arts). Since the figure was still his major preoccupation, however, Matisse enrolled in the Académie Carrière, where Carrière each week gave genial critiques. There he met Jean Puy, André Derain, Jacques Laprade, Jean Biette, and Auguste Chabaud (PL. 259) — a whole new group of young painters who also quickly fell under the sway of Matisse's maturity and forceful personality. From 1899 to 1901, either at the Académie Carrière or a little later at Biette's studio on the rue Dutot (where several friends joined together to hire a model), Matisse with passionate concentration executed a series of male and female nudes, drawn with boldly slashing strokes in green, violet, and pure cobalt blue and brightened with orange and carmine. All of these studies are strikingly vigorous both in their color and rendering.

Marquet, who was to develop as a master of delicate tonal harmonies rather than as a strong colorist, nevertheless participated actively at the outset in this furious explosion. This participation lasted from a nude of 1898, rightly called *Fauve Nude* (Paris, Coll. Mme. Marquet), to his *Portrait of Mme. Matisse* (Nice, Mus. Masséna) of 1901, which for all the vibrancy of its color retains an intimist atmosphere like that of the Nabis.

From late 1901 to the end of 1903 Matisse, whose goal was to master every means of expression by successively attempting various techniques, devoted himself to the study of volume and mass and worked in intentionally muted colors. He himself was to regard this as a transitional phase between values and hues. During this intermediary period three artists who were never to become more than partial adherents to Fauve principles came to the fore — Puy, Camoin (PL. 260), and Manguin. Their natural spontaneity and faithfulness to postimpressionism carried them to success more quickly than Matisse, from whom they received many influences without completely adopting his radical principles.

**DERAIN AND VLAMINCK AT CHÂTOU.** Châto, a charming suburb of Paris where Derain was born and Vlaminck went to live, was the locale where these two artists brought to maturity their Fauve style, and hence it has sometimes been called the Argenteuil of the Fauves. In June, 1900, Derain, who had joined Matisse at the Académie Carrière several months earlier, met his townsman Vlaminck on a train to Paris. A friendship quickly sprang up between these two great artists, who differed in temperament but were equally fired by youthful enthusiasm and a passion for painting. They decided to work together, and for that purpose converted into a joint studio the former dining room of an abandoned restaurant on the Isle of Châto.

In 1900 Derain (PLS. 257, 262) was twenty years old. After receiving a sound education at the Collège Chaptal, he had been sent by his family, wealthy tradesmen, to the Ecole Centrale to study engineering; here he decided to pursue painting. He attended the academies, visited the museums, and read books on art.

The freethinking and self-taught Maurice de Vlaminck (PL. 261), on the contrary, boasted of never having set foot in the Louvre and trusted only his own instincts. Slightly older than Derain, he was twenty-four and the father of two children when in September, 1900, he completed his military service; it was in fact during his final leave that he met Derain. He had been born in Paris near Les Halles and grew up in a poor environment in the suburb of Le Vésinet. At sixteen he went to live by himself at Châto, earning his living as a bicycle racer and itinerant violinist; his parents, Bohemian musicians, left him to his own devices. On his father's side he came of northern stock; most of his ancestors were either Dutch sailors or Flemish farmers, from whom he inherited his sturdy physique, love of the outdoors, and exuberant bonhomie.

The portrait of Père Bouju, called *Man with a Pipe* (1900; Rueil-la-Gadelière, Coll. Mme. Vlaminck), executed with black strokes in thick impasto, is indicative of Vlaminck's innate talent. The Van Gogh retrospective of 1901 at the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune came as a revelation to the young painter.

Shortly after Derain introduced Matisse to Vlaminck at that exhibition, Matisse went to see the two artists at Châto. Vlaminck, unaware of the earlier achievements of the older man, later implied that this visit was decisive for Matisse's evolution; but according to the latter, "The painting of Derain and Vlaminck did not surprise me, for it was so close to the studies that I myself was making. But I was moved to see that these very young men had certain convictions similar to my own."

It was from Matisse and Vlaminck, who represent the opposite poles of Fauvism and who differed radically in their attitudes toward painting, that the movement derived its force and complexity. Matisse believed that "one must curb one's instinct, which is like a tree that grows more beautiful as its branches are pruned." Vlaminck said that he strove "to paint with his heart and viscera without bothering about style — for instinct is the very foundation of art." Matisse declared that he "had never avoided being influenced by other artists," for originality in his opinion manifested itself solely through the difficulties one experienced and gallantly overcame. Vlaminck on the contrary, impatient for self-expression, forswore any outside influence: "When I hold color in my hands, I don't give two straws for other people's paintings; all that counts is life and myself, myself and life." For him painting was not so much an esthetic experience as a discharge of physical energy, "as relieving as the bursting of an abscess." And in a precise description of his own aggressive though sentimental nature and his boisterous behavior, he added, "I was a tender-hearted savage, full of violence. Purely instinctively, without any formal method, I expressed a human truth rather than an artistic one."

Derain realized that in a sense, "Vlaminck was a truer painter than any of us," and was torn between Vlaminck's frenzy and Matisse's lucidity. Vlaminck's attitude, however, had distinct limitations, for nothing tends to become mechanical more quickly than instinct; nevertheless, at first it led Vlaminck to immediate successes that we readily associate with the very notion of Fauvism. The full violence inherent in his style came to a head in 1903 with *The Pond of St. Cucufa* (Paris, Coll. B. J. Fisz) and even more markedly in 1904 with the *Gardens of Châto* (Art Inst. of Chicago). "I heightened all the tones and transposed into an orchestration of pure colors all the emotions I was capable of feeling," he said. He intensified the texture of his canvases still further by using a thick impasto applied in swirls and spirals, scored with heavy strokes of black; and he suppressed all half tones in order to intensify every color contrast the more strongly. These violent methods were often extremely effective in their energetic forcefulness.

Derain, who was discharged from the army after a three-year interruption of his career that he strongly resented, was greatly impressed by Vlaminck's creative frenzy. He learned from Vlaminck certain compositional tricks, like the use of a curtain of trees receding into the distance and the direct manner of focusing on the principal motif in a painting. Thus, he too embarked on his Fauve period, influenced sometimes by Gauguin and sometimes by Van Gogh. His style, however, was always lighter and more subtle than that of Vlaminck, more varied in its effects, sometimes resembling the paintings of Marquet or foreshadowing those of Dufy (as in *The Bridge at Le Pecq*, Paris, Coll. Roger Gros). His technique alternated between the glistening and sinuous, the angular and abrupt, and differed from Vlaminck's by its elegance and virtuosity.

**THE POINTILLIST PHASE.** The pointillism of Georges Seurat (q.v.) and his followers played a decisive role in the development of several modern colorists. Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Lautrec all went through a divisionist phase before finding their respective styles; and, as already mentioned, Matisse and Marquet, as well as Edouard Vuillard and the Nabis, experimented with pointillism about 1900, as Kandinsky and Robert Delaunay were later to do. From May to July, 1898, Paul Signac, the theorist and proselytizer of the movement, published successive chapters of his celebrated didactic treatise, which made a considerable impression when issued the following year under the title *From Eugène Delacroix to Neo-Impressionism*.

After tracing the history of the theory and defining its principles, he concluded with a prediction that seems to have been prophetically aimed at Matisse: "If among the neo-impressionists themselves the genius who will make this technique vanquish all others has not yet arisen, they will at least have served to simplify his task; for whenever this triumphant colorist appears, he will find his palette already prepared for him." (See EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS.)

Following his exhibition at Vollard's in June, 1904, Matisse at the invitation of Signac went to Saint-Tropez for his vacation; Signac's colleague, Henri Edmond Cross, lived nearby at Le Lavandou. At first still influenced by Cézanne, and thus somewhat austere in his style, Matisse soon yielded to the spell of the Mediterranean atmosphere; his color brightened and blossomed anew. He allowed himself to be persuaded by Signac's persistent arguments and even more by the gentler, less dogmatic Cross, who at his best was an excellent colorist. Cross noted with amusement and sympathy Matisse's efforts to adapt himself to the "precise and scientific method" as he worked outdoors, selecting as his theme the Gulf of Saint-Tropez seen from the end of a pine grove.

Returning to Paris for the second Salon d'Automne, which opened on Oct. 15, 1904, Matisse showed 14 works. Friesz (PL. 264), with whom he had become acquainted, was overwhelmed by them and renounced the impressionism he had hitherto practiced under the tutelage of Jean-Baptiste-Armand Guillaumin and Camille Pissarro, to throw himself into what he called "color orchestrations" and "emotional transpositions."

That time in Paris was remarkable for intense activity among the neoimpressionists, which reached a climax with the Seurat retrospective at the 1905 Salon des Indépendants. The Galerie Druet, which specialized in works of the school, presented an exhibition of Maximilien Luce in March, 1904; of Cross in March, 1905; and in the interlude, in December, 1904, a highly important Signac exhibition organized by Félix Fénéon. "Carried away by this brilliant exhibition of Signac," Jean Puy says, "Matisse was throughout that year a dedicated pointillist." Matisse decided to rework in this technique some of his impromptu experiments of the summer and a number of earlier studies. The crowning achievement of this effort at assimilation is the systematic composition *Luxe, calme, et volupté* (Paris, private coll.). This painting, the title of which derives from a poem by Baudelaire, is a true profession of Matisse's faith in the pointillist technique as well as his first version of the old classical theme of the pastoral subject, which he completely revitalized. The broken colors that sparkled like a scintillating mosaic caused the enthusiastic conversion of another artist from Le Havre, Raoul Dufy (PL. 255), who declared: "Face to face with this canvas, I understood all the new principles of painting, and impressionist realism lost all its charm for me as I contemplated this miracle of the imagination introduced into design and color."

Once the pointillist phase of his development was over, Matisse was to condemn severely the limitations and sterility of neoimpressionist theory; but by completely adhering to its discipline for a time, he had derived from it great benefits. The phase marked an essential stage in the evolution of his art, and even up to 1906 his technique, especially in landscape, remained largely pointillist. Matisse's example, strengthened by the effect of the exhibitions of Seurat and those of his followers at the Galerie Druet, spread a general contagion among his circle. Manguin, Camoin, Marquet, and others in their turn traveled to Saint-Tropez in the summer of 1905 to receive direct instruction; if all of them did not adhere strictly to the principles of pointillism, under the spell of the marvelous climate they brightened their palettes and madly applied broken strokes of pure color.

Painters not immediately associated with Matisse and this group began to use the divisionist technique more or less systematically — Vlaminck, Van Dongen, and even Louis Valtat. The last-named has been placed somewhat arbitrarily with the Fauves, although he is actually closer to artists of the previous generation, such as Cross and Renoir, whose styles he combined. Braque, too, greatly impressed by the Seurat retrospective of

1905, never forgot the lesson of nobility and harmonious calm he derived from it; many works of his Fauve period, which began only in 1906, owe their iridescent magic to the use of a delicately modified pointillism. Derain, Matisse's companion at Collioure, also assimilated the technique of Cross and Signac, which he transformed with his own lyricism.

MATISSE AND DRAIN AT COLLIOURE. Matisse, whom Signac had appointed chairman of the hanging committee for the 1905 Salon des Indépendants, persuaded Derain and Vlaminck to show there with him and brought the former with him to Collioure for his holiday. At this crucial moment Derain served as the link between the two major branches of the Fauve movement, which was about to reach its apogee.

For Matisse and Derain the little Catalan port of Collioure near the Spanish border played the role that Céret in the same Roussillon region was destined shortly after to serve for Braque and Picasso; the harmony between the locale and the painters who worked there resulted in ripening their outlook and developing their style. If, as André Salmon says, Céret was the mecca of cubism, Collioure was the birthplace of Fauvism, for here took place that transition from the pointillism of Saint-Tropez to the brilliant new style that was to create both a sensation and a scandal at the forthcoming Salon d'Automne. Matisse, who was to return faithfully for about ten years to this delightful spot, spent his first summer there in the company of Derain, exploring and enjoying the charms of the countryside. The portraits that the two artists painted of one another, which have been acquired by the Tate Gallery, London, are grave and severe for all their bold texture and color; they are testimonials to the mutual esteem and friendship that united the two men during that fruitful season. Further evidence is provided in Derain's letters to Vlaminck, in which he praised the beauty of the town, enclosed by its ramparts and presenting a harmony of compact forms and pure colors rising between sea and mountains. He especially stressed the quality of the light, "a pale golden light that dispels all shadows." Derain found Matisse's methodical experimentation a complete contrast to Vlaminck's frenzied improvisation, and he realized the extent to which his own talents might develop under the discipline of compositional structure and constant application to work.

The sun-filled paintings of Derain, including many views from the heights overlooking the bay, show his rapid powers of assimilation and his individual advance over the methods of Cross and Signac. He employed a mixed technique, sometimes painting in flat areas and at other times employing a rainbow-hued pointillism. His palette was always light and flowerlike, rich and varied in its intensities and nuances, with cool tones of lavender, green, and violet and warm ones of orange, vermilion, and pink. These works, less sketchy and impetuous than those done at Châtou, he executed directly in color, vividly applied in small strokes, threadlike filaments, or curving spirals that developed into turbulent whorls.

Matisse, intoxicated with the climate and recapturing the ecstasy he had known in Corsica and Toulouse, once more dashed off numerous small, scintillating sketches that sparkled brilliantly with pure color. He enhanced the pointillist technique by means of crosshatchings, linkages, and swirls. But although he found this exuberant manner well adapted to sketches or quick studies and continued to use it in such works for a long time, Matisse felt it did not satisfy his basic desire for harmony or lead him toward his goal of making color the determining factor of his composition and giving it a life of its own.

At this moment the art of Gauguin came as an unexpected revelation. Matisse and Derain often visited their neighbor Aristide Maillol at Banyuls; he shared his personal recollections of Gauguin and imbued them with his own ardent admiration for his work. He also took them to the nearby village of Carneilla-de-Confent, where Daniel de Monfreid, the faithful and solitary friend of Gauguin, preserved magnificent and still completely unknown paintings done in the South Seas. All the Fauves profited by the fundamental lesson of Gauguin: pure color applied flatly to the surface of the painting, thus

overcoming the problem of the "diffusion of local color in light" by substituting for light its only equivalent, "a harmony of intensely colored surfaces."

The final works Matisse painted at Collioure led toward the exuberant coloring that constitutes the very essence of Fauvism. They reveal an unprecedented and transitory medley of pointillism and flat patterning. The most characteristic example is *The Open Window* (New York, John Hay Whitney Coll.), which portrays a subject much favored by Matisse and by modern artists in general. The pigment is applied in a thin, fluent manner, as freely as in a water color. The unbroken flat surfaces of the casement and the wall, blue-green and red-violet, seen against the light, enframe with their calm masses the central area that looks out upon the sun and the sea, flecked with more vivid, turbulent colors.

On his return to Paris, Matisse resumed painting from models and in a few days completed a large portrait of Mme Matisse, *Femme au chapeau* (PL. 238). A veritable eruption of fantastic colors — a face mottled with green, pink, and yellow, topped by a coiffure of brick red and cobalt blue — culminates in the purple of a monumental headdress surmounted by feathers of variegated hues. The same flamboyant colors enliven the gaily patterned dress and are spread over the background. The figure does not predominate over the accessories; each is an equal and independent element, each developed for its own sake, yet they operate harmoniously and are integrated into one rhythmic whole. In its magnificent coloring, controlled despite its gaudiness, the figure expresses its character and personality strongly; the face regards us with a gaze as obsessive as that of a personage in a Fayum portrait or an El Greco.

The *Femme au chapeau* was the most sensational painting at the famous Salon d'Automne of 1905 and was followed soon after by a second portrait of Mme Matisse in which only the head and bust were rendered, with no accessories. This work, monumental in spite of its small size, is called *Portrait with a Green Stripe* (Copenhagen, Royal Acad. of Fine Arts) because of the yellow-green line that vertically divides the face into two halves — the lighted side pink edged with red, the shaded side yellow outlined in green. This daring central line, which gives both light and modeling to the face, also prevents it from being overwhelmed by the equally forceful background, where purple and vermillion on one side contrast with emerald green on the other. Instead of mixing his colors in a medley freely derived from the impressionist tradition, as he had heretofore, Matisse had begun to organize them in concentrated, clearly defined areas, following Van Gogh and Gauguin but in a more resonant and structural fashion. These colors, laid on in flat areas enlivened by dark accents, deprive the human face of its character of deep seriousness and create a kind of dissonant, clashing harmony the intensity of which results from the purity of the component elements and the simple tension between them. Going beyond his earlier efforts and violating the principles of complementaries, Matisse instinctively used color in this way as the basis for his vital style. As he later wrote, "Fauvism for me was a tryout of means: to place side by side blue, red, green and combine them in an expressive and structural fashion. It was the result of an inborn necessity within myself rather than of any conscious intention."

**MATURITY OF FAUVISM.** During the year 1906, in which Braque joined the Fauves, contacts among the members of the group multiplied. Relations with artists abroad were established, marking the triumph and greatest expansion of the movement. The material situation of the painters, which up to that time had been very difficult, also improved considerably. In 1905 Marquet signed a contract with Druet; Vollard, who formerly had been interested only in Valtat and Camoin, following Matisse's advice made arrangements with Derain in February, 1905, with Puy a few months later, and with Vlaminck in April, 1906. Derain, before renting a studio in the rue Tourlaque in Montmartre, frequented the Bateau Lavoir, where Van Dongen had been one of the first residents. Vlaminck, who installed himself comfortably with his family at Rueil, was able to give up his music and to devote himself entirely to painting. Though

Matisse was to sign no regular contract until September, 1909, he was able to support himself through purchases by a small but influential coterie of collectors. Among these were Gertrude and Leo Stein, who adorned the walls of their cosmopolitan salon with an increasing number of his paintings. It was here that Matisse late in 1906 met his young rival Picasso.

In March of that year Matisse's second one-man exhibition had opened at the Galerie Druet, where Marquet and Van Dongen were later to be shown. Although it was a very important exhibition, including paintings, water colors, sculptures, and a new series of lithographs and woodcuts, it was somewhat eclipsed by the opening of the Salon des Indépendants which took place the next day.

The painting *Joie de vivre* proved by far the most outstanding of the works on view there, earning Matisse the title "King of the Fauves." This large composition (purchased by Leo Stein and now owned by the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pennsylvania) had been painted in the expropriated convent of Les Oiseaux in Paris, where Matisse and Friesz set up their studios late in 1905. The summation and logical outcome of Matisse's work at Collioure — as *Luxe, calme, et volupté* had been of his activity at Saint-Tropez — the painting combined in an extraordinary synthesis the two traditionally contrasting themes of the bacchanal and the pastoral, thus simultaneously exalting Dionysiac frenzy and Apollonian calm, rhythm, and melody. The equally strong elements of linear arabesque and pure color are joined together to organize space and form that have no relation to naturalistic representation. The first major masterpiece of the 20th century, antedating Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, *Joie de vivre* embodied all the essentials of Fauvism and at the same time transcended them. The work served Matisse as the *Gates of Hell* had served Rodin, incorporating in embryo the artist's achievements for a long time thereafter.

Following the opening of these two exhibitions, Matisse made his first journey to North Africa, which had attracted painters ever since Delacroix. He was to return there often, drawn by the sunlight and fascinated by Moslem art, the stylizations and gay color of which had already left their imprint on *Joie de vivre*. After two weeks at Biskra in Algeria, where he bought many of the ceramics and textiles that were later to appear frequently in his paintings, he came back to Collioure and stayed there till the end of the summer. With unflagging energy he produced a series of landscapes, figure studies, and still lifes, experimenting in various manners — sometimes employing massive, architectonic forms boldly inscribed within dark contours, at other times creating delicate, decorative linear passages either without outlines or enclosed in fluent arabesques.

Fauvism offered Matisse the possibility of free experimentation in color and line, always used in an attempt to attain maximum conciseness and expressive power. The *Still Life with Red Carpet* (Grenoble, Mus. de Peinture et Sculpture), which Matisse considered his best work, combines varied techniques. Color is applied in strokes or pointillist dots and laid on in flat areas or in concentric circles in consistencies ranging from glazes to heavy blobs. Browns and blacks are intermingled with sumptuously rich hues. Matisse, the first to use pure colors, was also the first to revert to shading, which he did while Fauvism was still at its height. He was the only one of the group who could subdue his palette without diminishing its luminosity. The brilliance of his color was in fact often less the result of its actual intensity than of its careful placement within the painting and its interplay with its surroundings.

Vlaminck, on the other hand, with ever-increasing ardor continued to apply his colors just as he squeezed them out of the tube, making them as pure and vibrant as possible. After a wholly unexpected visit from Vollard, who as was his custom bought up everything then in the artist's studio, Vlaminck's enthusiasm was unbounded, and the summer of 1906 was undoubtedly the most productive and happiest of his entire career. He set up his easel along the banks of the Seine in the vicinity of Châtou, sometimes like Monet, facing the water with its glowing reflections, at others like Picasso, looking toward the hillside where the houses lost themselves amidst



surrounding trees. At heart he always remained a naturalist, though he did not seek to reproduce the external spectacle; rather he grasped it convulsively, simplifying its structure and exaggerating its local colors. The thick, dark rings that clustered among the furrows of his paint broke up into disconnected, brilliantly colored fragments or vanished altogether under the ebullient force of his color. Forms seemed to grow spontaneously out of the pure, vivid hues — blood reds, sunny yellows and oranges, and electric blues brought to the highest pitch and unified in masterly, dynamic harmonies. The paint was applied in thick, glossy strokes and slapped on with gusto; it seemed to be drenched with light, and delicate shadings sometimes tempered its extreme violence. Vlaminck, the victim of his own temperament, was swiftly carried to the heights of achievement by his driving strength, which soon also revealed his limitation — a vision essentially restricted to impetuously setting down violent sensations.

Derain, however, following his experience with Matisse at Collioure, abandoned this sensuously direct approach to seek a more subtle means of expression. "It is imperative to break out of the trap in which the realists have imprisoned us," he wrote to Vlaminck from London on Mar. 7, 1906. This visit to London, where the atmosphere enchanted him, inspired the best series of works Derain produced during his Fauve period — some twenty canvases commissioned by Vollard, who wished to have the famous series of subjects that Monet had exhibited with success in May and June, 1904, done again in the new style. While Vlaminck preferred hot colors — vermilion or pure chrome yellow violently contrasted with cobalt blue or ultramarine — Derain developed a more airy, subtle palette in which delicate cool shades predominated — greens, violets, and blues tinged with dusky pinks and mauves. As he himself declared, he sought to paint "forms born outdoors, permeated with the full light of day, and meant to be seen in broad daylight." He sought not the vaporous, transient effects of Monet but the brilliant and palpable reflection rising on the colored surface of his canvas. His lively draftsmanship with its short, staccato strokes and thin, delicate lines complemented the fluent variety of his color scheme. *Westminster Bridge* (Paris, private coll.), which he selected from all the works that he brought back with him from London for submission to the Salon d'Automne of 1906, is one of the most successful masterpieces of the Fauve movement. Arabesques of pure colors, flat areas of glowing yellows, greens, blues, and pinks, are intertwined softly in a curving space, the dynamism of which unites every element of the composition in harmonious unity. In this painting Derain achieved an unforeseen and masterly fusion of Lautrec and Gauguin.

Dufy, after the decisive revelation of Matisse, kept up his contacts with his fellow artists from Le Havre but had his closest affinities with Marquet. They worked side by side at Fécamp in 1904 and at Sainte-Adresse in 1905. At the height of the Fauve movement in 1906, they spent the summer together on the Normandy coast in the triangle bounded by Le Havre, Honfleur, and Trouville, where so many artists have delighted to paint. At Trouville they painted the same signboard covered with multicolored posters, at Sainte-Adresse the same bathing establishment, at Le Havre the same views overlooking the harbor and the same streets decked with flags in celebration of Bastille Day. Both men gaily enlivened their palettes and often painted several versions of the same subjects. Although a comparison of their work reveals the similarity in their technique and choice of color, it also makes the differences between them apparent. Dufy's tendency was toward lighthearted fantasy, Marquet's toward greater characterization and simplicity.

During the same summer of 1905 Braque (q.v.), youngest of the Le Havre group, took up the Fauve style and worked with Friesz at Antwerp. There he painted a dozen works which mark his real debut as an artist. He profited by the technical experience of his older companion, acknowledging both his ability and the quality of his work. Braque's own perceptive and charming manner of seeing, his lyricism, and his constant potential for development were already noteworthy, however. After a brief stay in Paris during September and

October, he too went south and passed the winter at L'Estaque, near Marseilles. There he adapted to his own purposes the pointillist technique developed at Saint-Tropez and Collioure, and within a color gamut that became increasingly brilliant, though always tastefully restrained, he too followed Gauguin in pursuit of linear rhythms and decorative patterns. Returning to Paris in February, 1907, he showed at the Salon des Indépendants and entered into direct relationship with Matisse, Derain, Vlaminck, and others of the Fauve group. Leaving for the south again in May, he went to La Ciotat, between Marseilles and Toulon, where Friesz, who had already stayed there in 1905, came to join him. The palette of both artists became increasingly brilliant and high-keyed, still further removed from nature, and their compositions tended to develop vertically through flat planes outlined by strongly accentuated arabesques. In September before returning to Paris, they went to L'Estaque and gave renewed attention to formal problems.

The esthetic concepts of the Fauves included an even distribution of light and construction of space by means of color, which covers the entire surface of the painting with a minimum of effects of modeling or chiaroscuro; purity and simplification of pictorial means; and harmony in composition between the expressive or emotive content and the decorative elements and their arrangement. To quote Matisse in *Notes of a Painter*, "Composition is the art of arranging in a decorative manner the various elements at the painter's disposal for the expression of his feelings." Form and content coincide and modify one another through reciprocal action, for "expression comes from the colored surface that the spectator perceives in its entirety." Based on spontaneous reaction to color ("I discover the quality of colors in a purely instinctive way"), Fauvism may be termed a dynamic form of sensual pleasure ("the impact a scene produces on the senses"), disciplined by synthesis and subordinated to a basic economy of means ("all that is not essential in a painting is detrimental to it").

Adherence to this strict discipline distinguishes the true creators of the movement from those followers who merely exaggerated their color within a conventional scheme and worked as if they were dyers rather than painters. For the excited handling of color is not in itself sufficient to characterize Fauvism. "This was only the external manifestation," Matisse declared. "Fauvism came into being because we suddenly wanted to abandon the imitation of the local colors of nature and sought by experimenting with pure color to obtain increasingly powerful — obviously instantaneous — effects, and also to achieve greater luminosity."

The retrospective at the 1907 Salon d'Automne was devoted to Cézanne, whose principles of structure then supplanted Gauguin's stress on the decorative as a dominant influence among artists. That year was a critical one for modern art, for at its beginning Picasso (with whom Derain significantly enough was soon to align himself) completed his *Les Femmes d'Alger*, thus launching painting on a new direction. Cubism (see CUBISM and FUTURISM) was born amidst the final strong manifestations of Fauvism and the rising tide of expressionism. The fact that Braque without self-betrayal could pass from Fauvism to cubism is sufficient demonstration that these contrary tendencies were equally valid, both contributing to the strong revolutionary movements of modern art.

**FAUVISM OUTSIDE FRANCE.** Fauvism was not confined solely to France. In Germany there were two particular groups affected by it: the Brücke movement during its Dresden period, which has already been discussed briefly, and the Neue Künstler Vereinigung (New Artists' Federation) in Munich before the secession of the Blaue Reiter (Blue Rider) group (see EXPRESSIONISM).

Despite the similarities of the Brücke group in Germany to the Fauves in France, already mentioned in connection with the 1905 Salon d'Automne, a direct connection was established between the two only at the end of 1907, when Max Pechstein returned to Dresden from a trip to France. In Paris he had discovered the activity of the Fauves and had met Van Dongen. The latter, invited to exhibit with the Brücke group in 1908,



responded by sending them some water colors and drawings. The choice of Van Dongen was far from accidental, for through his Dutch origin, his manner of seeing, his technique, and his choice of subject matter he was as close to the Germans as he was to the French, and thus he could serve as a link between the two groups. Among the Fauves he was closest to the Châtou pair, Derain and Vlaminck, who like him were inclined to be impulsive and who retained certain vestiges of impressionism.

Munich, where the first German Sezeession movement had taken place in 1892, was another very active center. Matisse, whose influence was extensive in Germany, made two trips there in 1908 and 1910. It was between those dates that the Neue Künstler Vereinigung was founded in Munich and that Kandinsky (q.v.) and Jawlensky, even though they had exhibited at the 1905 Salon d'Automne in Paris, went through their Fauve period, directly under Matisse's influence. These two highly gifted Russian colorists had arrived in Munich in the same year, 1896, where they soon met and entered into a lasting and productive friendship. In 1904 two exhibitions at Munich of neoimpressionism and postimpressionism had introduced them to the modern idioms of painting and the new possibilities of color. Jawlensky made frequent trips to France where he came into contact with Matisse, Rouault, and through the monk-painter Willibrord Verkade also with the Nabis and the Pont-Aven tradition (see GAUGUIN, PAUL). In 1905 he went to Brittany and later to Provence, where for the first time he succeeded, in his own words, "in representing nature with tonalities as ardent as those of my own soul."

From the spring of 1906 to the spring of 1907, precisely at the height of Fauvism, Kandinsky lived at Sèvres, near Paris. Though he did not become personally acquainted with any of the French masters of color, he was strongly affected by their paintings; he frequented the Steins' salon and especially admired the art of Matisse. Before returning to Munich he went to Dresden and exhibited with the Brücke group. His early work up to 1907 had been sometimes neoimpressionist but more often neoromantic, mingling reminiscences of Russian legends and folklore with fanciful motifs derived from the Jugendstil (see ART NOUVEAU). Under the stimulus of his trip to France a true change took place in his style in 1908-09, when he went to live at the foot of the Bavarian Alps in the charming village of Murnau and was soon joined there by Jawlensky. Together they discovered the ancient folk art typical of the region, painting on glass. Its naïve expressiveness and its technique of applying pure color in separate fields like cloisonné enamel had a strong influence on their work. The Fauvism of both artists was always permeated by a kind of lyrical fantasy.

The influence of Fauvism was also operative outside Europe, particularly in the United States (see AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS).

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Jean LEYMARIE

Illustrations: *PLS.* 255-264.

**FEATHERWORK.** The use of feathers for decorating clothing, arms, tools, utensils, and religious objects has been practiced in an area that extends from southern and eastern Asia through Indonesia and Oceania to the two Americas. This craft reached a high degree of perfection and became, in fact, an art in various areas of Polynesia and among the pre-Columbian Central American and Andean civilizations.

**SUMMARY.** Definition of featherwork and techniques (col. 382). Asia and Oceania (col. 382). America (col. 384).

**DEFINITION OF FEATHERWORK AND TECHNIQUES.** A distinction must be made between a simple feather ornament and featherwork. Neither the attaching of feathers to the skin with blood — a practice of African Bushmen and Australian aborigines — or some other medium nor the inserting of single feathers into the hair constitutes true featherwork. Only when feathers are used in a clearly recognizable decorative plan, achieved with the help of technical means, can featherwork be called an art, the finest products of which may be termed mosaics.

Featherwork is never an end in itself but rather a decorative complement to religious or personal objects. It has been used on headgear, capes, ponchos, blankets, baskets, shields, and religious objects, particularly ceremonial staffs. Featherwork has been used even for money on some of the islands of the Pacific, for example, the Santa Cruz (see COINS AND MEDALS). The feathers, which are never employed independently, are applied as decoration to a base of a different material, such as net, cloth, wood, paper, leather, or bark. They may be either of one color or several, in the latter case a design being worked out in the various hues.

Feathers are applied in three ways. In the first they are inserted by their quills into the base material. This technique is used mostly for head ornaments and in dance shields made of basketry, bamboo, or wood. The large dance shields from Melanesia are made of bark surrounded by a rattan border, into which the feathers are inserted fanwise. This method, which actually involves no more than an artificial lengthening of the quill by means of bamboo or wood splints, is also used for decorating frontal bands and crowns. Only a limited number of variations of design can be produced by this technique, though some variety may be obtained by trimming the feathers to desired patterns or altering the shapes of the base into which the feathers are fixed.

In the second way the feathers are glued to a base of smooth wood, paper, or, less frequently, twining or net. The third way, in which the quill is tied to a loop, is extensively practiced. Two techniques are used. In one, single feathers are tied directly to the base material. In the other, either single feathers or bunches of feathers are tied to a string, which in its turn is intertwined with the base material.

The three techniques have been employed side by side and all used for both simple and extremely complicated works. In cultures where featherwork has been practiced a qualitative development going from the use of large, second-grade feathers toward those carefully selected for color, size, and direction of veining can always be noted. The specialized professions of bird catchers and feather merchants have arisen in these cultures as a result of this development.

**ASIA AND OCEANIA.** In Asia and the islands of the Pacific Ocean featherwork has been found only among the peoples who had attained the agricultural stage of development and in the more advanced cultures deriving from them. It was used mainly for head ornaments, which are of three kinds. In the first, feathers project fanwise from a base, usually a band or ring that either encircles the head horizontally or runs along the top of the head vertically (*PL.* 266). In the latter case the band may go either from the forehead to the nape or from one temple to the other. The second type is a true crown, in which the feathers are arranged vertically around the head. The third is the hat, made of basketry or wood, on which the feathers are attached by any of various techniques. While the first two types have an extraordinarily wide distribution, appearing over almost all the area between southern Asia and Polynesia, the third is found only in Polynesia, among certain tribes in Borneo, and among some of the Naga tribes in Assam in India. Particularly in central Polynesia feather ornament appears on conical coiled hats. A specialty of the Polynesian craft is the use of rosettes, obtained by tying bunches of feathers to small rings. These rosettes are then arranged on the hats in horizontal bands. An especially interesting development of this type of head

decoration was the unique war hat, or *fau*, of the Society Islands. It could be worn only by men of high rank, and in the tumult of battle became a rallying point. A hat like this, cylindrical and open at the top, made from twined rattan, might reach a height of some thirty inches. Green feathers bordered by white ones radiate from the lower edge, while the cylinder itself is covered by the long tail feathers of the tropic bird *Phaethon lepturus*.

Feathers also play a part in cult paraphernalia and shields. In the Sepik River area of New Guinea and in New Britain the shields of the warriors are decorated with a simple mosaic of feathers. In central New Guinea small woven rattan towers covered with red and green feathers and wood and bone ceremonial staffs, also covered with brightly colored feathers, are used for religious purposes.

The feathers are applied to all these shields, towers, and staffs by the same method. First they are carefully graded, so that the smaller may be placed over the larger. The single feathers are neither inserted into the base nor are they tied; they adhere to each other naturally. In fact, the whole construction is held together by a band of rattan applied to the outside, though the lower feathers may sometimes be slightly glued. The rattan strip is always placed under the upper layer of feathers, so as not to spoil the design.

Feather wheels of this type of construction with a diameter just short of five feet have been discovered in the Finisterre Mountains of New Guinea. The feathers are arranged in concentric polychrome circles. A necessary technical expedient of these wheels is the artificial lengthening of the quills. These additions are all hidden in a circle of leaves in the center of the wheel.

None of these, however, is so noteworthy as the large feather capes made in Hawaii, in the Society Islands, and among the Maori in New Zealand (see POLYNESIAN CULTURES). These capes, the history of which has been studied by Sir Peter Buck (1943, 1944), whose native name is Te Rangi Hiroa, began as local developments in each of these three centers, unrelated to one another or to similar phenomena in the Americas. In each of the three cultures the cape originated as a leaf-covered fishing net that served simply as a protection against the rain. It has been proved that in the earliest capes, especially those of the Maori, the feathers were attached to the net by the same technique with which the bunches of leaves were fastened.

The surprising circular form of the Hawaiian cape is the final step of a very long evolution that must have been completed shortly before the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook in 1778. Its antecedents were rectangular capes, technically much simpler. To cover the large meshes of the fishing net large feathers were needed, and therefore in the beginning use was made of the black feathers from the cock and the frigate bird, brown ones from the neck of the cock, and white ones from the breast of the *Phaethon lepturus*. The quills of these feathers are short and stiff, unlike the pliable leaves, which necessitated the creation of a new technique. Instead of being tied in bunches, each single feather was tied to the net with a string of its own. The feathers of the wood birds were, however, not large enough to cover the large mesh of the net. This difficulty was overcome either by cutting the skin of the bird into strips and gluing them to bark that was then applied to the net, or by reducing the diameter of the meshes so that they could be covered by shorter feathers. To obtain the circular form of the Hawaiian cape the net had to be cut into segments, since the knotting technique used in making the net allowed the production only of rectangular forms. The segments were then sewed together to make the circular shape. The Hawaiian feather cape is therefore a tailored garment.

The feathers especially favored were the red ones of the iwi (*Vestiaria coccinea*) and the apapani (*Himatione sanguinea*). Also employed were the yellow feathers of the o-o (*Moho nobilis*) and the mamo bird (*Drepanis pacifica*), now extinct, and more rarely, the green ones of the ou (*Ptilinopus ptilinopus*). These feathers were worked so delicately that the final product was like velvet or plush. Most prized were the red feathers, which were venerated as symbols (souls) of the gods in the Society

Islands. With the passing of time, however, the yellow feathers became most desired, although even today the yellow feather capes are called *ahunula*, or red garments. Special crested war helmets and heads of the war god Kukailimoku (PL. 265) were made in Hawaii by a similar technique.

AMERICA. In America, as in Asia and Oceania, featherwork of this kind was developed by agricultural peoples and in the high archaic civilizations that sprang from them. Here, too, there was a preponderance of headgear, and typologically the same forms as in Asia and Oceania appear. In North America the eagle feathers of the Plains Indians are associated with this kind of head ornament. Among these tribes the feather warbonnet was a sign of bravery. Originally the appendage to the headpiece, falling down the back, reached to the hips. But when in the second half of the 16th century the North American Indian adopted the horse, the tail of the warbonnet lengthened, becoming much longer than the normal stature of a man, so that it could be worn only when the warrior rode horseback.

Feather headgear reached its greatest pomp in the tropical zones of Central and South America (PL. 267). The vertical crown with the feathers arranged fanwise is often met with among the Caribs, the Arawaks, and the Tupis. Among the Mojo Indians of the Mamoré River head ornaments consisting of no less than 300 tail feathers of 85 different birds, mostly *Ostinops decumanus*, macaw, and other parrot varieties, have been collected. A particular characteristic of the South American featherwork is the ornamental use of elytra (anterior wings) of beetles, which have a metallic luster. This has also been found in the featherwork of central New Guinea.

Feather-decorated mantles and blankets appear throughout most of the two Americas (PLs. 279, 271). Usually they are formed of either strips of bird skins or the whole skins sewn together. In the southeastern part of North America and along the Gulf Coast turkey feather cloaks and covers were used by the men, while similar garments were made of swan or duck feathers for the female members of the noble families. The same kinds of apparel were produced by the California Indians from pelican feathers. In South America, too, one finds similar cloaks, especially among the Tupi, where they were used by chiefs and priests. From the typological point of view these should not really be considered featherwork, since the feathers are still attached to the skin of the bird. Nevertheless, there was an attempt toward composition manifested in the choice of the various colors and sizes of the feathers, even if these cloaks can in no way be compared to the highly evolved products of the Oceanic cultures.

Feather decoration of religious objects was as common in America as in Asia and the South Seas. From the Iroquois area of New York to the Gulf Coast there existed the feather fan and the application of polychrome feathers to tobacco pipes. The California Indians decorated their baskets with feathers (II, PL. 233; see BASKETRY). Especially among the Pueblo Indians feathers played an important part as religious objects, symbols, and altar ornaments.

Featherwork in the Americas reached its greatest development among the high archaic civilizations, especially in Mexico, where feathers were used in war ornaments and as emblems of rank. Over a quilted cuirass the warrior wore a costume consisting of a cotton shirt, to which feathers were attached. This war dress was called *ehuatl* (skin). The king of the Aztecs in battle wore the dress of the god Xipe, a shirt made from the pink feathers of the spoonbill (*Ajaia ajaja*), which represented the skin of the victim that Xipe wore. To this was added a crown of the same feathers, a sash of quetzal (*Pharomacrus mocimmo*) feathers, and a shield decorated with feather mosaic.

Peculiar to Mexican featherwork are the large war emblems. A light bamboo basketry frame was covered with bark fiber to which individual feathers, feather mosaic, and gold leaf were applied. With the aid of a ladderlike support the warrior carried this emblem on his shoulders. Represented on these emblems were head ornaments, symbols of the gods and animals and religious and secular objects. Also part of the war outfit was a round flat shield (PL. 268) without umbilicus (knob in

the center of the shield), on the front of which agave paper was pasted and then covered by a feather mosaic.

The Aztecs, immigrants from the north, originally knew only the black, brown, and white feathers of the eagle, the turkey, the quail, the duck, and the heron. But in Mexico they became acquainted with the splendor of tropical colors, prizing above all the metallic-green tail feathers of the quetzal, equaled in value only by gold and jade. The pink feathers of the spoonbill and the turquoise-blue ones of the South American chattering were equally treasured. The Aztecs also utilized the red of the macaw (*Ara macao*), the yellow-green of the young parrot, the golden yellow of the oxiole (*Icterus gularis*), as well as the splendid polychrome of the humming bird. The tying technique prevailed, the feathers being placed one over the other like roof tiles. For a multicolored design the various layers of color were laid one over another, and the desired motif was later cut with a knife.

Central American featherwork had its origin not on the Mexican plateau but on the Gulf Coast, inhabited by the ancient Olmecs. Only a few examples of this splendid art have been preserved. Among the most famous of the "guest's gifts" of Montezuma is a regal headdress preserved in Vienna (Mus. für Völkerkunde). Only two to four of the tail feathers of a quetzal are usable; in the Vienna headdress 459 have been counted.

Also noteworthy are some of the products of the colonial age, such as the miter with representations of Christian themes that is part of the Medici Collection, today preserved in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (PL. 272).

Feather mosaics have also been found in the Incan culture zone (I, PL. 181; see ANDREAN PROTOHISTORY). It is known that the Incas produced garments and blankets in this technique, but no piece directly attributable to them has survived. Excellent examples have been found in tombs on the Peruvian coast, however, in the same technique used in Central America (PLS. 269, 271).

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Illustrations: PLS. 265-272.

**FEININGER, LYONEL.** American painter, graphic artist, illustrator, and cartoonist (b. New York, 1871; d. New York, 1956). The son of professional musicians, Lyonel studied the violin with his father, and by the age of twelve had performed in concerts. In 1887 he was sent to Germany to study music but there decided to change to art. He studied first at the Hamburger Kunstgewerbeschule and from 1889 to 1891 at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. In Paris, 1892-93, he worked at the Académie Colarossi. In 1893 he began to work as a cartoonist and illustrator in Berlin for such publications as *Lustige Blätter* and *Harper's Young People*. In Paris, 1906-07, he produced regular comic strips for the *Chicago Tribune*. He turned to painting just as the cubist movement was appearing. In 1911 he came into direct contact with cubism in Paris, and knew Robert Delaunay (q.v.), who was important to the development of Feininger as he was to be to other artists of the Blaue Reiter group, such as Marc, Klee, and Kandinsky (qq.v.). Feininger's pictures of 1913 (e.g., *The Side Wheeler*, Detroit, Inst. of Arts) show the lyrical and spiritualized treatment of cubism characteristic of this artist's early years. His art bears a closer relationship to the quasi-futurist expression of De-

launay than to the more static fragmentation of the ordinary cubists; in mood he projects a kind of delicacy in his dissolution of form and interpenetration of space. This quality made him of immediate interest to Franz Marc, who invited Feininger to participate in the Blaue Reiter exhibition at the First German Autumn Salon in Berlin (1913), and it is ultimately with this group of romantic expressionists that one must classify Feininger. Between 1919 and 1924 he taught painting and graphic art at the Bauhaus in Weimar, moving with the Bauhaus group to Dessau and functioning there as artist-in-residence (1925-33) until the Bauhaus was closed by the Nazis. In 1924 he had joined Kandinsky, Klee, and Jawlensky to form the Blue Four (Die Blauen Vier), a Blaue Reiter successor group which exhibited in the United States and Mexico as well as in Germany. During this second phase of his career, the art of Feininger took on a quiet, horizontalized, and un-cubist form, emphasizing tiny boats against deeply receding seascapes or the smallness of man against the largeness of nature in a modernized version of the art of Caspar David Friedrich. Feininger, who gave a one-man show at the Nationalgalerie in Berlin (1931) and who was commissioned by the city of Halle to create a series of gift paintings, was included among the "degenerate" artists by the Hitler government after 1933. In 1937 Feininger returned to his native America, where his reputation was already established. Two important commissions for the New York World's Fair (1939-40) were followed by a two-man show (with the American expressionist Marsden Hartley) at the Museum of Modern Art in 1944. The subtly poetic Feininger continued to be concerned with transcending the limitations of the physical world to achieve a more spiritual meaning. His works may be found in many public collections, among them the Institute of Arts (Detroit), the Museum of Modern Art (New York), the Walker Art Center (Minneapolis; I, PL. 115), the City Art Museum (St. Louis), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). See AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS; I, PL. 115.

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Bernard S. MYERS

**FETTI, DOMENICO (FETI).** Italian painter (b. probably at Rome, ca. 1588; d. Venice, Apr. 16, 1623). Fetti was trained in Rome under Lodovico Cigoli, whose influence is apparent in his early work, according to the art historian Giovanni Baglione. Cigoli recommended the painter to Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga, later Duke of Mantua, and Fetti was evidently working at Mantua by 1613 (*Female Martyr*, initialed and dated 1613, Mantua, Palazzo Ducale); a ducal order of 1614 makes provision for Fetti from June 29, 1613. At Mantua he was fully employed not only on a frieze of imaginary portraits of the Gonzaga family and other work for the palace but also for local churches. He was sent in 1618 to visit Florence and was warmly received by the court there. In 1620 the Duke of Mantua presented him with a house. The following year Fetti was dispatched to Venice to acquire suitable pictures for the ducal villa "Favorita" (letter of July 14, 1621, from the Duke). In 1622, as the result of a quarrel, Fetti left Mantua again for Venice, where he wrote a letter of apology to the Duke, Sept. 10, 1622. In February, 1623, he was still at Venice—despite requests for his return—and then begged for three months' leave to finish work commissioned at Venice. News of his grave illness reached Mantua early in April, 1623. Baglione records his age at death as about thirty-five.

Fetti was influenced presumably by Caravaggio, certainly by Elsheimer, and probably by Rubens. He painted portraits and religious pictures, but his most personal contribution appears in Biblical themes such as the Multiplication of the Loaves (II, PL. 202), the Prodigal Son, and the Pearl of Great Price—the pictures often exist in several versions. The brevity of Fetti's career and the absence of dated pictures make his chronology difficult to trace; serious study of his work is compara-

tively recent. Groups of his pictures are at Vienna, Dresden, and Hampton Court. The altarpiece mentioned by Baglione as painted by the artist when young in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome, is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. His sister Lucrina, a nun, also painted.

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Michael LEVY

**FIGURE, HUMAN.** See HUMAN FIGURE.

**FIGURE COMPOSITION.** See CHOREOGRAPHY.

**FILARETE, ANTONIO.** Florentine sculptor and architect who was born about 1400 and died, according to Vasari, at the age of 69. His given name was Antonio Averlino. The name "Filarete" is close to the Greek for "lover of virtue," and its humanistic pretentiousness is typical of Filarete's career and aims. Most of what we know of his life is derived from Vasari, who thought little of his abilities: "If Pope Eugenius IV, when he resolved to make the bronze door for St. Peter's in Rome, had used diligence in seeking for men of excellence . . . [and he would easily have been able to find them at that time, when Brunelleschi, Donatello, and other rare craftsmen were alive] it would not have been carried out in the deplorable manner which it reveals . . ." Filarete's doors were put up on June 26, 1445; they are among the few objects from Old St. Peter's that are still in place. Vasari's strictures are justified in that these doors, which cannot compare with the work of Ghiberti or Donatello (qq.v.), were clearly intended to rival Ghiberti's doors for the Baptistery in Florence (II, PL. 290).

In about 1447 or 1448, Filarete left Rome and went to Lombardy. In 1456 he began to build the great Milanese hospital, the *Albergo de' Poveri di Dio*. The new hospital was architecturally important in that it was planned as a cross in a square, with a church at the center; that is, it looked forward to the central-plan type of building culminating in Bramante's St. Peter's. Even more important, however, was Filarete's *Treatise* and his influence in propagating the classical style of Brunelleschi in northern Italy. The *Treatise* is datable at about 1461-64 (I, PL. 406), and is largely based on Alberti's theories. Many of the ideas on town planning anticipate much later theories (III, PL. 484). Almost nothing survives to give an idea of Filarete's style, but it seems clear that compromises with local taste and practice made his buildings much less important than his ideas.

SOURCES. Filarete's *Treatise* has been edited (unsatisfactorily) by W. von Oettingen, Vienna, 1896.

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**FILMS.** See CINEMATOGRAPHY.

**FINLAND.** The Finns belong linguistically to the Finno-Ugric group. The history of Finland became a part of the history of the West upon its Christianization, which occurred only following its submission to Sweden in 1157. Thereafter, because of its geographic position, it was overshadowed by its more powerful neighbors, Sweden and Russia. During this period of shifting foreign domination, the Finns repeatedly expressed their desire for independence. These feelings

reflected in the development of local trends — which were, however, always strongly influenced by Swedish culture — within the major European art styles. During the Napoleonic era, Finland was ceded to Russia, which exerted some cultural pressure upon it during the 19th century. Finland achieved independence in 1917 and adopted a republican constitution (1919). In 1947, it was obliged to cede several parts of its territory — the Karelian Isthmus, including Viipuri (Vyborg), the Fisher Peninsula, and the Pechenga (Petsamo) fiord — to the Soviet Union. Finland has never attained a cohesive artistic tradition because of (1) its sparse population, which is and has always been concentrated in the coastal areas, and (2) its complex political history and long subjection to foreign cultural influences. It has, nonetheless, made distinguished contributions in the fields of architecture, city planning, and industrial design.

SUMMARY. Cultural and artistic epochs (col. 388). Chief art centers (col. 394).

**CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC EPOCHS.** The earliest Stone Age finds that have been made in Finland date from the postglacial epoch, but the terms "art" or "craft" can be applied only to those objects that date from the Neolithic period. The so-called "combed pottery" (*Kammkeramik*; PL. 152) dates from this period. The vases of this type are usually large, and their bases are rounded or pointed (probably to permit them to be set into sandy ground). They are decorated with all-over ornamental motifs applied by means of an instrument similar to a comb. The surface may be incised with small cavities forming diamond-shaped patterns, or also it may be embellished with diagonal lines and bands, or diamond-shaped ribbons. The occasional bird motifs are also completely stylized. In Finland, as in the rest of the large area of northeastern Europe in which artifacts of this culture have been found, different phases and local groups can be distinguished. Among the best products are those of the so-called "Karelian pottery" brought to light in the region of Lake Ladoga (Laatokka).

A large elk's head in wood found at Rovaniemi in the northernmost part of Finland can be dated at about 2300 B.C. on geological grounds. This is one of the most outstanding naturalistic animal sculptures preserved from the Stone Age, and it is linked stylistically with the sculptured heads which are the most authentic art works of this age in Finland. Similar animal heads, including those of elk and bears, also form the backs of drilled weapons. This type of sculpture spread throughout eastern Karelia; furthermore, it is probable that several of the specimens found in Finland were executed there, inasmuch as these regions were all part of the same cultural area. Most of the weapons bearing animal heads date from the last phase of the Stone Age (2000-1500 B.C.). Animal heads, mostly those of elk, also adorn the hilts of several schist daggers and knives and the handles of wooden spoons; one of the latter displays the head of a duck. A sculptured human head decorates the back of one drilled tool. Generally, however, human figures are very infrequent. A face appears on an amber pendant, several small clay idols are in human form, and a large human head of carved wood — perhaps an idol — has been preserved. Noteworthy among later works of the Stone Age are two rock paintings. The first was found in southern Finland and is geometric and painted in ochre. The other, found in northern Finland, depicts animal figures. Also worthy of mention is the beautiful workmanship of several stone weapons, particularly that of the Finnish two-bladed ax.

The last phase of the Stone Age is characterized by the decline of pottery, the production of which was of slight importance during the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. In this period weapons and decorative objects were imported, at first from the Scandinavian regions and later from the eastern Baltic areas, although a limited quantity of them was produced in Finland also.

Only toward the middle of the first century of our era is it possible to speak of native arts and crafts in Finland. Decorative motifs were nearly all geometric in western Finland, including lines, triangles, bull's-eyes, and lozenges; they remained geometric throughout the entire later period of the Iron Age. At the time of the last migration (A.D. 600-800), numerous ornaments of Germanic type, depicting animals, were produced, along with simple bronze ornaments of local workmanship. Some characteristic elements of these Germanic ornaments are not found outside Finland, and it may therefore be assumed that they were also of local manufacture. The decorative animal motifs were, however, not typically Finnish, and in the Viking period they became rigidly geometric. A Finnish characteristic is drop decoration, which became increasingly common. On the whole, no bronzes of high artistic quality were produced in Finland. However, a purely Finnish custom was that of decorating cloth or articles of clothing with bronze

spirals and forming artistic designs such as the swastika, the Maltese cross, and so on. Interesting, too, are the Karelian apron borders (see EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY).

ELLA KIVIKOSKI

From about 400 to 1100, during the period of migration and of Viking domination, the structure of the houses changed from a primitive to a more advanced form. During the Viking period, the houses were built chiefly of horizontally laid logs. For defensive purposes, the ancient castles were built — with rudimentary technique — of masonry, and were supplemented by log fortifications. The handicrafts reveal national stylistic traits juxtaposed with Scandinavian and Baltic influences.

Beginning with the 12th century, Christianity began to spread throughout Finland, and the first ecclesiastical buildings were erected. Toward the end of the 12th century, wooden churches, Romanesque in style, appeared in the southern and southwestern regions of the country. This type of church had a short, rectangular nave and a narrower, lower apse on the east. In the 13th century, the wood was replaced by gray stone and granite, and in some buildings a western tower is found. Toward the end of the 13th century, the first Gothic churches were built, with three aisles of equal or nearly equal height. A sacristy was provided on the north, and on the south was the so-called "arms room." The most important church of this epoch is the Cathedral of Turku (Åbo), built largely of brick (ca. 1286–92; the western tower was added in 1310). About 1286–90, the church of Nousiainen (Nousis) was built, with two aisles and two apses, and dedicated to St. Henry, the patron saint of Finland. The style of the structure reveals Swedish and north German influences. Among the examples of secular architecture are the many 13th-century castles that reflect characteristics of the Romanesque style; these structures had the common feature of a ring of fortifications provided with towers and an interior residential building. Turku Castle (begun in 1280), Viipuri Castle (the first stage of which dates from about 1293–1323), and the Castle of Hämeenlinna (Tavastehus) — begun late in the 13th century — are the best-preserved specimens.

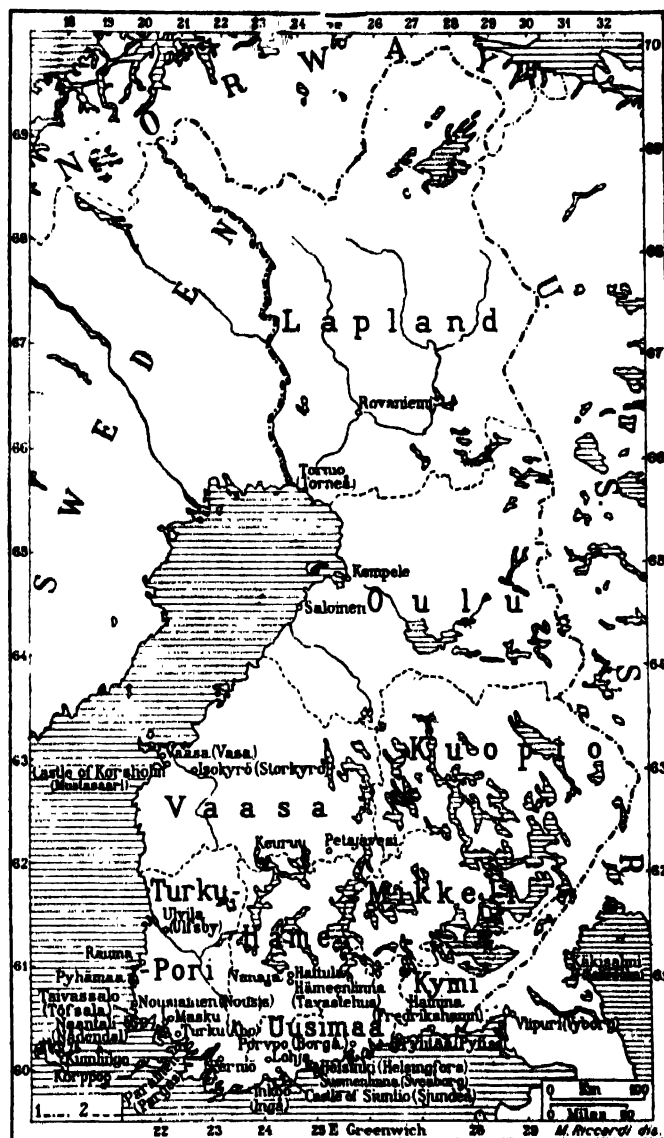
From 1300 to 1400, the Gothic style reached its culmination. Wood, stone, and brick were the building materials used. The wooden churches often had sacristies built of masonry. In the 14th century, the ceilings were generally of wood, and the vaults were completely ribbed. In the 15th century, on the other hand, brick was used; the churches, with one or two aisles, or a nave and two side aisles, were covered with groin and star vaults. In addition to the vaults, the windows and doors also were framed with brick, as was the upper part of the façade in particular. The Church of the Holy Cross at Hattula (ca. 1320–50), a celebrated goal of pilgrimages, is entirely of brick. In the late 14th century, an apse was added to the Cathedral of Turku, and its tower was heightened. Other notable churches of this period are situated in Taivassalo (Töfsala), Parainen (Pargas), Korppoo (Korpo), Ulvila (Ulfaby), Lohja (Lojo), Porvoo (Borgå), Pyhtää (Pyttis), Hollola Vanaja, and Isokyrö (Storkyrö). In the Orthodox area of eastern Finland, on the other hand, only wooden churches, — patterned after the Byzantine style — were built. Of the convent or monastery churches, there remain that of the Franciscan monastery of Rauma and that of the monastery of St. Bridget of Naantali (Nådendal).

An example of pure Gothic is provided by the Castle of Hämeenlinna, completed about 1320–50, which reflects the characteristics of the castles of the Teutonic Order. Viipuri Castle was also enlarged, while the Castle of the Bishop of Kuusisto, near Turku, Korsholm (Mustasaari) Castle, Kastelholm in Ahvenanmaa (Åland), and the Castle of Raaseborg (Raasepori) on the southern coast of Finland are of more recent construction. Built in the late 15th century, following the victory of the Grand Duchy of Moscow over Novgorod, was the Castle of St. Olave (begun in 1475) in Savo, which was one of the first castles of the north intended to house artillery.

The church vaults and walls were decorated with frescoes. The earliest frescoes known are those of Åland (ca. 1300–50); the others must date from the late 15th century. In addition to iconographic themes of sacred and legendary character, great importance was given to ornamentation. The colors generally used were reddish-brown, dark gray, and green. Among the artists, varied tendencies are distinguishable: influences from the Swedish school are apparent in the school of Peter, son of Henry, who was active in southwest Finland; Baltic influence is reflected in the paintings in the church of Inkoo (Ingå) in southern Finland. The paintings in the church of Kumlinge form a separate, highly developed group. Several paintings in the churches of Häme and Uusimaa (Nyland) represent an exuberant and rustic trend (e.g., churches of Hattula and Lohja, 1510–20).

The traditional sculpture of Finland is in wood, and the favorite subjects for artists were Christ, the Madonna, and the Apostles, to which were added, from among the saints, St. Anna, St. Olave,

and St. Bridget. Sculptured figures also adorned the ciboria. Intermingled with the objects of local workmanship, however, were many imported ones. Some of the national sculpture was patterned after foreign models, while another group clearly displays Finnish traits. The Swedish island of Gotland exerted a strong influence in the 14th century through the Master of Lieto (Lundo). The north German influence began in the late 14th century (the Master of Sääksmäki, active in the Häme region about 1450). Also of this period are numerous ciboria, the most important being that of St. Barbara at Kalanti (Nykyrko). From about 1490 to 1520, sculpture evolved toward a clearly national style, most of this production being centered



Finland. Key: (1) National boundaries; (2) boundaries of departments.

in Turku. Most of the craft objects were imported (e.g., the cenotaph of St. Henry in the church of Nousiainen, of Flemish workmanship, ca. 1415–20). The seats of the religious orders were of particular importance in the production of textiles (e.g., the monastery of St. Bridget, in Naantali).

In the 16th century, several castles were remodeled in Renaissance style (e.g., Turku Castle). Notable among the minor castles are those of Suitia (Svidja), Siuntio (Sjundeå, 1540), and Kankainen in Masku (ca. 1550). In 1562, the Swede Anders the Painter drew plans for a bastioned wall, on the Italian model, to defend the sectors that had been built outside Viipuri's walls. Religious architecture, painting, and sculpture came to a halt during the Reformation, with the exception of the paintings that were executed in the church of Isokyrö (1560). Handicrafts, centered in Turku, were influenced by Renaissance tastes.



The 17th century witnessed the foundation of 15 new cities, built according to Renaissance ideas of city planning. Important among these projects is the comprehensive plan of Käkisalmi (Keksgölm; 1635, by Olaf Hanson Örnebuvud) and that of Viipuri by Anders Torstensson (1650). Residential castles were numerous and built with characteristic roofs either of wood or of stone. The most conspicuous late Renaissance examples are Lauhisääri (Villnäs) in Aaskainen (1650), and Sarvilahti (Sarvax) in Pornaja, with its Palladian façade (1670). In religious architecture, wood was the dominant material: for example, in the churches of Pohjanmaa, Saloinen (1622), and Kempele (1686) with towers. After 1660, cruciform churches, modeled after that of St. Catherine in Stockholm, appeared; and toward the end of the century, the belfry tower, one of the most original structures of the Finnish Renaissance, was adopted.

Religious painting was reborn in the 17th century, as exemplified by the wall paintings of the churches of Saloinen (1641), Pyhämaa (1667), and Tornio (Torneå; 1687-88). Portrait painting was also established. At the century's end, the work of the miniaturist Elias Brenner (1647-1717) was distinguished. Handicrafts were influenced by the baroque style at the close of the century, while important centers of production other than Turku were established.

The 18th-century plan of the fortified city of Hamina (Fredrikshamn) is of considerable interest. It was built on an octagonal plan, with the streets radiating from a central plaza. Surrounded by a fortress with six bastions (designed by Axel Löwen, 1722), it was patterned after the ideal Renaissance city. The most imposing structure of the time was the island fort of Suomenlinna (Sveaborg), opposite Helsinki (Helsingfors), which was begun in 1748. It was designed by Augustin Ehrensvärd (1710-72) in accordance with the tenets of Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, and also influenced by the Italian baroque (e.g., the King's Gate at Suomenlinna). In the design of the castles, the influence of French classicism prevailed; its most important representative was C. Hårleman (1700-53). The mansard roof became common, and the rooms were arranged as a rule around a central hall, as at Fagervik in Inkoo and Tykö at Perniö (from 1770). Neoclassicism was predominant at the close of the century, in the so-called "Gustavian" epoch. This style is seen in the residential and municipal palaces and public buildings; for example, the town halls of Rauma (1775-76) and Porvoo (1764), and the Court of Appeals building of Vasa (Vasa; Gustavian period, 1780-87). In the category of religious architecture may be mentioned the wooden parish churches, which were designed and built by the so-called "folk masters." These churches are simple and impressive, and, with their original spatial treatments and polychromed belfries, they are among the most significant monuments of Finnish architecture (e.g., the churches of Petäjävesi, 1763-64; Keuruu, 1756-58; and Lapland, 1792-94). Neoclassic elements began to appear in religious architecture also. The best known of the stone churches is the round church of Hämeneenlinna (1795-98), designed by the court architect of Gustavus III, Jean-Louis Desprez. Religious painting, predominantly baroque in style or with baroque elements, flourished in the 18th century, especially in Pohjanmaa.

Mikael Toppelius (1734-1821) was a famous artist who decorated a great many churches. Many notable altarpieces and portraits were also produced during the 18th century, and distinguished examples of decorative painting are found within the residential castles. In the minor arts, there was a transition (ca. 1780) from the rococo to the Gustavian style, permeated with classicism. Tapestry weaving, as well as goldwork was highly developed at this time.

Early in the 19th century, neoclassic influence became stronger, following Swedish trends. The most important new structure was the university in Turku (1802-16), designed by the Swedish architect Carl C. Gjörvell. An outstanding representative of neoclassicism was Carlo F. Bassi (1772-1840), of Italian origin. After the peace treaty that terminated the war of 1808-09, Finland was united with the Russian empire as an autonomous grand duchy. Helsinki became the capital (1812), and Johan A. Ehrenström then drew up an over-all city plan. However, the actual builder of Helsinki was Carl L. Engel (1778-1840), whose style, linked with St. Petersburg influences, dominated the entire empire period. His greatest work was the Senate Square in Helsinki, with its surrounding buildings. About 1840, architectural eclecticism, which held sway until the end of the century, began to establish itself. Social and industrial development set Finnish architecture many new goals. The most noted architects of the time were Georg T. Chiewitz (1815-63), Franz A. Sjöström (1840-85), Carl T. Höijer (1843-1910), and Carl G. Nyström (1856-1913).

In painting, in the first half of the 19th century, neoclassicism and the Biedermeier style were dominant. Genre paintings and landscapes were commonly produced, while among the portraits, Gustaf W. Finnberg (1784-1833) and Werner Holmberg (1830-60), are worthy of mention. The latter painter had ties with the Düsseldorf school and was the initiator of Finnish landscape painting.

In 1880, Finnish artists began to study in Paris, thus introducing impressionist influences. Albert Edelfelt (1854-1905) painted popular Parisian subjects, and portraits in particular. Sculpture, in which the pioneer and master had been the Swede Carl E. Sjöstrand (1828-1906), became important in Finland with the work of Walter Runeberg (1838-1920) and Johannes Takanen (1849-85). From 1880 on, a realistic trend became established, the most prominent representative of which was Robert K. Stigell (1858-1907).

After 1890, Finnish architecture began to change remarkably, especially under the influence of national romanticism and Art Nouveau (q.v.). Until 1905, a decorative tendency prevailed (e.g., buildings of logs and granite, with rich ornamentation), which was replaced by a more realistic and monumental architecture influenced by the rationalism and constructivism of Art Nouveau. Among the memorable architects of this period were Lars Sonck (1870-1956), who represented the trends of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (e.g., Cathedral of Tampere (Tammerfors), 1901-07); and Eliel Saarinen (q.v.; 1873-1950), who created the first Finnish architecture of international significance. Saarinen's first buildings [Gesellius, Lindgren & Saarinen Architectural Building; the villa of Hvitträsk, near Helsinki, 1902; and the National Museum (Kansallismuseo) of Helsinki, 1906-11] are among the most outstanding works of national romanticism. The Helsinki Railway Station (1904-14) represents a later phase. Saarinen also designed city-planning projects for Munkkiniemi, Haaga, and Greater Helsinki. In 1922 he moved to the United States. The designs of Sigurd Frosterus (1876-1956) represented more advanced tendencies, though they were executed only after 1920 (several electric plants, the Stockmann department store in Helsinki). The work of Johan Siren (b. 1899) represents the classicism of 1920 (Parliament Building in Helsinki, 1923-31). In the same period, functionalism became established with the work of Alvar Aalto (q.v.); among noteworthy works is the private home in the exhibition of the Interbau in Berlin (1957) and the plans for the civic center and town hall of Göteborg (1955-57). Also in the category of functionalist architecture are the works of Erik Bryggman (1891-1956); e.g., the burial chapel of Turku (1941). Other outstanding architects are Yrjö Lindegren (1900-52; Olympic Stadium in Helsinki); Aulis Blomstedt (b. 1906); Aarne Ervi (b. 1910); Viljo Rewell (b. 1910); Jorma Järvi (b. 1908); Heikki Siren (b. 1918); Keijo Petäjä (b. 1919).

The years between 1890 and the beginning of the 20th century were the high point in the development of Finnish painting and graphic arts. National romanticism, the poetry of the national epic (the *Kalevala*), the interest in nature, and the Karelian people and their culture (architecture and ornamentation) influenced painting, which also found points of reference in symbolism and in the early Italian Renaissance. A prominent artist of this time was Axel Gallén-Kallela (1865-1931), who became famous for his illustrations of the *Kalevala*, and who was a very active member of the movement known as *Die Brücke* (see EXPRESSIONISM), which revitalized ornamentation and graphic art. Other artists of the same generation were Eero Järnefelt (1863-1937), Pekka Halonen (1865-1933), and Juho Rissanen (1873-1950). The "Septem" group, which held its first exhibit in 1912, represented postimpressionist trends. The principal members of this group were Alfred W. Finch (1854-1930), Magnus Enckell (1870-1925), Werner Thomé (1878-1953), M. Oinonen, and Yrjö Ollila (1887-1932). Finnish expressionism was represented by the "November" group (founded in 1917), which was directed by Tyko K. Sallinen (1879-1955) and whose members included Juho Mäkelä (1885-1943), Valle Rosenberg (1891-1919), Marcus Collin (b. 1882), Alvar Cawén (1886-1935), and Ragnar Ekelund (b. 1892). Close to the group were Ilmari Aalto (1891-1934) and William Lönnberg (1887-1949). Helena Schjerfbeck (1862-1946) and Ellen Thesleff (1869-1954) worked independently. An outstanding exponent of mural painting is Lennart Segerstråle (b. 1892), and Vilko Lampi (1898-1936) was a distinguished primitivist. Between the 1930s and the 1940s, Sigrid M. Schauman (b. 1877), Olli Miettinen (b. 1899), and Eva Cederström (b. 1909) followed a predominantly realistic course. An important surrealist and abstractionist was Otto Mäkelä (1904-55). The "October" group, among whose members were Aimo Kanerva (b. 1909) and Sven Grönvall (b. 1908), was active after 1940 and represented, among recent trends, a more subjective approach. The "Prisma" group, formed in 1950, aimed at a form of constructivism in the coordination of pure values. Among its members were Schauman, Gösta Diehl (b. 1899), Sam Vanni (b. 1908), and Unto Pusa (b. 1913). Also active in the nonrepresentational movement are Birger J. Carlstedt (b. 1907), Erik Granfeldt (b. 1919), Per Stenius (b. 1922), and Anitra Lucander (b. 1916). Also worthy of mention are the painters Veikko Vionioja (b. 1909), Pentti Melanen (b. 1917), Aarre Heinonen (b. 1906), and Tuomas von Boehm (b. 1916). A strong impetus was given to graphic art, late in the 19th century, by Gallén-Kallela and Hugo Simberg (1873-1917). Noteworthy graphic artists of the 20th century are Alfred W. Finch, Mikko Oinonen (1891-1952), Kalle Carlstedt (1891-1952), Aukustin Tuhkanen



(b. 1895), Aarne Aho (b. 1904), Henry Ericsson (1893-1933), Tuulikki Pietilä (b. 1917), Teuvo-Pentti Pakkala (b. 1920), Ernst Mether-Borgström (b. 1917), Heikki Nieminen (b. 1926), Vilho Aakola (b. 1906), Erkki Tanntu (b. 1907), and Topani Raittila (b. 1921).

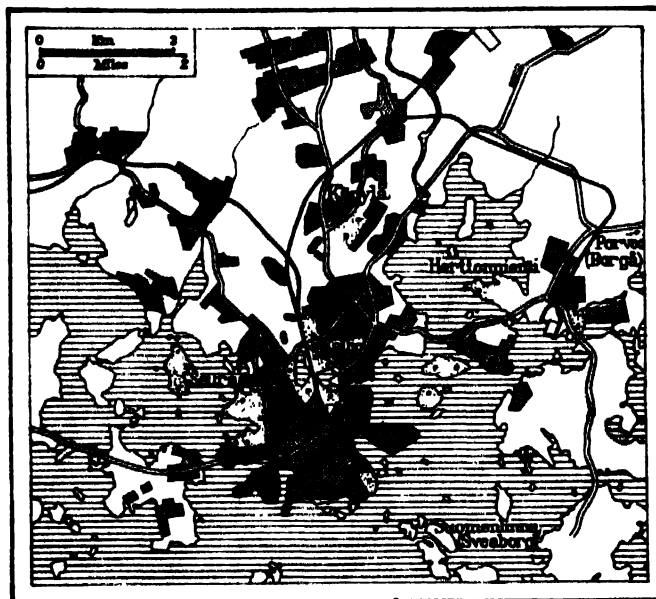
The tendencies in European sculpture during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were faithfully reflected in Finnish sculpture. The intimist movement was represented particularly by Ville Vallgren (1855-1940), while Emil E. Wikström (1864-1942) and the wood sculptor Eemil Halonen (1875-1950) followed a more nationalistic line. Also active early in the century were Felix Nylund (1878-1940), Alpo Sailo (1877-1955), Yrjö Liipola (b. 1886), Johannes Haapasalo (b. 1880), and Gunnar Finne (1886-1952). Worthy of mention among later sculptors are Mikko Hovi (b. 1879), Hannes Autere (b. 1888), Ben Renvall (b. 1903), Carl W. Wilhelms (1889-1953), Albin Kaasinen (b. 1892), Lauri Leppänen (b. 1895), Jussi Mäntynen (b. 1886), and, among the younger sculptors, Sakari Tohka (b. 1911), Viljo M. Savikurki (b. 1905), Oskari Jauhainen (b. 1913), and Aimo J. Tukiainen (b. 1917). The greatest Finnish sculptor, Wäinö Aaltonen (b. 1894), is active in the nonrepresentational field.

After World War I, a strong Swedish influence was noticeable in the production of industrial art. After 1930, a new phase began in industrial art, which in the second postwar period reached exceptional heights. Working for the Arabia porcelain factory were many artists, including Elsa Elenius (b. 1897), Toini Muona (b. 1904), Friedl Kjellberg (b. 1905), Kyllikki Salmenhaara (b. 1915), Birger Kaipiaisen (b. 1915), and Rut Bryk (b. 1916). The factories of Iittala and Nuutajärvi are centers for the art of glassmaking. The best-known glass-makers are Gunnel Nyman (1909-48), Goran Hongell (b. 1902), Kaj Franck (b. 1911), Tapio Wirkkala (b. 1915), and Timo Sarpaneva (b. 1926). In the field of textile design, Finnish artists built on the old traditions, adding effective and modern innovations. Among the outstanding textile designers are Maija Kananen (b. 1889), Eva Anttila (b. 1894), Eva Brummer (b. 1901), Uhra-Beata Simberg-Ehrström (b. 1914), Dora Jung (b. 1906), and Kirsti Ilvessalo (b. 1920). In furniture design, the influence of Alvar Aalto (Artek furniture) is outstanding. Also important in this field is Ilmari Tapiovaara (b. 1914).

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**CHIEF ART CENTERS.** Helsinki (Helsingfors). This city, the present capital of Finland (since 1812) and center of the nation's artistic life, was founded in 1550 by Gustavus Vasa at the mouth of the



Helsinki, city plan and topographical surroundings.

Vantaa River and transferred to its present site in 1640. On the islands opposite the city, the imposing fortress of Suomenlinna was begun in 1748 by Marshal A. Ehrensvärd and completed in the same century. The plan of the new capital, with its monumental center, was drawn up by Johan A. Ehrenström and Carl L. Engel. In the environs of Helsinki are the new residential quarters of Tapiola, begun in 1953 by Otto I. Meurman, Aarne Ervi, Aulis Blomstedt, and Viljo Rewell. Also near Helsinki is the university area of Otaniemi and its residences for students, which were designed by Alvar Aalto. **Civil structures:** Sederholm building (1757). - Presidential Palace, by Pehr Granstedt (1818). - Barracks of the Finnish White Guard (1825). - Government Palace (1822). - Town Hall (1833). - University (1832). - Observatory (1833). - University Library (1844), the work of Carl L. Engel. - House of the Nobles, by Georg T. Chiewitz (1861). - Athenaeum, by Carl T. Höijer (1887). - The Pohjola Insurance Company building, by Gesellius, Lindgren, & Saarinen (1906). - Railway Station, by Eliel Saarinen (1905-14). - Parliament building, by Johan Siren (1925-31). - Olympic Stadium, by Yrjö Lindgren and Toivo Jantti (1933-34). - National Pensions Bureau, by Alvar Aalto (1956). - Palace of the University Institute of Porthania, by Aarne Ervi (1956). **Churches:** The Old Church (by Carl L. Engel, 1826). - Church of the Holy Trinity (Russian Orthodox; by Carl L. Engel, 1827). - Cathedral, formerly called St. Nicholas (by Carl L. Engel, begun in 1830 and consecrated in 1852, made a cathedral in 1959). - Church of the Kallio quarter, by Lars Sonck (1912). - Churches in the suburbs of Meilahti (by Markus Tavio, 1954) and Lauttasaari (by Keijo Pettilä, 1958). **Museums:** Kansallismuseo (National Museum, with sections devoted to prehistory, history, and Finnish folklore). - Athenaeum (art gallery, with works of Finnish and foreign artists). - Helsingin Kaupungin Museo (Helsinki Municipal Museum), dedicated to the history of Helsinki. - Seurasaarimuseo (Open-air Museum on the island of Seurasaari). - Rakennustaitteen Museo (Museum of Architecture). - Suomen Urheilumuseo (Museum of Suomenlinna). - Cygnaeuskaen Galleria (Cygnaeus Gallery).

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**Hämeenlinna (Tavastehus).** Although Hämeenlinna was already an important center at the time its castle was built (in the late 13th century), the community that developed around the castle did not obtain a municipal charter until 1638. In 1777 the city was transferred to its present site. *Civil structures:* Castle of Hämeenlinna, begun in the late 13th century; remodeled in Gothic style and provided with four towers in the early 14th century. Many interesting wooden structures are linked to the neoclassic stone architecture. *Churches in the vicinity:* Church of the Holy Cross of Hattula, goal of pilgrimages in the Middle Ages. - Church of Vanaja, one of the most beautiful of the Middle Ages. - The principal church (Jean-Louis Desprez, 1795-98) is circular in plan. *Museums:* Hämeenlinnan Museo [Hämeenlinna (historical) Museum]. - Hämeenlinnan Taidemuseo (Hämeenlinna Art Museum).

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**Hamina (Fredrikshamn).** Hamina was founded in 1653, on the spot where, from 1300 on, the trading post of Vehkalahti had existed. In 1700, the city became an important stronghold. It is laid out on an octagonal plan, with streets radiating from a central square surrounded by a fortress with six bastions. The fortress was begun in 1722 by Axel Löwen. *Civil structures:* Town Hall (1700) and numerous buildings connected with the fortress and the garrison's needs. *Churches:* Church of Vehkalahti, begun in the 15th century; it has undergone considerable alteration, however, in later centuries. - Cathedral, built according to plans of Carl L. Engel (1841-43). - Orthodox Church, finished in 1837. *Museum:* Paikallismuseo.

**Naantali (Nädendal).** This town developed around the monastery of St. Bridget (Monasterium Vallis Gratiae; built in 1440), which was a renowned goal of pilgrims and a center of artistic activity. After the Reformation, the monastery lost its importance. *Civil structures:* Noteworthy are the characteristic small wooden buildings that line the streets. *Church:* The monastery church, built between 1443 and 1462, is the only surviving building of the complex of monastery structures. It has undergone extensive alterations and restorations. *Museum:* Paikallismuseo.

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**Porvoo (Borgå).** As early as 1100, Porvoo was the site of an important trading post. It received a municipal charter about the middle of the 14th century. It was defended by a castle, of which only the earthworks and moats remain. The basis of the medieval city plan is preserved in the old section of the city, in which, however, most of the buildings date from the 18th century. *Civil structures:* Town Hall (now a museum), 1764. - School of Samuel Berner (1758). - Holm House (now Vallgren Museum; 1761). - The so-called "Poet's House" (1764). *Church:* Cathedral (most of this structure dates back to the mid-15th cent.). *Museums:* Ville Vallgrenin Museo (Ville Vallgren Museum). - Historiallinen Museo (Historical Museum).

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**Rauma.** Once the site of a trading post, Rauma was not mentioned as a city before 1400. A Franciscan monastery founded there in the first decades of the 15th century was suppressed during the Reformation (1538). *Civil structures:* Town Hall (Johan Schytt, 1775-76). - Characteristic burghers' dwellings. *Church:* Church of the Holy Cross, (finished in 1449), with two aisles, only remaining vestige of the monastery buildings. *Museum:* Rauman Mus.

**Turku (Åbo).** Located at the mouth of the Aura River, Turku was an extremely old trading post and an episcopal see from 1229-90. The present city began to develop in 1280, at which time construction of the Cathedral and the castle was begun; it became an episcopal see in 1290. As early as the 13th century, a Dominican monastery was active there. Capital of Finland until 1812, Turku was also the most important cultural center until the middle of the 19th century. In 1535, it was raised to the rank of a city by Gustavus Vasa; in 1640, the university was founded. The city declined in importance after the annexation of Finland, by Russia (1809). It was half destroyed by a fire in 1827, rebuilt by Carl L. Engel, and suffered considerable damage during World War II. *Civil structures:* The castle is composed of an older and more important portion (the Old Castle) begun in 1280 (the wing of the three-storied building dates from 1302-18), and a newer portion (the New Castle, 16th-17th cent.) in which the Municipal Historical Museum is housed. On the island of Kuusisto (in the vicinity of Turku) are the ruins of the Bishop's Castle, built in the early 14th century and destroyed during the Reformation. Among the numerous 19th-century structures are: the old Academy buildings (1802-16), by the Swede Carl C. Gjörvell, the Finnish Economic Society building (Suomen Talousseura), the Observatory by Carl L. Engel, and the Trapp House. Of interest also are the structures designed by Erik Bryggman and Alvar Aalto in the years 1920-30. *Churches:* The construction of the Cathedral was begun in 1286-92; the vaulting of the nave and two side aisles dates from 1300 and the west tower from 1310. In 1300, the Cathedral was enlarged by addition of the apse in high Gothic style. It was remodeled in 1460 to conform to a basilican plan. (Frescoes by Robert W. Ekman in the chancel; wrought-iron grill from 1425 in the Tavast Chapel; Kijk Chapel with 18th-cent. tomb of J. Kijk, 1777; Cathedral Mus.). There are medieval churches near Turku in the municipalities of Kaarina (St. Karin's) and Maaria (St. Mary's), and many fine medieval churches may be seen in the environs of Turku itself. The Church of St. Michael by Lars Sonck (1899-1904) and the burial chapel (1941) by Erik Bryggman are also noteworthy. *Museums:* Turun Kaupungin Historiallinen Museo (Turku Municipal Historical Mus.). - Luostarinmäen Kasityöläismuseo; this museum, the Handicrafts Museum of the City of Luostarinmäki, is unusual because the entire quarter of Luostarinmäki is a museum, and in its ancient homes ceramists, weavers, and other craftsmen work, employing the ancient techniques. - Turun Taidemuseo (Art Museum). - Tuomiokirkon Museo (Cathedral Mus.).

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Antero SINISALO

Illustrations: two figs. in text.

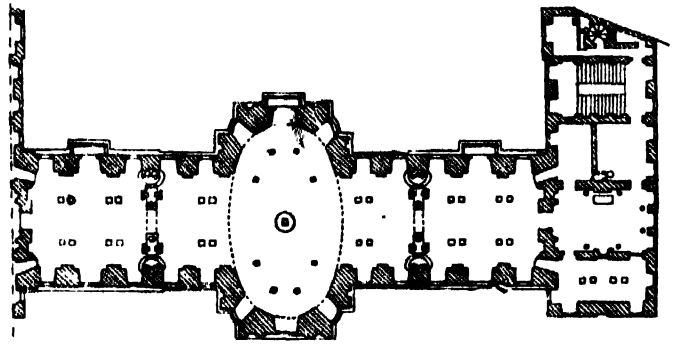
**FISCHER VON ERLACH, JOHANN BERNHARD.** Architect and sculptor (b. Graz, Austria, July, 1656; d. Apr. 5, 1723) whose family (Fischers) may have been of Dutch origin. Having been trained as a sculptor by his father, Fischer went to Rome in 1670 (1674?). There he worked as sculptor and modelist for Philipp Schor, who taught him the rudiments of architecture. Through Schor, Fischer met Bernini (who gave him the idea of the "royal" task of the architect), Christina of Sweden, Bellori (who helped him to develop a "classical" baroque style), and Athanasius Kircher (who introduced him to Egyptian and Chinese antiquities). He may also have known the Italian architect Carlo Fontana, but there is no proof of this.

The only works of Fischer's Italian period known so far are two medallions in the manner of Bernini. In 1683 or 1684, the young architect accompanied Philipp Schor, who had been summoned to the court of the Marchese del Carpio, Viceroy of Naples. Fischer returned to Austria in 1686, already a rich man. In Vienna and Graz, he worked as a medalist, sculptor, and designer of stucco decorations, gardens, and vases, and, soon thereafter, as an architect in the service of the Liechtensteins and the Althans. An early major work in his grandiose Hall of the Ancestors in Frain Castle (begun in 1688). Fischer

exhibited exceptional originality and power of invention in each of his youthful works, showing himself even then to be a great virtuoso. His talents fitted him particularly well for the role of imperial architect, since all imperial buildings had to be out of the ordinary. His career was decided when, in 1689, he was appointed to give daily lessons in architecture to Joseph I, King of Hungary, then eleven years old. Fischer became known to the public when, in 1690, he erected two triumphal arches honoring his pupil's entry into Vienna as the newly crowned King of Germany. In the same year, the architect designed for the future emperor a castle that would have surpassed the second wing of Versailles, which had just been completed. The actual construction of Schönbrunn, however, was begun in 1696 according to a completely modified, reduced plan. Having become the architect of the king, Fischer was given the most important commissions: in 1692 he began a town palace in Vienna and a château for Strattmann, chancellor of the Austrian court; and from 1693 on he worked for the prince archbishop of Salzburg and primate of Germany Johann Ernst Thun (court stables and riding school, 1693; Dreifaltigkeitskirche, PL. 275, and seminary, 1694; Collegienkirche, 1694, PL. 275; Johannaspital and Johannskirche, 1695; Ursulinerinnenkirche, 1699; Schloss Kleisheim, 1700; high altar of the Franziskanerkirche, 1709; all in Salzburg). He designed buildings for many other ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries during this period (high altar of the Mariaszell Church, 1693; Batthyány Palace, Vienna, 1699) and was granted a patent of nobility in 1696.

The early years of the 18th century brought many disappointments. Prince Eugene, for whom Fischer had built a palace (PL. 276), preferred a rival architect, Lukas von Hildebrandt; the War of the Spanish Succession paralyzed imperial building activity, leaving Fischer (who was appointed superintendent of buildings after the coronation of Emperor Joseph I

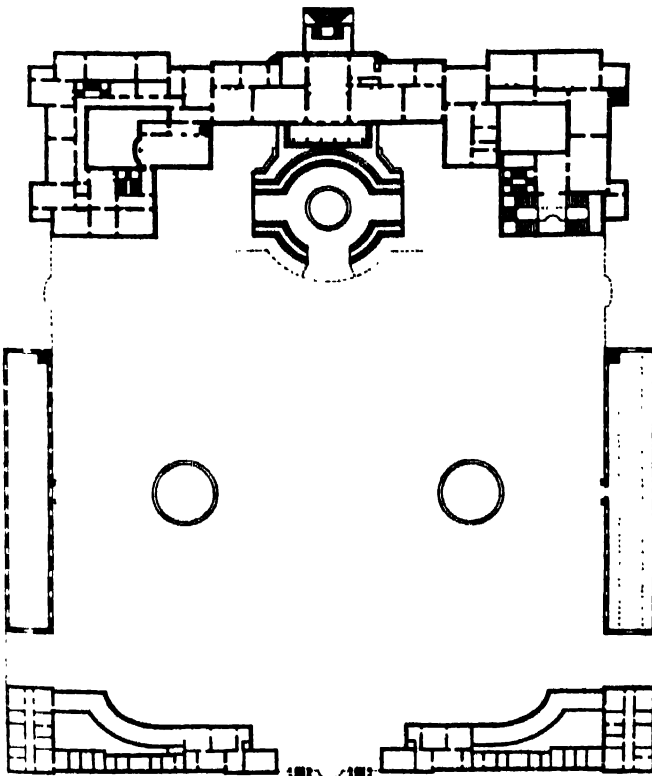
suddenly ceased making plans for fantastic châteaux, concentrating instead on grandiose palaces with façades articulated according to Palladian rules (Bohemian Chancellery, Vienna, 1708; Palais Trautson, 1709, PL. 274; Clam Gallas Palace, Prague, 1713). In 1705 Fischer began to compile a monumental



Vienna, Hofbibliothek (Imperial Library). plan of the piano nobile (from Sedlmayr, 1956).

series of engravings for his *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäud. des Alterthums und fremder Völker*, which appeared — from 1721 on — in two German and two English editions. In 1712, he presented himself to the new emperor, Charles VI, with the manuscript of this work and — with the support of Leibnitz, who wanted to receive him as an honorary member into the planned Imperial Academy of Sciences — obtained confirmation of his office of superintendent of imperial buildings. Fischer did not, however, regain his former success until he won the competition for the design of the Karlskirche in Vienna (PL. 273; II, PL. 155; FIG. 399), founded by the emperor. From this period also date Fischer's sketches for the Imperial Academy and Imperial Library (1716; FIG. 398); the Hofburg, the court stables, the Invalidenhaus (1718), and the Elector's Chapel in the Cathedral of Breslau, (1716). In the summer of 1721 Fischer contracted the grave illness of which he ultimately died. He was succeeded by his son Josef Emanuel (b. 1693), who had worked under him since 1710. This young architect completed his father's unfinished buildings, including the Imperial Library and the Karlskirche.

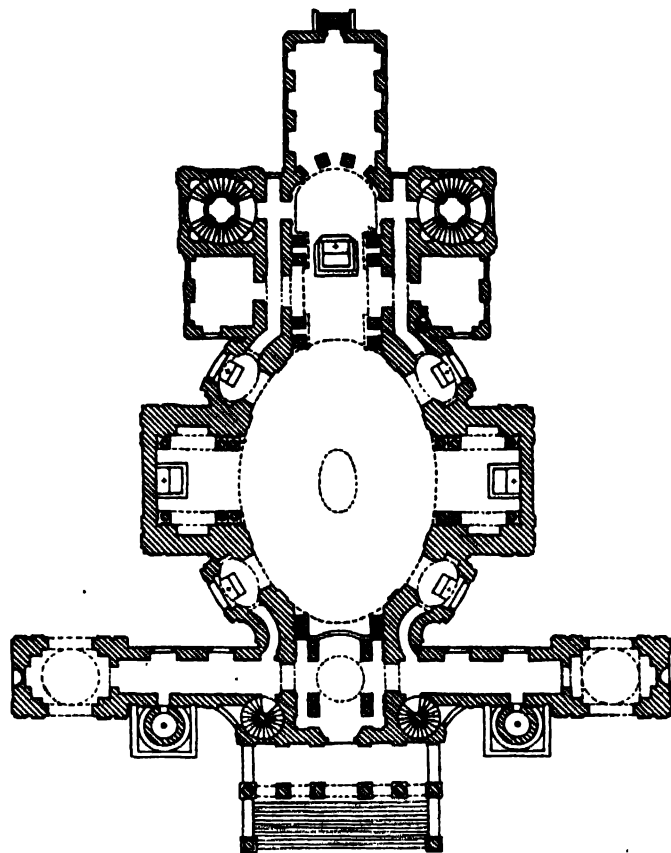
During the first decade of his career as an architect (1686–96), Fischer — towering above his contemporaries — had no rival in the Germanic countries. Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt did not appear on the scene until 1697; Andreas Schlüter did not turn to architecture until 1698; and Jakob Prandtauer, Christoph Dientzenhofer, Giovanni Santini Aichel, and Maximilian von Welsch did not produce important works until after 1700. Thus Fischer was not only a great representative of the northern baroque style but also one of the leaders of this powerful European movement (see BAROQUE ART). He developed an architecture magnificent enough to express the authority of an emperor — superior to the architecture of the princes, kings, or aristocrats. Buildings for the middle classes are significantly absent from his work. Every edifice Fischer designed for the emperor is — because of its proportions and the architectural motifs employed (e.g., the "imperial" motif of the two giant columns) — without equal, as was held fitting for a ruler who, by definition, could have no peer. Since these buildings were not imitable (because of their great size and grandeur as well as their uniquely imperial character), the strong influence they exerted on the princely architecture of the northern and central regions of eastern Europe (e.g., plans for royal castles by M. Daniel Pöppelmann, Paul Decker, and Nicodemus Tessin) was not direct but came by way of later, modified designs. The relatively small residential château, capable of infinite variations and destined for the aristocracy, was developed by Fischer as a "classical" synthesis between the French château of the mid-17th century and Italian baroque styles (Bernini's plans for the Louvre). Noteworthy examples are the res-



Schönbrunn Castle, plan of the second project (from Sedlmayr, 1956).

in 1705) practically no commissions; and the deaths of Johann Ernst Thun (1709) and of the Emperor (1711) robbed him of his greatest patrons. He went to Berlin and London (1740), trying in vain to obtain introductions to the courts there. In consequence of these trips his artistic credo was shaken; he

identical châteaux erected for the Strattmanns, the Schlicks, and the Stahrenbergs (1691-93). Similar châteaux were later built throughout Europe, among them the early works of Hildebrandt. The many châteaux — most of them no longer in existence — of the Viennese suburbs once made this city one of the most beautiful in Europe. There are also important châteaux in Hungary, Saxony, Prussia, Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Poland (Paul Decker, Andreas Schlüter), central and western



Vienna, plan of the Karlskirche (from Sedlmayr, 1956).

Germany, and even in Sweden and Piedmont. In his Althausen château, Fischer anticipated by 15 years the scheme of the great Stupinigi Castle (I, PL. 389) by the Italian architect Filippo Juvara (q.v.). Fischer's town palaces and churches — with their austere, cold interiors and vertical accents often reminiscent of the Gothic style — were not so extensively imitated.

Fischer's entire work had its roots in the architecture of the 17th century, which it completed and crowned. His *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* marked the end of the classicizing universalism of the 17th century (similar ideas were expressed by Carlo Fontana and Sir Christopher Wren), but it was also one of the earliest expressions of historicism — an attitude that seeks to evaluate the art of other periods and cultures on its own terms.

Fischer's creative achievement rested upon his ability to resolve and unify apparently conflicting architectural aims. He gave his buildings a sculptural solidity of form without sacrificing open, light-filled space to this end. The quest for space and light was already evident in his youthful sketches. In his works, baroque themes are organized in the classical spirit, and the directional focus of baroque architecture is combined with the self-contained forms of classicism. Fischer was not an eclectic in the 19th-century sense of the term. Although the motifs of the Karlskirche, for example, evoke the great ideas of past European architecture, they are integrated within universal architectural conceptions and by the theme of imperial

grandeur. Nor may the coolness of his works be interpreted as "classical" or the result of an absence of passion. It is, rather, a reflection of the immeasurable distance separating the imperial realm from the ordinary world.

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Hans SEDLMAYR

Illustrations: PLS. 273-276; 3 figs. in text.

FLAXMAN, JOHN. English sculptor, draftsman, designer of Wedgwood, exponent of neoclassicism (b. York, July 6, 1755; d. London, Dec. 7, 1826). His father was a plaster-cast maker in Covent Garden, London, where, among the shelves of antique casts, the sickly child spent his early years reading classics, drawing, and modeling in clay and wax. From the age of eleven he exhibited models, winning prizes from the Royal Society of Arts and Royal Academy of Arts School.

From 1775 to 1787 he designed cameos, medallions, and jasper-ware plaques for the Wedgwood pottery firm. He moved from his father's new workshop, 420 The Strand, to 27 Wardour Street when he married Anne Denman (1782).

He spent the years 1787 to 1794 in Rome studying the antique, while acting as Wedgwood's superintendent in Italy. He drew his famous outline designs for the classic poets, circulated in Piroli's engravings. The Earl of Bristol, on Canova's recommendation, commissioned him to undertake a heroic marble.

In 1794 he returned to London, settling in Fitzroy Square. In 1797 he was elected associate of the Royal Academy of Arts; in 1800, full academician; and in 1810 the Royal Academy named him to the chair of sculpture. His monuments and memorial tablets were dignified rewards of fame. His official commissions were of heroic scale beyond his talents, lacking unity or force, but to family memorials he imparted grave, tender sentiment, embodying Protestant ethical concepts in classic form.

His strength lay in pure linear beauty of figure and gesture in drawings, or fluid symmetry of bas-reliefs, before the reproduction procedures of engravers, potters, or stone cutters intervened to conventionalize his effects. His style progressed from restrained classicism to a quiet rapture of medieval transcendentalism, comparable with that of his friend William Blake.

MAJOR WORKS. *a. Self-portraits*: Pencil (1779; London, Univ. College). — Medallion (1779; London, Vict. and Alb.). — Sanguine (ca. 1782; Chicago, Art Inst.). — Medallion (1787-94; London, Soane Mus.). *b. Drawings*: Homer (ca. 1792; London, Royal Acad. of Arts, Br. Mus., Univ. College). — Aeschylus (1792-95; London, Royal Acad. of Arts, Br. Mus.). — Dante (1792-97; London, Br. Mus., Univ. Coll.). — Hesiod (before 1817; London, Br. Mus., Univ. College). *c. Wedgwood*: The Dancing Hours (1778; jasper, Stoke-on-Trent, Wedgwood Mus. "Etruria"). *d. Monuments*: Mansfield (1793-1801; London, Westminster Abbey). — Reynolds (1813; London, St. Paul's Cathedral). — Baring (1801-13; Micheldever, Micheldever Church). — Fitzharris (1817; Christchurch, Priory Church). *e. Sculpture*: The Fury of Athamas (1790-92; Bury St. Edmunds, Marquis of Bristol Coll.). — Apollo and Marpeasa (1800; London, Royal Acad. of Arts).

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Peter A. WICK

**FLEMISH AND DUTCH ART.** The art of painting has enjoyed a long and vigorous history in the Low Countries, producing two of the most historically and esthetically significant schools in the development of Western art, that of 15th-century Flanders (see **RENAISSANCE**) and that of 17th-century Holland (see **BAROQUE ART**). These schools must be considered in the context both of their artistic predecessors and of their general historical background; constant reference to the broader framework of contemporary European culture is also necessary. Moreover, it is important, despite the political and religious difference between the two territories (see **BELGIUM**; **NETHERLANDS**), to examine, in certain periods especially, the interrelationships between them in their stylistic evolution. In this article the Walloon-speaking area of southern Belgium will be considered together with Flanders.

**SUMMARY.** The development of Flemish art (col. 401): *Centers of architecture and sculpture before A.D. 1000; Centers of Romanesque architecture in the Meuse and Scheldt regions; Centers of Romanesque sculpture and its diffusion; French influences and the rise of an autonomous tradition in Gothic sculpture; Gothic architecture in the regions of the Meuse, the Scheldt, and Brabant; Painting before the golden age: fresco, panel, and illuminated manuscript; The golden age: Jan van Eyck in Bruges and Rogier van der Weyden in Brussels; Dirk Bouts, Justus of Ghent, and Hugo van der Goes; The bourgeois milieu of Bruges: Hans Memling and Gerard David; The Renaissance and the Italianizers: Louvain, Malines, Antwerp; Centers of architecture and sculpture in the period of transition from late Gothic to Renaissance; Pieter Bruegel the Elder and the exponents of an independent Flemish style: portrait and landscape painting; Rubens and the baroque in 17th-century Antwerp; Divergent trends in Flemish baroque style: particular schools and genres; Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art; Flemish art in its European context.* The development of Dutch art (col. 428): *Architectural centers from the 10th to the 16th century; Painting from the late Middle Ages to the 15th century; Mannerist currents and the schools of Leiden, Haarlem, and Utrecht; The northern followers of Caravaggio; The emergence of Dutch painting as a national art; Characterization of currents and genres: a. Flemish influence; b. The portrait; c. Still-life and flower painting; d. Landscape; e. The Italianizers; Architecture from the Renaissance to the 18th century: the stone masons and the painter-architects; Local tradition and foreign influences in sculpture; Rembrandt and his circle; Carel Fabritius and the school of Delft; Dutch environment painting: Vermeer and others; Saenredam and architectural painting; The decline of the national style and the triumph of French taste in the 18th century; The influence of Dutch art.*

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLEMISH ART.** *Centers of architecture and sculpture before A.D. 1000.* In the first millennium the centers of religious architecture coincided with the important centers of Christianity itself. (Recent excavations at Arlon and Tongres, for instance, have brought to light important remains of 4th-century Christian sanctuaries.) From the 5th to the 8th century, missionary foundations sprang up throughout the Low Countries, through the efforts of St. Amand, St. Bavon, and St. Lambert, whose activity left its stamp on Ghent and Liège and brought about the rise of the great abbeys.

The bishoprics of Tournai, Liège, and Cambrai, controlling the western Scheldt Valley, the western Meuse region, and the Brabant from Nivelles to 's Hertogenbosch respectively, were of great importance as architectural centers.

The cathedrals and abbey churches of the period, which were usually built over the tomb or relics of a saint, were normally of the Latin or Byzantine basilican type; however, examples of highly simplified central-plan buildings did exist (Basilica of Bishop Monulphe in honor of St. Servais, Maastricht, 6th cent.; Cathedral of Liège, built by St. Hubert in honor of St. Lambert, 8th cent.; Collegiate Church at Nivelles, built by St. Gertrude, 7th cent., this edifice being the most imposing of all, judging from the excavations after World War II). During the Carolingian period (q.v.) a number of palatine chapels were constructed on a hexagonal or octagonal plan, with a circular ambulatory surmounted by galleries and a central dome. The most important examples of these in Belgium, St-Donatien at Bruges and St-Jean at Liège, have been destroyed, but those of Aachen, Germany (799-804), and Nijmegen, the Netherlands (799), still exist. The typically Carolingian basilican type departed from earlier models in the addition of

a western choir and transept, which elaborated the western end of the building to the same degree as the eastern, and thereby modified the strong eastern orientation generally characteristic of the basilican type. The western choir stood before the nave as a kind of fortified complex (westwork) in the form of a great rectangular tower over a large hall, having chapels on the second story and two lateral stair towers (Abbey of St-Urmer at Lobbes, PL. 328; and the rebuilding of Ste-Gertrude at Nivelles, ca. 1000; from which models were derived the churches of Hastière, Celles, Andenelle, and Bertem).

Stone sculpture of this early period, particularly relief sculpture, is virtually unknown, partly because the poor quality of the local raw material lessened the possibilities of survival, but also perhaps because of a general unsuitability of sculpture to the Flemish spirit of artistic expression. Even in later Flemish art, sculpture of high quality appeared only sporadically; such sculptural productions were primarily architectural decoration. Of considerably greater importance, however, was ivory carving, an outgrowth of Roman and Byzantine traditions (ivory book covers of Genoels-Elderen, late 8th cent., III, PL. 305; and of Bishop Notger, Liège, Mus. Curtius, ca. 982).

*Centers of Romanesque architecture in the Meuse and Scheldt regions.* Two centers of fundamentally different character emerged in the Romanesque period (q.v.)—the diocese of Liège, comprising the region of the Meuse, and that of Tournai, which embraced the region of the Scheldt. From the 9th to the 12th century, during the recovery from the Norman devastations, the abbeys of the Meuse came to the fore as centers of cultural and artistic life: Celles, Florennes, Fosse, Gembloux, Hastière, and Namur (St-Aubin). During the same period a large number of churches and sanctuaries arose, frequently as a result of the lively interest of such members of the higher clergy as Abbot Aderland II of St-Trond and Bishop Notger of Liège; the latter built the churches of Ste-Croix, St-Denis, St-Jean, and St-Martin. Almost all evidence of Romanesque building activity has disappeared; however, what does remain permits the assumption that Rhenish influence, combined with vestigial local Carolingian elements, largely determined its character.

The smaller churches usually had a simple semicircular apse (as at Hastière), the more important ones a great square choir with a rectilinear apse (for instance, as at St-Barthélemy at Liège), and the westwork continued in general use (as at Celles and at St-Denis, Liège); so did the paired choirs and transepts (as at Nivelles). The practice of raising the western choir became widespread as a consequence of the increasingly frequent appearance of the presbytery crypt (Huy, Thynes). In elevation these buildings were characteristically devoid of decorative complication. Piers, always square, supported flat roofs over the three aisles, while cross vaults were used to enclose only limited spaces, such as the semidome of the apse of the crypt. Exterior decoration was limited to the moldings known as "Lombard bands," and the ashlar masonry was set more or less irregularly.

After 1100, Lombard influence transmitted by way of the Rhineland made itself felt in the greater monumentality of the buildings and in the use of regularly set ashlar masonry. New elements appeared on the exterior: blind arcades, little open galleries known as "Rhenish galleries" (St-Pierre at Saint-Trond); and a spire was raised over the crossing. Interior design and structure as well reflected Lombard style: stone cross vaults came into general use, and a system of bays rhythmically ordered through the alternation of piers was adopted. At the same time, the westwork was sometimes retained (St-Barthélemy, PL. 328; and St-Jacques at Liège).

The Scheldt diocese of Tournai, on the other hand, despite the proximity of Reims, found itself isolated. Because of the lack of commercial activity and by reason of the influence of northern France, there were fewer monastic foundations in the Scheldt Valley than in eastern Belgium during the 11th century. An outstanding example, however, was the Abbey of St-Vincent at Soignies, where for the first time a groin vault of very large dimensions was used over the square choir, and



the western tower with portal (projected ca. 1000, but executed only in the 12th cent.) also made its first appearance. Here, too, rose a second tower, equally massive and flanked by two small stair towers over the crossing of the nave and transept. (The same feature appears at Veurne or Furnes, Mersen, and at Ghent, in the Abbey of St-Bavon.)

In the 12th century, partly because of the development of a flourishing commerce, conditions were more favorable to architectural activity. Tournai emerged as a pilgrimage center dedicated to the cult of the Virgin, and in 1146 it gained independence from the see of Noyon and became itself an episcopal seat with jurisdiction over the counties of Flanders and Hainaut. The great development of the style of Tournai began with the construction of the Cathedral, a project of primary importance on which many artists worked. The Romanesque churches of St-Brice, St-Nicolas, St-Piat, and St-Quentin as well as the Cathedral (PL. 328) are still preserved at Tournai, although most of the Romanesque monuments in other parts of the Scheldt Valley have unfortunately been lost (St-Donatien at Bruges; St-Bavon and St-Pierre, both at Ghent). Sufficient examples remain, however, to illustrate the extent to which the Scheldt region offered a greater variety of architectural types and features than did that of the Meuse: the basilican plan was retained, but with extended transepts; the crypt, of which the oldest example in Belgium is the choir of St-Brice at Tournai, occurred only rarely (the chapel of St-Basil in Bruges is not a crypt but the chapel of the castrum); spires of the type at Halle were used; in general, flat wood ceilings prevailed, but at an early date there also appeared robustly ribbed stone vaults (transept of the Cathedral of Tournai, apse of SS. Pierre et Paul at Lierre, and lavabo of the Abbey of St-Bavon in Ghent); and cruciform, composite, and circular piers were employed.

A characteristic feature of the secular architecture of Tournai, where some stone dwellings are preserved, was the triangular gable still to be seen in the celebrated Maison de l'Étape (13th cent.), a feature which appeared also at Ghent, though in modified form as the tiered gable. At Tournai also was built the first *beffroi* (communal tower), about 1200.

*Centers of Romanesque sculpture and its diffusion.* The basic geographical and stylistic distinctions drawn between the Meuse and Scheldt centers of architecture are tenable also in the field of sculpture, especially architectural sculpture.

During the 11th century, ivory carving was of importance in the region of the Meuse, while in the 12th, metalwork — particularly goldsmiths' work — acquired great prominence, being actively encouraged by Wibald of Stavelot, Suger of St-Denis, and the abbots of St-Bertin, who were the patrons of Godefroid de Huy. The work of the goldsmith Renier de Huy (PL. 319) was of the highest quality, and that of Nicholas of Verdun (q.v.) was of great importance, keeping alive echoes of the classical styles. French influence appeared in the art of the Meuse toward the beginning of the 12th century, bringing with it Gothic decorativism and increased technical virtuosity (reliquary chest of Notre-Dame of Tournai, Cathedral, 1205).

Monumental stone sculpture was rare throughout the Romanesque period. Notable exceptions, however, are the historiated capitals of Maastricht (Notre-Dame and St-Servais) and the *Virgin of Dom Rupert* (ca. 1150; III, PL. 308). The latter was destined to become an iconographical archetype, emulated in other areas of western Europe; it was based on the theme of Mary as the mother of God — an emphasis largely derived from the writings of Dom Rupert, a monk of St-Laurent at Liège and later abbot of Deutz near Cologne. Polychrome wood sculpture was more characteristic of the period, however, and one of the most commonly occurring iconographical types was the *Sedes sapientiae*.

*French influences and the rise of an autonomous tradition in Gothic sculpture.* The most active Scheldt center during the 13th century was Tournai, where French influence was strongly felt, particularly in monumental sculpture. The local type of baptismal font, generally a rectangular basin with architectural

(Gerpennes), geometric, or figural (Termonde and Zedelghem) decoration was common throughout northern Europe, as were trapezoidal tomb slabs, the characteristic Tournai funerary sculpture, found even in England.

The determining factor of French influence was common to all the centers. In the Meuse area decorative sculpture was characterized by a preference for vegetable forms. Goldsmiths' work continued as an important art form, even though considerably lower in quality than in the earlier period. The monk Hugo d'Oignies, Colars de Douai, and Jaquemond de Nivelles should be mentioned in this connection. Among the outstanding anonymous examples of Flemish Gothic goldsmiths' art are the polyptych of Floeffe (Louvre, 1254), the *St. Blaise* of the Cathedral of Namur, and the *Virgin of St-Materne*. Monumental sculpture is represented in the region by the south portal of St-Servais in Maastricht, and the *Sedes sapientiae*, a most popular theme in wood sculpture, was found here too.

From the Scheldt region the reliquary of St. Eleuthère (Tournai, Cathedral, 1247), the west portal of the Cathedral of Tournai, and that of the Hospital of St. John of Bruges (ca. 1270) are all provincial versions of French sculpture.

During the 14th century the new centers of Brabant and Dijon, then linked politically with Flanders in the kingdom of Burgundy, emerged beside those of the Meuse and the Scheldt. French influence remained generally predominant, serving to refine the forms of local art, but leading gradually to mannered sterility. Only Brabantine sculpture reacted fruitfully and vigorously to the stimulus of French influence, producing a new and emphatic realism, particularly in sculpture intended for architectural decoration. Sculpture in the round also was revitalized; it was characterized by a new sense of volume and dignity of pose. Wautier Pans (*Virgin of Notre-Dame-du-Lac* at Tirlemont, 1362-63) was an outstanding exponent of the new style, retaining, however, some traces of French influence, as did to an even greater degree the anonymous sculptors of Halle (*Black Madonna* and figures of the apostles, in the Church of Notre-Dame).

In the 14th and early 15th centuries, as a result of the patronage of the dukes of Burgundy, Dijon rose to prominence as a center of new artistic developments, especially after the arrival of Claus Sluter (q.v.), who was called by Philip the Bold first to collaborate with Jean de Marville and then to direct the ducal atelier (PLS. 320, 387). From Dijon the influence of Sluter spread to Brussels and ultimately to a large part of the Western world, manifesting itself in a greater realism, in an individualized representation of character, and in the use of the figure in the full round (sculptural decoration of the Chartreuse of Champmol). Sluter's style became even more strenuously realistic in the hands of his nephew Claus de Werve, who gave to the sculptural image, rendered with psychological characterization, complete independence from its background.

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*Gothic architecture in the regions of the Meuse, the Scheldt, and Brabant.* Before 1200, the Gothic style (see GOTHIC ART) appeared only sporadically. After the early quadripartite vaulted choir and transept (the latter is now destroyed) of the Cathedral of Tournai, it is possible to cite as examples only the private chapel of Bishop Stephen (Tournai, 1198) and the abbey church



at Orval (1180-1200), the latter built by the Burgundian Cistercians, who were responsible also for Villers-la-Ville (1200-10) and Aulne (1214-30). The influence of Aulne is clearly discernible at Floreffe (Abbey of St-Norbert, before 1250) and at Diest (Notre-Dame, 1253-88). Shortly thereafter arose the monastic churches of the French Dominicans at Louvain (1251), Antwerp, and Ghent, all notable for their simplicity and purity of Gothic style. These churches, however, were simply French buildings transplanted to Flanders and executed by French workmen, while the first genuine expressions of the meeting of local tradition and French influence occurred in the choir of the Collegiate Church of SS. Michel et Gudule (under construction by 1226, finished in the last quarter of the century) and of Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle (1250-75), both in Brussels; and in various buildings of minor importance at Diest, Herent, Jodoigne, Lombeek-Notre-Dame, and Winzele. In these early examples verticality was rather less stressed than in French architecture, and the composite pier was generally replaced by the simple column. Within a short time three centers of characteristically Flemish architectural style were discernible: Tournai and the Scheldt region (mainly influenced by Laon, Soissons, and Picardy), which flourished particularly in the 13th century; Liège and the region of the Meuse (influenced by Champagne and Burgundy), still active in the 16th century; and finally, Louvain and Brabant, which quickly eclipsed the other two.

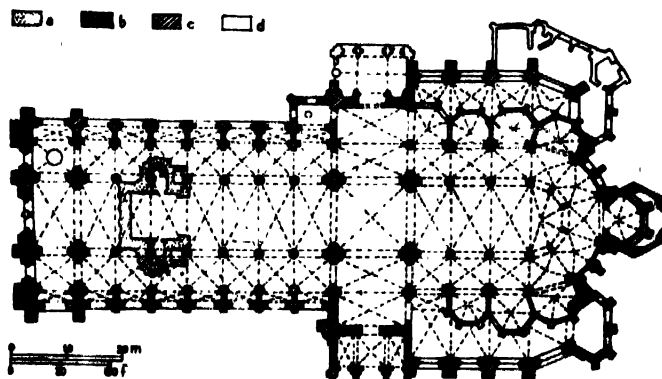
Among the constant features of Scheldt religious architecture, in which some Norman influence is evident, were the polygonal apse, columns crowned with curling foliated capitals called Tournai capitals, the triforium gallery with alternating coupled piers, the crossing tower flanked by four small round stair towers, similar small towers on the façade, exterior balconies on the upper windows, and frequently wooden roofing (St-Nicolas, Ghent, 1200-50; Notre-Dame de Pamele, Oudenaarde, 1234-42). Particularly idiosyncratic is the practice of placing two chapels disposed on oblique axes between the transept and the choir (Cathedral of Ypres, or Ieper, ca. 1221; church at Lisseweghe, 1225-50) or of placing four chapels at the angles of the chevet (St-Quentin, Tournai, ca. 1210). The church type having three aisles of equal height (*Hallenkirche*) was also rather widespread. The Gothic style of the Scheldt spread into Zeeland where it was used in the Abbey of Middelburg, and where it produced the most beautiful of all Flemish churches in the maritime provinces (Damme, tower of Church of Notre-Dame, 1230-50; Lisseweghe, 1225-50; Notre-Dame of Bruges, rebuilding, late 13th cent.).

Secular architecture was very important in the Scheldt region: at Tournai is found the oldest *beffroi*; at Alost (Aalst) the oldest town hall (ca. 1200-30); and at Ypres and Bruges (ca. 1200 and 1248 respectively), the first examples of the covered market. The Binnenhof (Central Palace) in the Hague in Holland (ca. 1250) can also be offered as an example of Scheldt architecture, so clear is its derivation.

The church types of the Meuse, substantially influenced by those of Burgundy, especially during the 13th and 14th centuries, were less uniform. The rectilinear apse was rather widely used (Collegiate Church of Chimay), as was the two-story ambulatory without radiating chapels (churches of Notre-Dame at Dinant, 1227-79, and Walcourt, after 1250); the feature of the high balcony appeared in the interior. The usual material was the heavy black limestone of the Meuse with light Maastricht tufa in the vaulting; the generally favored supporting element was the column, and the capitals in the characteristic local style were cylindrical at the bottom and polygonal at the top with banded decoration of broad leaves in low relief surmounted by more strongly articulated vegetable elements. These features appeared also in the Collegiate Church of Notre-Dame at Huy (1311-77).

During the Gothic period Brabant emerged from dependence on the Meuse regions to a position of preeminence. The building activity of the French Cistercians (abbey churches of Villers-la-Ville and Val Dieu, near Brussels, both first half of 13th cent.) and Dominicans (Louvain, begun 1251) started rather early, and although local characteristics appeared in the

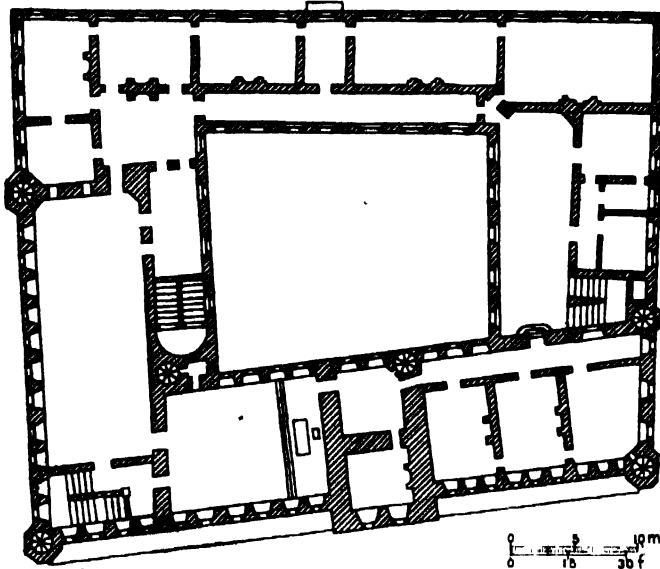
apses of the Collegiate Church of SS. Michel et Gudule (begun ca. 1225; FIG. 406) and of Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle (13th cent.) at Brussels, 13th-century Brabantine architecture remained essentially derivative. In the 14th century the style became more independent, though French influence was still active, and the first important group of monuments in the new Franco-Brabantine style is at Louvain, capital of the duchy. The Church of the Béguinage (1305) in that city is a typical example of the style: this three-aisled, wood-vaulted structure was built with great simplicity of local sandstone; the extreme eastern bay of the nave, which serves as the choir, has small windows, rich ornamentation on the capitals of the supporting members,



Brussels, plan of SS. Michel et Gudule. Key: (a) Walls of the late 12th cent.; (b) from 1225 to 1300; (c) from the 14th to the end of the 17th cent.; (d) modern.

and a small belfry instead of the traditional spire. The same type is represented by the Béguinage Church of Diest, and by St-Jacques, and Ste-Gertrude at Louvain (chiefly after 1350). The use of the vault was sporadic and limited (St-Catherine, Malines, 1336-1409); it only rarely extended throughout the whole building. In this connection three churches dedicated to the Virgin are of particular importance: that of Jean d'Oisy at Tirlemont (ca. 1325), which has the only portal of genuine French style in Belgium; that of Jacques Piccart at Aarschot (choir, 1337); and the work on the Cathedral at Antwerp (1352-1420). Distinguished examples of secular architecture were also built during the 14th century: the *Hallen* (covered markets) of Louvain (1317-45), of Diest (ca. 1340), and of Malines (ca. 1320), and the town halls of Termonde and Herenthals. These were the predecessors of the wonderful flowering of Brabantine architecture in the 15th century. The many churches of the period include Notre-Dame of Halle (formerly dedicated to St. Martin, nave mid-14th cent., choir 1399-1409), the choir of St-Rombaut of Malines, Notre-Dame-au-delà-de-la-Dyle also at Malines, Ste-Catherine of Hoogstraeten (by Rombout II Keldermans, 1526-50), Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Antwerp (completed by Keldermans and Dominicus de Waghemakere), St-Jacques, St-Paul, and others. Characteristic of most of these churches was the bold western tower, as at Ste-Gertrude of Louvain. The masterpiece of Brabantine Gothic is the Collegiate Church of St-Pierre at Louvain (begun 1425) by Sulpice van Vorst, Jan II Keldermans, and Mathieu de Layens; it was built of stone with brick vaults on a basilical plan amplified by the addition of a second ambulatory with radial chapels and chapels between the lateral buttresses. The airy rhythm of the windows was repeated in the triforium and in the angular capital-less piers of the great arcades, which also served to accentuate the verticality of the entire building. Use of the harmoniously proportioned plan of St-Pierre spread throughout northern Brabant (Cathedral of St. John, or St. Janakerk, at 's Hertogenbosch, rebuilt 1419-1525) and Hainaut (Collegiate Church of Ste-Waudru at Mons, 1450-1621) into the Scheldt Valley (St-Bavon and St-Michel at Ghent) and France (Bresse) and was of particular importance at Brou through the work (1505-30) of Louis van Bodeghem.

The great originality of 15th-century Brabantine secular architecture is apparent in such buildings as the city halls of Brussels (begun 1402; FIG. 407), of Ghent (Rombout II Keldermans and Dominicus de Waghmakere, begun 1518), and of Oudenaarde (Henri van Pede, 1526-37), the latter two exemplifying the light and decorative flamboyant style. Triangular gables were a characteristic feature of the guild halls and private houses, often made of brick with rich decorative moldings; these abound in Bruges (Maison Jean Vasqué, 1468) and



Brussels, City Hall, plan of the main floor, 15th and 18th cent.

generally throughout Brabant and Flanders (the houses were erroneously called "Spanish houses").

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**Painting before the golden age: fresco, panel, and illuminated manuscript.** The tradition of fresco painting persisted in the Low Countries long after Roman times, particularly in those areas that had participated most fully in Roman culture. Few frescoes remain, but those few are all examples of residual Byzantinism, the result of exposure to the highly portable, and hence ubiquitous, Byzantine ivories and illuminated manuscripts. (Remaining frescoes include the cycle of the life of St. Catherine, 1171-78, and the painted crucifix called the *Christ of Tournai*, both in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Tournai; French influence is also perceptible in the latter.) Later frescoes, too, fall within the Franco-Byzantine tradition (life of St. Margaret cycle and the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, Cathedral of Tournai, late 12th-early 13th cent.), and clearly Byzantine motifs appear in the saints in the refectory of St-Bavon, Ghent, and in the *St. Veronica* in the Church of the Béguinage at Saint-Trond (Limbourg) as well.

The spread of French influence in the Scheldt region was

intensified during the 14th century, partly because of direct political and religious dependence on France, but chiefly as a result of the high level of artistic achievement attained by that country. French style and idiom are clearly recognizable in the accentuated linear form, at its best rather elegant but more often merely conventional, that began to appear in local art (the *St. Louis* in Notre-Dame, Bruges). Ghent was particularly susceptible to these influences, as both literary sources and the frescoes of the refectory of the Abbey of Byloke in Ghent (formerly a Cistercian abbey, now the Musée d'Archéologie) attest. In the same abbey, however, the *Last Supper* (1375-1400; PL. 277) affords perhaps the first glimpse of a native realistic spirit, reiterated in the slightly later *Transfiguration* of the Church of SS. Pierre et Guidon in Anderlecht. The oldest extant example of panel painting is the reliquary of St. Odile, painted at Liège in 1292 and preserved in the church of Kerniel, near Tongres (Tongeren), which reflects something of Rhenish art in its archaism. During the 14th century hints of motifs possibly drawn from popular theatrical representations (the mystery plays) can be noted alongside the prevailing French influence. At this time there became current a type of altar frontal combining painting and sculpture, such as the altar with sculpture by Jacques de Baerze and paintings by Melchior Broederlam representing the life of Christ, which was done for the court of Burgundy (PL. 277). Claus Sluter exerted great influence at the court of Burgundy on painting as well as sculpture, leading both in the direction of greater realism.

The continual collaboration between French and Flemish artists in the late 14th century and the extensive activity of the Flemings in France have given rise, rightly or wrongly, to the concept of a Franco-Flemish style in painting (e.g., *Communion and Martyrdom of St. Denis*; PL. 382).

Manuscript illumination must have flourished from the end of the 4th century, but the early examples of this art form (from several centuries later) have come down to us in a rather fragmentary state. It seems certain that scriptoria (i.e., monastic centers of book production) did not exist in the Low Countries before the 11th century, the extensive production of sumptuously decorated manuscripts of earlier date having been largely the work of Anglo-Saxon monks, originating in the scriptoria of Trier and Echternach or of the French schools of Reims and Metz. After the 11th century, however, highly active scriptoria emerged in the Scheldt and Meuse regions, among them St-Martin at Tournai, St-Urmer at Liège, and St-Remacle at Stavelot. The relationship of miniature painting in the period to goldsmiths' work and enamel work was extremely close in the Meuse area, and the style thus evolved exerted great influence in the Rhineland, particularly in Cologne, and in many other regions of Germany. The scriptoria of the Scheldt, on the other hand, were characterized by a fusion of French and English influences, and this Franco-English current, with its refined linearism and delicate chromatic harmonies, prevailed throughout the 13th century in the western regions, only a few examples departing from it, among them the more rigidly drawn and colored miniatures from the Abbey of Schoonweert, Grammont.

During the 14th century, manuscript illumination gradually became the most important and progressive form of painting. Mural painting had been rendered obsolete by the great window-walls of Gothic architecture, and several nonartistic factors as well gave impetus to the production of illustrated books—a larger literate public was being created among the upper classes by the increasingly influential universities, and the great bibliophile patrons Jean de France (Duc de Berry), Louis d'Anjou, and Philip the Bold provided a powerful incentive. French art, cosmopolitan in flavor, recipient and purveyor of international currents, was the determining style factor, but the Flemish miniaturists working at the courts of France (many of them at Dijon) brought with them a style that was realistic, anecdotal, sometimes comic, enamored of analytical detail. These Flemish characteristics became increasingly influential, serving to clarify the new analytical and realistic approach that gradually replaced the courtly romanticism of the International style.

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*The golden age: Jan van Eyck in Bruges and Rogier van der Weyden in Brussels.* The unification of the Low Countries under the dukes of Burgundy marked the beginning of an independent indigenous school of painting in the southern Netherlands. The active patronage of the ducal house (from Philip the Bold to Mary of Burgundy) was emulated by the aristocracy, the clergy, and the rich bourgeoisie (Chancellor Nicolas Rolin, Pierre Bladelin, Louis Gruythuyse, Canons Georges van der Paele and Bernardino Salviati, the merchants Jodocus Vijdt, Martin van Nieuwenhove, and Guillaume Moreel); the artists themselves sometimes donated their services to religious communities (Gerard David; q.v.). Foreign contacts multiplied, and consequently so did the number of foreign commissions to Flemish artists, particularly from Italians (Cardinal Nicolò Albergati, Pierantonio Baroncelli, Angelo Tani, Giovanni Arnolfini, and Tommaso Portinari).

Flemish painters enjoyed international renown in the 15th century. Their works were in demand at the Italian courts: Italian collectors of Flemish art included Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence; Alfonso I of Aragon in Naples; the Este family at Ferrara, who bought from Rogier van der Weyden (q.v.) when he came to Rome for the Holy Year 1450; and Federico da Montefeltro of Urbino, who made Justus of Ghent (q.v.) his court painter. The style of Flemish painters spread through France, Spain, and Germany, affecting even early Renaissance painting in Italy. Bruges and Ghent in Flanders and Brussels in Brabant, already great centers of international trade and banking, became also great centers of artistic activity.

The first and greatest representative of the school of Bruges (even though he was probably a native of the region of Maas-tricht) was Jan van Eyck. The influence of Van Eyck and his brother Hubert (see EYCK, VAN) far exceeded the regional limits of the school, affecting either directly or indirectly all of contemporary Flemish painting, and expanding into France (Master of the Annunciation of Aix, PL. 394; Simon Marmion and Nicolas Froment, PL. 386), Italy (Antonello da Messina, Ghirlandaio, and, probably, Filippo Lippi (qq.v.)), as well as Colantonio and others felt the effects of Eyckian style), Portugal (Núño Gonçalves), and Spain (Pedro Berruguete, Jacomart Bagó, and Luis Dalmau). The Van Eycks' immediate heir within the school of Bruges itself was Petrus Christus (q.v.), whose early works such as the *Madonna of Jan Vos*, also called the *Exeter Madonna* (Berlin, Staat. Mus., as early as 1450), reveal strong Eyckian influences, even though we have no documentary evidence that he was actually trained in the school of Van Eyck. His extreme sedateness of composition (PL. 285) and his interpretation of religious subjects as genre scenes (a practice already well-established in the Flemish miniature tradition from the 14th century) became important factors in subsequent Flemish style. The dramatic emphasis of his later works (*Lamentation*; PL. 279) indicates the influence of Rogier van der Weyden.

Rogier van der Weyden (q.v.), in whom the Flemish command of graphic detail achieved perhaps its highest expression as a means of penetrating psychological characterization and dramatic emphasis, was without doubt the second great determinant figure in the development of 15th-century Flemish painting. A school of followers emerged in Brussels as early as 1440, and every important Netherlandish artist of the next half-century can be said to have taken Rogier's work as a

point of departure. Hardly less significant was Rogier's rôle as an intermediary between Flemish and Italian art; he gave as much to the latter as he received from it. The results of his Italian journey of 1450 — during which he is supposed to have particularly admired the work of Gentile da Fabriano (q.v.) in the Lateran — are evident in his development away from the exacerbated dramatic expression that characterized his earlier work toward a calmer, more contemplative mysticism. Rogier enjoyed great fame among his contemporaries, though the lack of signed works almost immediately created problems of attribution and omissions from the *œuvre* that persist down to the present. The most serious such problem concerns the highly important group of works, dating before about 1438, attributed to the so-called Master of Flémalle (PLS. 278, 279). These works are closely related in style to those of Rogier van der Weyden, and certain scholars hold them to be in fact youthful works by him. The majority, however, attribute them to the Master of Flémalle, considered to be Rogier's teacher and commonly identified with Robert Campin (q.v.). In this latter view, Campin-Flémalle becomes the third great determinant figure in Flemish 15th-century painting and in many respects its pioneer.

Rogier's chief followers at Brussels were Colijn de Coter and Bernart van Orley (PL. 287), and he directly influenced Dirk Bouts, Petrus Christus, and Hans Memling (qq.v.). Outside Flanders the impact of his dramatic style was felt by Stephan Lochner, Martin Schongauer, and Albrecht Dürer (qq.v.) in Germany; by Jean Bellegambe in France; by Bartolomé Bermejo, Pedro Sanchez, and Jorge Inglés in Spain; and, less obviously, by the Ferrarese painters in Italy: Cosmè Tura, Francesco del Cossa, and Ercole de' Roberti (qq.v.). His influence on the minor arts and on sculpture was equally strong (see, for instance, the funeral steles of the region around Tournai or Brabantine oak altar frontals or Flemish and Spanish tapestries of the period, as, for example, those reproducing two paintings of the master executed for the town hall of Brussels and destroyed in 1659 — *Legends of Trajan and Herkinbald*, Bern, Hist. Mus., before 1462). In the field of manuscript illumination as well, Rogerian elements appear in the anonymous Master of Girart de Roussillon (identified by some scholars with Jehan Dreux) and in Jean Le Tavernier, while the dedication miniature of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Brussels, Bib. Royale) is attributed to the master himself.

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*Dirk Bouts, Justus of Ghent, and Hugo van der Goes.* The presence of Dirk (Thierry) Bouts (q.v.) as official painter at Louvain, which was a center of intensely active cultural life (especially after the foundation of the university in 1425), was of fundamental importance. A native of Haarlem, Bouts infused into Flemish style something of his Dutch background and sensibility. He was a true representative of the bourgeois spirit, midway between the aristocratic refinement of Jan van Eyck and the powerful realism of Van der Weyden, Van der Goes, Bruegel, and Bosch (qq.v.). His religious attitude and expression seem clearly to have been influenced by the religious reform movement, the *Devotio Moderna*; for the *Last Supper* (Louvain, St-Pierre), the *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* (Louvain, St-Pierre), and the *Justice of Emperor Otto III* (PL. 280) all reveal a spare, tempered emotional expression, neither indulging in any excess of passion nor stooping to any form of artifice, and so are completely in keeping with the *Devotio Moderna* gospel of restrained ascetic mysticism. Bouts's sons, Dirk (Thierry) the

Younger and Albert, continued his workshop in Louvain after his death; its production was commercial in character and lacking in originality. Dirk Bouts's influence, of great importance in Ghent, Haarlem, and Brussels, extended also into northern France, Germany (Bernt Notke), and Spain (Fernando Gallegos).

Joos van Wassenhove, known as Justus of Ghent (q.v.; PL. 280), who was court painter to the Humanist Duke of Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro (see ITALIAN ART), and enormously famous in his lifetime, successfully amalgamated in his later work the stylistic traditions of Flanders and Italy. A Fleming in technique and in his religious interests, yet fully cognizant of the substance of the Italian Renaissance, Justus was able to realize a perfect equilibrium between the analytical narrative realism of the north and the scientifically oriented, synthetic approach of the Italians. The *studiolo* and the decoration of the library of the ducal palace in Urbino document the gradual transformation of his art in the direction of the Italian Renaissance. Since Justus never returned to Flanders, this highly original and harmonious compromise with Italian art was not transmitted to Flemish painting. Conversely, however, the example of Justus did serve as a Flemish influence on Urbinate painting and on Italian painting in general.

The position of Hugo van der Goes (q.v.) in late 15th-century Flemish painting is of particular interest. Active chiefly in Ghent, Hugo brought together in his painting Flemish and Italian elements, both formal and thematic. Some of his works also reveal direct reference to the conceptions of Dom Rupert, as popularized by Wibald of Stavelot and others, according to which Christ appeared as the new Adam, through whose death on the Cross the Tree of Life became the instrument of redemption (*The Fall of Man*, PL. 281; and *Lamentation*, Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.). Interest in a kind of stage-setting composition and in the iconography of the mystery plays can be seen in his later representations of the Adoration of the Magi (e.g., Monforte Altar, Berlin, Staat. Mus.) and of the Adoration of the Shepherds (Portinari Altarpiece, Florence, Uffizi, PL. 281; Berlin, Staat. Mus.), in which he still used the medieval practice of the symbolic differentiation of size among the figures, as well as many other highly complex medieval iconographical features. Although a poignant and typically Flemish psychological interest is certainly apparent in the numerous portraits of donors and important personages present in his religious works, Hugo was clearly also interested in the representation of the common people, as is shown by the telling characterization of rustic types in the Portinari Altarpiece and the later *Death of the Virgin* (PL. 281).

The greatest gifts of Hugo van der Goes to later painting were his taste for popular realism, fantastic landscape, and monumental compositions (in his own works such compositions are generally either pyramidal or inscribable in a circle) and his technical innovations in the use of *couleurs changeants* (iridescent or shot color) and of a kind of pointillism in the rendering of atmospheric vibration. His powerful realism and taste for fantastic landscape were carried on by Hieronymus Bosch, Joachim Patinir, and Pieter Bruegel (qq.v.); through the Portinari Altarpiece he indirectly influenced late 15th-century Florentine painting. In Germany, Schongauer and Holbein (qq.v.) felt Hugo's influence, and in France so did the Master of Moulins (PL. 393). His influence was even greater on Quentin Metsys (PLS. 284, 288), Memling, Gerard David (qq.v.), Albert Bouts, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, and on the miniature painters, especially at Bruges about 1470-80, as, for instance, in the new chiaroscuro values in the Master of Anthony of Burgundy and in the altered iconography of the Master of Mary of Burgundy.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. *Albert Bouts*, ca. 1460-1549, painter, active at Louvain, *Dirk (Thierry) Bouts* (q.v.); *Dirk (Thierry) Bouts the Younger*, ca. 1448-1491, painter, active at Louvain; for the Bouts family: W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, 1938; L. Baldaas, *Dirk Bouts, seine Werkstatt und Schule*, Pantheon, XXV, 1940. *Justus of Ghent* (q.v.). *Hugo van der Goes* (q.v.). *Master of Mary of Burgundy*, miniaturist, active at court of Burgundy ca. 1470-1519, identified by some with Alexander Bening: G. Hulin de Loo, *La vignette chez les enlumineurs gantois*, B. de la Classe des B.-A., XXI, 1939, p. 158 ff.; O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948.

*The bourgeois milieu of Bruges: Hans Memling and Gerard David*. The artistic life of Bruges, a flourishing center of international commerce throughout the 15th century, revolved around the figure of Hans Memling (q.v.). German by birth and probably German in his early training, Memling completely assimilated the Flemish style and spirit, becoming also intimately absorbed in the bourgeois climate of his adopted city. Although much patronized by Italian collectors and in some ways approaching Italian Renaissance style, Memling remained fundamentally Flemish, constantly reworking the same themes and always faithful to his world of mystic contemplation, which he realized with a miniaturist's technique and an almost precious elaboration of detail. It was precisely this talent for renewing, rather than breaking with, the Flemish formal and thematic tradition that brought Memling extreme popularity with contemporary bourgeois society. This society seems almost to have considered him the interpreter of its own aspirations, commissioning from him many paintings, such as the *St. Christopher Triptych* (Bruges, Memling Mus., 1484) and the *Bathsheba* (Stuttgart, Landesmus., ca. 1484); the latter, a rare example of the female nude in northern painting of the period, appears to have been inspired by Italian models. Memling's portraits, simultaneously emphatically realistic and highly refined, act as a mirror of bourgeois society (portraits of the Italian medalist Giovanni di Candida, of Guillaume Moreel and his wife, etc.).

The influence of Memling, although fundamental in Bruges, particularly for Gerard David and a group of anonymous painters who adopted Memling's miniaturelike technique, did not extend beyond the southern Netherlands. (Bernt Notke and some minor Germans who may have seen Memling's work in Germany, particularly the *Passion Triptych* in the Cathedral of Lübeck, 1491, are exceptions.)

The Dutchman Gerard David (q.v.; PL. 286), who was fully receptive to the tradition of Van Eyck, Van der Weyden, Van der Goes, and Memling, found great favor in the bourgeois milieu of Bruges after 1484. However, his interest in modern Renaissance developments drew him away from Bruges, by that time in decadence, to Antwerp, where he felt the impact of younger painters (Quentin Metsys and Joachim Patinir, qq.v.; PLS. 284, 288, 296), and ultimately led him to Genoa, where some of his works remain. (David is absent from the Bruges archives in 1511-12, and the assumption is that his Italian journey was undertaken during that year. Furthermore, the number of commissions he received from Italians increased after that time.) The journey may be reflected in his use of new decorative elements (festoons of flowers and fruit, putti, and cameos), in a more secular approach to religious subjects (*Marriage at Cana*, Louvre, ca. 1503), and in the more lyrical feeling toward nature and landscape (*Baptism of Christ*, Bruges, Groeninge-Mus.); landscape was being treated as a primary subject for the first time. Thus, David led the way for Joachim Patinir and the other landscape painters of the 16th century. His influence was considerable in Genoa and in Bruges, where it was most intensely felt in miniature painting, which at that time enjoyed equal stature with panel painting.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. *Albert Cornelis*, painter, active in Bruges ca. 1513-32; ThB, VII, 1912. *Gerard David* (q.v.). *Adriaen Isenbrant*, active in Bruges ca. 1510-51; Friedländer, XI. *Hans Memling* (q.v.).

*The Renaissance and the Italianizers: Louvain, Malines, Antwerp*. The religious and political upheavals that shook the southern Low Countries during the 16th century had serious repercussions on its artistic activity. The iconoclastic zeal of the Protestants brought about wholesale destruction of art works, and many artists were exiled by the Inquisition: Jan Metsys, Hans Bol, Bernart van Orley, Jan Sanders van Hemessen, Karel van Mander, Nicolas de Neufchâtel (Lucidel), Lucas and Martin I van Valkenborch, David Vinckeboons, Hans Vredeman de Vries. At the same time the universities, the courts, and the great commercial cities of the north became centers for the dissemination of Humanism (Louvain and Antwerp, as well as the courts of Margaret of Austria, Charles V, and Philip II). The Latin and Greek classics became known

to a large public after editing by the great scholars, particularly those of the University of Louvain (founded by Pope Martin V in 1425); such men included Erasmus, Rutgerus Rescius, Nicolas Clénard, Juan Vives, and Justus Lipsius. Also related to the University of Louvain was the activity of the printers Jean de Westphalie and Thierry Martens (active at Alost 1473 and Louvain 1474) and their followers: Conradus Braem, Hermannus de Nassou, Louis de Ravescot, Jean Veldeker. From Antwerp, destined for cultural ascendancy in the 16th and 17th centuries, came the editions of Gerard Leeu (after 1484), Adrien Lievelde (1495-97), Mathieu van der Goes, Godefroid Back (1495-1500), and Henrick die Lettersnider (i.e., "cutter of letters," 1496-99), all predecessors of the great Christophe Plantin (1514 or 1520-89). After the Council of Trent influential treatises on religious iconography, such as the *De picturis et imaginibus sacris* (1570) of Johannes Molanus of Louvain and the *Iconologia* of the Italian Cesare Ripa (1593, translated into many languages), began to be printed.

Cultural exchange with Italy was still lively in the first half of the 16th century, but it was no longer as in the 15th century a matter of invitations from the Italian courts to the "great Flemings." Rather, Italy now appeared as the artists' promised land, and artists of all levels of ability flocked there, inspired by an almost fanatical admiration for the "great Italians" (particularly Raphael and Michelangelo), whom they studied and copied as ideal models.

During the 16th century the centers of Malines and Antwerp came to the fore. Malines, capital of the Netherlands 1507-30, was in direct contact with the culture of the Italian Renaissance through the court of Margaret of Austria and the presence there of many Italian artists, such as Jacopo de' Barbari, Tommaso Vincidor (PL. 333), Niccolò Paladino, Pietro Torrigiani, Niccolò Spinelli, and Giovanni Candida, as well as through Dürer and Conrad Meit. Engravings of Italian works of art were also widely known, and Italian artists sometimes designed the cartoons for tapestries to be executed in Flanders (for example, those of Raphael were entrusted to Bernart van Orley). Among the artists of the court circle were Lancelot Blondeel, Guvot de Beaugrant, and Jean Mone.

The growing city of Antwerp, seat of a flourishing commerce, a rich and powerful bourgeoisie, and an expanding interest in the arts, gradually replaced Bruges as a cultural center, and about the middle of the 16th century, concurrent with the general expansion of the Italianate style, the local schools of sculpture and painting began to assert their independence. The sculptor Cornelis II Floris de Vriendt originated a style trend, ultimately to be of international significance, which was characterized by emphatic pictorial decorativism, and which was rendered in flamboyant serpentine forms. In Antwerp also worked Jacques Dubroeuq and Jean de Boulogne (Giambologna, q.v.), both of whom later became exponents of Italian mannerism in Italy (see MANNERISM).

The Antwerp school of painting was founded by Quentin Metsys (q.v.; PL. 284, 288), who, highly aware of the Italian Renaissance, yet faithful to the Flemish tradition, gave life to a sort of northern Renaissance. Under the influence of Leonardo, Metsys abandoned the traditional Flemish composition of evocative stasis for one of articulated monumentality set within a broad landscape for the first time filled with vibrating atmosphere and sunlight (*The Holy Kinship*, St. Anne Altarpiece, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1507-09; *Deposition*, Antwerp, Mus. Royal des B. A., 1508-11, inspired by the Escorial *Deposition* of Rogier van der Weyden, Madrid, Prado). A straightforward realistic approach, which was occasionally exaggerated in the satirical scenes inspired by Leonardo, appears in Metsys' scenes from daily life. He was also an innovator in the field of portrait painting, newly conceived by him in a Humanistic way, his portraits of Erasmus of Rotterdam (Rome, Gall. Naz., Palazzo Barberini, 1517) and Petrus Aegidius (the Humanist Pierre Gillis, England, Longford Castle, 1517) becoming canonical examples, drawn upon by Joos van Cleve (PL. 284, 289), Antonis Mor (Antonio Moro; PL. 293), and Willem and Adriaen Thomas Key. Metsys influenced his son Jan (who subsequently went to Italy and then to France, where he aligned

himself with the school of Fontainebleau), his son Cornelis, Marinus van Roymerswael (PL. 295), Jan Sandérs van Hemessen, Pieter Aertsen (q.v.), and Pieter Huys.

The ever more fashionable Italianate idiom is clearly perceptible in the Flemish mannerists; however, the hybrid style did not give rise to outstanding personalities. The esthetic basis of Renaissance style did not concern or affect these painters, who chose to use only its superficial formal devices. However, a fruitful and creative reaction to Italian art occurred in the work of Jan Gossaert (q.v.), who was called Mabuse (PL. 291, 300), a figure of great and even bizarre originality, responsible for the first Flemish mythological paintings in the Italian manner (*Neptune and Amphitrite*, Berlin, Staat. Mus., 1516; *Venus*, Rovigo, Pin. dei Concordi, 1527; *Danae*, PL. 291). In these still highly concrete and realistic paintings the perspectival and anatomical theories of the Renaissance have been united with the graphic and coloristic particularism characteristic of Flemish painting. The official painter, who was the fine portraitist Bernart van Orley, was in contact with Dürer and, more superficially, with Italian art, from which he borrowed and exaggerated mannerist motifs (PL. 287). His activity in the minor arts was important; as in the windows of SS. Michel et Gudule of Brussels (1537-38) and in the tapestry cartoons for the *Hunts of the Emperor Maximilian*, Paris.

The substance of the Renaissance was better understood by the group of artists active in Rome who took the name "Romanists." Their program, based on their admiration for Raphael and Michelangelo, prescribed a universal preexisting ideal of beauty. Among them, Michel Coxie aimed in his paintings, tapestries, and windows at deliberate formal perfection achieved through the suppression of color and the exploitation of line, while Pieter Coecke van Aelst, the precursor of formal academic pedagogical theory, devised a kind of formula in which Raphael and Leonardo (q.v.) were the prime sources, but in which was retained a background of Flemish popular realism. His pupils were Gillis van Coninxloo, Nicolas de Neufchâtel (Lucidel), and Willem Key. Lambert Lombard, another of the Romanists, was a complete Humanist: painter, collector, poet, engraver, and architect (his north portal of St-Jacques in Liège, 1558, was inspired by Bramante, q.v.). Among his pupils were Willem Key, Lukas de Heere, who was better known as a poet, and most prominent of all, Frans Floris de Vriendt, who later headed a school in Antwerp. The latter, an imitator of Michelangelo (*Fall of the Rebel Angels*, Antwerp, 1554), was closely attached to the Roman school. Under him was trained Marten de Vos, who went to Italy where he collaborated with Tintoretto (*Paul at Ephesus*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1568) and was influenced by Veronese (*Raising of Lazarus*, Vienna, Kunsth. Mus., 1593). With De Vos, Flemish 16th-century painting entered a phase of decadence, in which participated many secondary masters, nearly all of them pupils of Frans Floris (such as Crispin van den Broeck and the three Francken brothers) or of Marten de Vos (Hendrick de Clerck). There is, however, at the same time a group of painters that can be considered as a transition between the late 16th century and the age of Rubens (q.v.), among them Adam van Noort and Otto van Veen, called Venius (both of whom were teachers of Rubens), Bartholomeus Spranger, and Tobias Haecht (or Verhaeght); all were Romanists and friends in Rome of Federico Zuccaro (see ITALIAN ART).

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*Centers of architecture and sculpture in the period of transition from late Gothic to Renaissance.* Brabant dominated in these fields from the end of the 14th until the 16th century; however, the style of the Meuse, which was late Gothic enriched

by Flemish Renaissance decorative tendencies, continued to produce masterpieces as well, as in the Abbey of St-Hubert (1526-64) and the Liège churches of St-Martin (early 16th cent.) and St-Jacques (1513-38); the vault of St-Jacques, underscored by ribbing, was built by Aert van Mulken, architect also of the palace of the prince-bishops of Liège (1526-36).

Italian Renaissance style penetrated into Flanders only in the early 16th century, partly through the work of Italian architects in the country and partly through the publication of a Netherlandish translation of Serlio by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1539. In 1536 Tommaso Vincidor da Bologna reconstructed the Castle of Breda in the style of a Florentine palace (PL. 333), and in 1550 Willem van Noort built in Brussels the equally Italianate palace of Cardinal Granvelle, which has since been destroyed.

The rigorous simplicity of Italian architecture was modified toward a greater decorativism in the hands of Flemish architects; the result was a picturesque style, full of fantastic and whimsical features—as in the House of the Salmon, Malines, 1534 (PL. 332); in the Greffe du Franc at Bruges, 1535-37; and in the "Devil's House" (town hall) at Arnhem, 1539. A happy compromise between the two basically opposed tendencies is seen in the town hall of Antwerp, where the architect, Cornelis II Floris de Vriendt, while retaining Gothic verticality in the central block, combined it with Tuscan horizontality in the wings, at the same time restraining Flemish decorative exuberance. This structure served as the model for the town halls of Vlissingen (now destroyed), Emden in Friesland, and The Hague (ca. 1563) and for the Collège van Dale in Louvain, as well as for the work of Hans Vredeman de Vries, who produced several collections of models of architectural decoration.

Antwerp, Brussels, and Malines emerged during the 15th century as the three centers of sculpture from which Renaissance style spread into other regions. Realistic narrative vivacity was stressed in every medium. Worked brass was a popular medium of the period, its characteristic products being small royal statuettes and paschal candlesticks. Among the notable artists in this field were Jacques de Gêrines (PL. 322) and Renier van Thienen (Easter candlestick in St-Léonard in Léau, 1483). Goldsmiths' work, too, continued to flourish, boasting such notable examples as Gérard Loyet's group *Charles the Bold Presented by St. George* (before 1471; Cathedral, Liège). Decorative sculpture in stone was devoted to the production of small narrative scenes (Louvain, St-Pierre, 1448, 1450; Aarschot, Tessenderloo, Walcourt). Realistic themes were emphasized in wood sculpture, which enjoyed great popularity at this time. Misericords on the stalls and carved altarpieces were characteristic of the production, notable examples being found at Louvain, Diest, Aarschot, Hoostraeten, Bruges, and Walcourt. The work of Claes de Bruyn and Gérard Goris of Brussels (both active in the 15th cent.) was widespread.

Popular legends (including the Golden Legend of Jacopo da Varagine) as well as more conventional religious subjects offered a rich source of inspiration. The demand everywhere for Brabantine wooden altarpieces gave rise to a large craft production, bringing forth its most significant examples at Geel, Lombeek-Notre-Dame, Léau, St. Denis of Liège, and the Cathedral of Bruges, and having as its most distinguished representatives Jacques de Baerze or Baerse (PL. 277), Jan Borman (PL. 322), Pasquier Borman, and Matthieu de Waeyer.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jacques de Baerse (Baerie)*, sculptor, active late 15th cent. in Termonde, Ghent, and Dijon: A. Kleinclausz, Les peintres des Ducs de Bourgogne, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, XX, 1906, p. 161 ff. *Jan Borman*, sculptor, active ca. 1470-1520 in Brussels and in Germany: E. de Teyne, ThB, IV, 1910. *Pasquier Borman*, sculptor, son of Jan Borman, active late 15th, early 16th cent. in Brussels and Louvain: E. de Teyne, ThB, IV, 1910. *Claes de Bruyn*, sculptor, active mid-15th cent. at Louvain: E. Marchal, La sculpture et les chefs-d'oeuvres de l'orfèvrerie belges, Brussels, 1895. *Jacques de Gêrines*, sculptor, active in Brussels and Lille ca. 1450-63: E. Marchal, op. cit. *Gérard Goris*, sculptor, active ca. 1440 in Brussels and Louvain: E. Marchal, op. cit. *Gérard Loyet*, goldsmith, active ca. 1466-77 in Lille, Brussels, and Antwerp, and for Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy: Flanders in the Fifteenth Century, exhib. cat., Detroit, 1960. *Aert van Mulken*, architect and sculptor, active at Liège before 1545-after 1540: A. Cloquet, Les arts wallons, 1913. *Renier van Thienen*, metalworker, active in Brussels and Léau ca. 1464-before 1498:



E. Marchal, op. cit.: Flanders in the Fifteenth Century, Detroit, 1960, exhib. cat. *Matthieu de Waeyer*, sculptor, active ca. 1530 in Brussels and Tongres; E. Marchal, op. cit.

*Pieter Bruegel the Elder and the exponents of an independent Flemish style: portrait and landscape painting.* Out of the company of Italianate painters arose one of the most profound and original representatives of the Flemish spirit: Pieter Bruegel the Elder (q.v.). Although certainly not free of the influence of Holland, especially of Bosch, nor free of that of Italy where he had traveled, Bruegel's work evidences a reawakening of the Flemish visual tradition. Active within the liberal cultural climate of Antwerp, which was rendered even more lively by the presence of Erasmus of Rotterdam, he revitalized religious iconography, interpreting religious subject matter in worldly terms and treating it, along with the follies and vicissitudes of human existence, in a spirit of absolute realism. The interest in the representation of landscape and of peasant life was greatly stimulated by him. In his own work, however, the realistic rendering of everyday life was entirely fused with a highly refined and calculated intellectualism, which accounted for its rich allegorical and symbolic content. His paintings were intended for a limited Humanist circle, among which were the poet Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, the geographer Abraham Ortelius, and Cardinal Granvelle, who was very close to Erasmus in his views. As Bruegel died in 1569, the dates of most of his works precede those of the wars of religion (1568-1648) and coincide with the peaceful reigns of Charles V and Philip II. However, the year 1566 saw the start of iconoclasm in Flanders, and in 1567 began the oppressive rule of the Duke of Alba.

The innovations of Bruegel, particularly those of content, attracted many minor artists, among them members of his own family; but in the hands of these followers the spirit of his art became merely narrative, emphatically popular and realistic, and occasionally overtly vulgar, although a high level of technical proficiency was retained.

The keen sense of reality characteristic of Bruegel and indeed of the earlier Flemish tradition is also apparent in the acute psychological interpretations of types and personalities present in the work of such artists as Bernart van Orley, Joos van Cleve (PL. 284), Quentin Metsys, and Jan Gossaert, who were not primarily portrait painters. At the same time there existed another group of painters who were the real precursors of the grand portrait style of the 17th century. Among them were Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, court painter, who represented the subject in action (*Ferdinand of Austria*, The Hague, Mauritshuis; *Francis I*, Cincinnati, Art. Mus.; *Everard de la March*, New York, Met. Mus.); Pieter Pourbus, an artificially conventional traditionalist (*Jan van der Gheest*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1584); Frans Pourbus the Elder, a painter of high quality; Frans Pourbus the Younger, who painted Henri IV (Louvre), Marie de' Medici, and the future Louis XIII as a boy; Marten de Vos (*The Anselmo Family*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1577); Paul van Somer, predecessor of Van Dyck in London; Antonis Mor (Antonio Moro), familiar to many European courts and brilliant exponent of the state portrait (his masterpieces include *Self-portrait*, Florence, Uffizi; *Hubert Goltzius*, Brussels, 1576; *Maria, Wife of Maximilian I*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A.; *The Duke of Alba*, New York, Hispanic Soc. of Am., 1549; *Margaret of Parma*, Berlin, Staat. Mus.; *Mary Tudor*, PL. 293); William Key, refined and elegant in color; and Adriaen Thomas Key, who heralded the baroque portrait in his representations of bourgeois society (*Gillis de Smidt*, Antwerp, Mus. Royal des B. A., 1575).

Closely related to the Flemish spirit of analytical realism is the practice, common in 15th-century painting, of using landscape as an integrating element of composition. But probably the first painter to accord to landscape the stature of an independent genre was Joachim Patinir (q.v.). His landscapes, did, however, sometimes contain a few figures; these generally were done by other painters, such as Quentin Metsys. Inspired in his landscapes by the natural setting of the Meuse, which was transformed by his fantastic imagination, Patinir produced the first truly unified landscapes, using a diffused golden light that destroyed the division into parallel zones characteristic

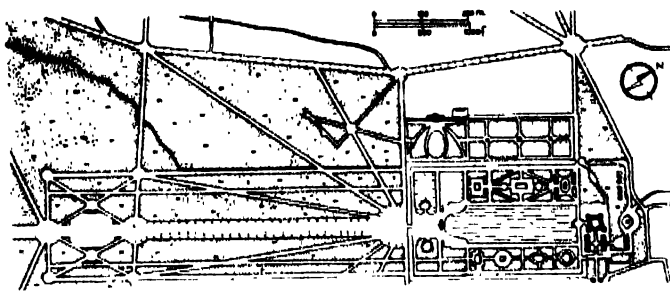
of the earlier Flemings (PL. 296). His narrative and fantastic treatment of landscape was imitated by many, among them Jan and Cornelis Metsys, sons of Quentin; Joos van Cleve (PL. 284); Pieter Bruegel the Elder; Herri met de Bles; Lucas Gassel; Matthys Cock; Lukas van Valkenborch; and, probably the most gifted, Gillis van Coninxloo. Independent of the Patinir style and marking the transition to the 17th century were the brothers Mattheus and Paul Brill (PL. 304), who, having abandoned the Flemish tradition, were highly receptive to Italian classicizing influences. They were also much influenced by the German Adam Elsheimer; in turn the Brills had enormous influence either directly or indirectly on future landscape painters throughout Europe. Jacob and Abel Grimmer, meanwhile, remained closer to the Flemish tradition.

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*Rubens and the baroque in 17th-century Antwerp.* The spread of the Counter Reformation and the growth of the Jesuit order acted as important influences upon the expansion of Roman baroque style. The most important artistic center in the Low Countries during the 17th century was Antwerp, which boasted the presence of Peter Paul Rubens (q.v.). The creative power of this master, his international background and the scope of his activity, his originality and his dynamic influence on others placed him at the very center of the development of both international baroque style (see BAROQUE ART) and of the Flemish baroque renaissance. Although the assimilation of Italian art played a vital role in this renaissance, it occurred entirely within the context of Flemish sensibility — naturalistic, sensual, anti-intellectual in a certain sense, and devoted to the visual transcription of life perceived as energy and enthusiasm and rendered in the evocative manner of Flemish tradition.

Rubens, the leading spirit of the baroque renewal, conditioned artistic developments in his country for decades to come, not only in painting, but in all areas of artistic endeavor, including the decorative arts. He was followed by an extremely prolific school in Flanders, and his influence was felt throughout Europe, not only in his lifetime but also later, in the French masters of the 18th and 19th centuries (Watteau, Delacroix, Renoir; qq.v.), in the Genoese school of the late 17th and the 18th centuries, and in English landscape painting up till the 19th century.

The international fame and influence and the high esthetic quality of Flemish painting were carried on by Anton van Dyck (q.v.), who, although in a sense close to Rubens, was himself a painter of equal originality. Portrait painting, both bourgeois and aristocratic, was exceptionally vigorous at this time, and Rubens had left many fine portraits. With Van Dyck a definitive formula was established for the official portrait, realistic and hieratic at once. The subject was usually represented standing against a background of draperies, and chiaroscuro values were emphasized, light and color becoming synonymous; there was frequent use of dark tones, including black (see PORTRAITURE). The altarpiece also found its definitive northern baroque form in the work of Rubens and Van Dyck, typified by sumptuous solemnity of feeling, theatrical boldness of



Belœil, Belgium, plan of the chateau and park of the Prince de Ligne, second half of the 17th cent.

composition, and great freedom of spatial arrangement. The contributions, both formal and expressive, of Italian art — especially 16th-century Venetian and early 17th-century Bolognese painting — to these achievements were extensive, but Italian elements were freely interpreted and well assimilated.

The Van Dyck portrait style was long influential in England, where the artist had worked extensively, and he was followed in Genoa by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, Giovanni Bernardino Carbone, and Giovanni Battista Gaulli; by Fragonard (q.v.) in France; and by Juan Carreño de Miranda in Spain.

A number of artists worked in Brussels (seat of the archdukes and of the governors-general), some of them perhaps of greater stature than the followers of Rubens at Antwerp, but all equally within his sphere of influence. The same situation existed in the other Flemish centers. Among the painters influenced in varying degrees by Rubens were Theodoor van Thulden, a somewhat conventional and decorative painter born in 's Hertogenbosch; Erasmus II Quellinus, official painter; Jan Brueghel the Elder (PL. 298); Frans Snyder (II, PL. 207); Paul de Vos; Lucas van Uden; Jan Wildens; Caspar de Crayer, theatrical and unoriginal; and Lucas II Franchois, as well as the far more important figures of Van Dyck and Jordaens.

In Jacob Jordaens (q.v.; PLS. 298, 323; II, PL. 206), decorator, painter of religious pictures, and portraitist, who was widely noted for his lively and sometimes vulgar realism, there occurred (as earlier in Van Noort) a kind of academic synthesis of style, combining elements from Caravaggio, Jacopo Bassano, and Rubens (qq.v.). Around Jordaens arose an active group which contributed to the spread of Flemish painting, though certainly on a blatantly popular plane; its work sometimes degenerated to formal redundancy and slick color.

The political and religious upheavals of the late 16th century almost entirely discouraged the development of new architectural ideas, and the art of building stagnated in the repetition of mannerist clichés. However, the 17th century saw a revival of both architecture and sculpture, stimulated by the artistic impact of Rubens and the religious zeal of the Jesuits. Great building activity ensued as a result of the Counter Reformation, including not only the construction of new churches, but the remodeling of existing structures to conform to contemporary standards and requirements. The constant features of 17th-

century religious architecture were great exuberance of decoration and the use of the Counter Reformation church plan, derived from the paradigmatic example of the Gesù in Rome. The most active disseminator of Roman baroque architectural style was Wenzel Coebergher (basilica of Notre-Dame at Montagu, 1609); Jacques II Francart revived a style of extreme slenderness, recalling the Gothic tradition despite its superabundance of baroque decorative detail. His façades are vertical in emphasis, their dynamic verticality underscored by the use of broken or spiraled lines in the pediments and moldings. The great Jesuit architects, such as Pieter Huyssens (St-Charles Borromée at Antwerp, St-Loup at Namur), François Aguilon, and Willem Hesius (St-Michel, Louvain; II, PL. 149), made a contribution of fundamental importance.

Secular architecture (see FIG. 419) also flourished (particularly in the private house), as did decorative painting, fostered by the rising economic power of the middle class, which increasingly shared the interests and privileges of the old aristocracy. The elegant private house was a new architectural problem, and once again it was Rubens, in his house at Antwerp (PL. 333), soon imitated by many, who provided the model; the Antwerp house was rich in architectural decoration and articulated both in its interior and in its external setting. Numerous guild halls were also built, and many are still to be seen in the Grand' Place of Brussels; they are decorative and exuberant in style (PL. 332), especially those which were built after the bombardments of Louis XIV in 1695. In general, it can be said that Gothic pictorialism with its extensively pierced surfaces was never abandoned but rather simply refurbished with baroque ornamentation and proportion. Even the traditional medieval *beffroi* was made a part of the new decorative schemes. Among the most active architects of the period were Vincentius Anthony, Louis Ledoux (Belfry of Mons, 1662), and Willem de Bruyn, who was very active in Brussels.

Antwerp was also the main center of new developments in sculpture. Decorative sculpture, essentially pictorial and dynamic in composition and frequently rhetorical in content, predominated. The influence of Rubens, basic in this field also, was sometimes combined with classical references and reflections of Bernini (q.v.). The sculptor-pupil of Rubens, Lucas Faydherbe, who worked at Notre-Dame d'Hanswijk in Malines, was quite active (PL. 326; II, PL. 170); international recognition was accorded François Duquesnoy (Francesco Fiammingo), who worked much in Rome, and whose chastened baroque style spread throughout Europe. Other sculptors of the Duquesnoy family were Hieronymus (Jérôme) I and Hieronymus (Jérôme) II, the latter active in Ghent (monument of Bishop Triest; II, PL. 170).

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*Divergent trends in Flemish baroque style: particular schools and genres.* The trend that most clearly typified the tendencies of Flemish baroque sculpture was that headed by Artus I Quellinus, author of a profusion of wood and stone sculpture (pulpits, confessionals, choir stalls), characteristically exuberant and highly decorative in invention and not always controlled. The style found great favor outside Flanders, spreading to Denmark through the work of Thomas Quellinus and to Paris through that of Philippe de Buyster and Gérard van Opstal. Liège was the center of an eclectic style of refined preciousness based on Bernini and a variety of French and Flemish sources; this center was headed by Jean Delcour, who was trained in Rome and Paris. He was followed by Renier Panhay de Ren-deux and Guillaume Evrard.

In painting, the genre types became ever more discrete, and highly specialized schools were formed. The dominant stylistic elements, more or less originally combined, were the Flemish tradition, the style of Rubens, reflections of Caravaggio, and the influence of Italian 17th-century painting in general.

The development of portrait painting was closely linked to the taste and social conditions of the period, and two main currents (one Rubensian, the other Vandyckian) may be ascertained; these were joined late in the century by a French-influenced current. Among the followers of Rubens were the elegant Cornelis de Vos, who concentrated on portraits of children and family groups (PL. 303) and who was inspired first by Frans Pourbus the Younger, then by Rubens on the latter's return from Italy, and finally by Van Dyck, Justus van Egmont, and Jacob I van Oost, who was also sensitive to Caravaggesque light. Within the group springing from Van Dyck were Justus Sustermans, a rigidly formalized court painter; Jacob Ferdinand Voet, who was influenced as well by Italian and French art (Pierre Mignard, Carlo Maratta, and Nicolas Poussin, q.v.); Gonzales Coques, who painted extremely pleasant pictures of family groups; and many others.

Landscape painting, extremely popular from the 17th century on, almost entirely lost its simple decorative character, especially after Rubens, and became primarily a means of expressing inner emotional states. Adam Elsheimer, a German, was very influential in this development, having been in contact with Rubens and the Brills in Rome he had a strong effect on Italian, especially Venetian, art, as well as on the landscapists Jodocus de Momper, Alexander Kierinckx, Hendrick Avercamp (PL. 305), Arent Arentsz. (Cabel), Esaias van de Velde, Jan van de Velde, Jacob van Ruysdael (q.v.) and Jan van Goyen (q.v.). Mattheus and Paul Brill (PL. 304) had pointed the way to full baroque style, and Lucas van Uden was among the first to exclude figures from his landscapes.

Another popular genre of the 17th century was the battle scene, no doubt directly inspired by contemporary events. In fact, the first battle pieces were painted by a soldier artist, Sebastian Vrancx. Along with Vrancx, who had many pupils and followers, should be mentioned Pieter Snayers, whose analytical documentary precision rendered his paintings full of historical and archaeological interest (*The Archduke Leopold William at the Festival of Sablon*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1651); and Adam van der Meulen, also basically documentary in interest and influenced by Rubens.

Marine painting, too, although much influenced by the Dutch (particularly by Jan van Goyen and Esaias and Willem

van de Velde), was clearly and directly inspired by the bustling maritime activity of the Flemish cities. Although marine painting in Flanders actually began with Adam Willaerts, he worked so extensively in Utrecht that Andries van Eertvelt is generally considered the first exponent of the new genre in the Spanish Netherlands. The brothers Bonaventura I and Jan I Peeters were followers of Van Goyen.

Still-life painting had been present in the Flemish tradition from the very beginning, but it was only in the 17th century that it became an important independent genre. Unlike the more intellectual and abstract still-life painting of Holland, which was produced for a small circle of Protestant aristocrats, Flemish still-life painting, destined for the bourgeois houses of the merchant class, gloried in the very materiality of its subjects. Within the category of still life also fall the hunt scene and flower painting. The initiator of the still-life genre was Frans Snyder, painter of fruit and of hunting scenes; Paul de Vos, besides his "hunts," painted still-life passages in the work of Jordaens (*Allegory of Fertility*, Brussels, Mus. Royaux des B. A., 1625-28). Notable also were the Rubensian Alexander Adriaenssen, Nicasius Bernaerts, Adriaen van Utrecht, Jan Fyt, who was influenced by French and Spanish art (PL. 311), Pieter Boel, who carried the style of Fyt to Paris, David de Coninck, who introduced it in Rome, Johann Boeckhorst, Erasmus II Quellinus, Cornelis Schut, and Jan van der Hoecke.

Jan Brueghel the Elder ("Velvet" Brueghel) was the originator of Flemish flower painting, rendered with emphatic naturalism in a minutely detailed technique insistent on botanical particulars. Among his followers were Jan Brueghel the Younger, Abraham Brueghel, founder of the still-life school of Naples, Jan van Kessel, Roelant Savery, Daniel Seghers, and Jan Anthonie van Baren.

Genre painting, although seemingly native to the Flemish artistic tradition, was actually begun only by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. In the 17th century it became increasingly boisterous in its representation of everyday existence, particularly in scenes drawn from the life of the urban lower classes and the peasantry. Adriaen Brouwer (q.v.) was the strongest and most original among the Flemish genre painters; his low-life scenes were directly inspired by personal experience (PL. 315). The brothers Lucas and Cornelis de Wael and David Teniers the Younger (q.v.), who imitated Brouwer until about 1640 when he evolved a more bourgeois and naturalistic personal style, should also be mentioned. Dutch art appears to have influenced Flemish taste in genre painting. The realism of the Dutchman Pieter van Laer ("Il Bamboccio"; see BAMBOCCIANI), himself influenced by Caravaggio, was certainly a relevant factor, and occasionally Dutch painters established themselves in Flemish territory, becoming important exponents of both schools.

Iconoclastic zeal stimulated a taste for architectural painting, another field in which Dutch influence was great. Typically oriented toward a basic interest in realism and perspective problems, this form of painting sometimes acquired documentary value by reproducing buildings that are no longer in existence. Hendrik I van Steenwyck, Hendrik II van Steenwyck, and Pieter I Neeffs distinguished themselves in this field.

The influence of Caravaggio (q.v.), perceptible in nearly all the Flemings, where it generally manifested itself as an interest in the manipulation of exceptional lighting effects (often simply in the use of nocturnal light), gave rise to a separate stylistic trend, even though in many cases Caravaggism was mixed with the ubiquitous influence of Rubens. Of this trend, Théodoor van Loon, who had been in Italy, was probably the closest to Caravaggio himself, although Louis Finson (Ludovicus Finsonius) had actually studied with Caravaggio in Naples (PL. 301). Jacob I van Oost compromised between Rubens' color and Caravaggio's light.

Although Antwerp continued as the major artistic center, an independent school closely connected to the French schools arose at Liège. The characteristic style, however, was not so much imitative of French art as it was a composite of stylistic elements from many sources, from the so-called "realistic" Caravaggism of Valentin (de Boulogne; II, PL. 179) to the color of Rubens, to echoes of Claude Lorrain (q.v.), whose

refined and intellectual French classicism lent a measure of unity and harmony to the whole. Gérard Douffet, having been influenced in turn by Rubens, Caravaggio, and the French painters, became court painter to the Prince-Bishop of Liège, founding there a school of painting. Bertholet Flémalle was close to Poussin and the Le Nains (q.v.); Walther Damery, primarily a decorator, was influenced first by Pietro da Cortona (q.v.), then by Poussin. Gérard de Lairesse, a rather academic painter, published in 1707 a rigid, theoretical treatise, *Het groot Schilder-Boeck* (*The Great Book of Painters*).

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*Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art.* Following the War of the Spanish Succession in the first half of the 18th century, the southern Low Countries became subject to the enlightened despotism of the Hapsburgs; however, under Joseph II, the revolt of Brabant (1787-90) had already opened the way for French influence in all spheres. During this period of enlightened absolutism every form of craft flourished, encouraged by the enthusiasm of the princes and the growth of commercial activity. Royal handcraft factories were established: lacework at Bruges, Brussels, and Malines, and textile industries at Verriers and in Flanders (see TEXTILES, EMBROIDERY, AND LACE); tapestry making at Tournai, Brussels, and Oudenaarde (see TAPESTRY AND CARPETS); gold-tooled leatherwork at Malines; metalwork and glass (qq.v.) in the Entre-Sambre-Meuse.

From 1730 on, painting, architecture, and sculpture were dominated by a particularly turgid and bombastic form of the rococo style, unchecked (except in a few instances) by the brake of French classical restraint. The neoclassical style prevailed only after 1765, and then in a rather academic form. Although Antwerp was still quite lively as a center of the arts, there were no independent or original developments in painting during the 18th century, the two main currents being a sort of latter-day Rubensianism and the deliberate emulation of French painting. In general, the traditional genres of the 16th and 17th centuries were continued in the 18th century, although they were by then rather tired and monotonous, while the impetus given by Rubens to religious, mythological, and allegorical painting, to the portrait, and to the landscape continued to nourish a strain of late-baroque painters. However, by the middle of the century, French influence was more or less in command everywhere.

At the end of the century neoclassicism came to the fore, the result, no doubt at least in part, of the Belgian exile of J. L. David (q.v.). Consequently, historical and mythological painting became particularly widespread, while interest in religious painting diminished. Antwerp, the first to accept the new direction, was followed by Bruges, Ghent, and Liège. Andries Cornelis Lens while in Rome became acquainted at firsthand with the esthetic of Johann J. Winckelmann and Anton Raphael Mengs; with the work *Le costume des peuples de l'antiquité* (1776), Lens was the first to introduce neoclassicism to the school of Antwerp. Joseph Benoit Suvée, winner of the Prix de Rome and director of the French Academy in Rome, was close to David in his coldly intellectual approach to painting as well as in his choice of subject.

In architecture, remnants of the baroque tradition overlapped the new classicizing attitude, which quickly became predominant through explicit French influence. Academic neoclassicism, however, asserted itself only on the threshold of the 19th century. In the northern regions, classicism was introduced by Jacob van Campen (PL. 308) and Pieter Janaz. Post; Laurent Dewez, Jean André Anneessens, Jan Faulte, Claude Antoine Fisco, and Louis Joseph Montoyer should also be mentioned.

Under the growing influence of French classicism and later of Canovan neoclassicism, even Flemish sculpture mitigated its traditional decorative exuberance. Pieter Verschaefelt, Jacques Bergé, Laurent Delvaux (PL. 327), and Karel van Poucke were particularly receptive to French influence.

The political unrest of the early 19th century, culminating in the formation of modern Belgium in 1830, in no way lessened the predominance of French style in Flanders. The neoclassicism of David continued in vogue, taking on, however, an academic emphasis, imitative of the Italian Antonio Canova and the Frenchmen J. A. Houdon and Jean Pigalle (qq.v.). Throughout the 19th century, Belgian art followed in the train of the great European movements, becoming merely a part of varying international styles (see ART NOUVEAU; EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS; NEOCLASSIC STYLES; NEO-GOTHIC STYLES; REALISM; ROMANTICISM).

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*Flemish art in its European context.* Beginning in the 14th century, the contacts between Flemish and foreign cultures became increasingly frequent and more clearly definable. These contacts are manifested, on the one hand, in the incorporation of foreign elements, primarily French and Italian, into the Flemish visual framework; on the other, in the influence of Flemish style abroad. During the ascendancy of the Gothic International style, in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, Flemish artists working abroad (chiefly in France) were of the utmost importance, but the role of Flanders itself was primarily that of recipient. French and Italian painting, in particular, was reflected in Flemish art, especially in manuscript illumination. In the 15th century the artistic contacts between Flanders and foreign countries were no longer merely fortuitous, but the necessary result of economic, political, and religious interchanges.

The relationship between the two great 15th-century schools of painting, the Flemish and the Italian, is an art-historical problem of primary importance and extreme delicacy that has defied clarification to the present day. It is apparent, however, that artistic influences in this period were to a considerable degree reciprocal. The influence of Flemish art has been thought to account, at least in part, for such developments in 15th-century Italian painting as the more extensive use of landscape and greater attention to landscape details, the use of highly particularized contemporary interiors as settings for religious events, interest in naturalistic lighting and in the representation of specific textures under light, certain instances of a return



to medieval symbolism, and the advent of the technique of oil painting itself, used earlier in Flanders than in Italy. These elements appeared increasingly in Italian painting of the 15th century; that is, after Rogier van der Weyden's trip (1450-51), after the residence of Justus of Ghent in Urbino, and after the arrival of Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altarpiece* in Florence (ca. 1475-80). Such artists as Alesso Baldovinetti, Piero della Francesca, and Leonardo himself (qq.v.) in central Italy seem to reveal an exposure to Flemish painting; Antonello da Messina (q.v.) in Venice and Colantonio in Naples indisputably do. Even before the middle of the century, however, Flemish influences are sporadically apparent in Italian art. Light, color, and naturalistic detail were the qualities of Flemish painting most admired by the Italians, and while the minor Italians of the late 15th and early 16th centuries often included fashionable "Flemish" details in their pictures, the greater masters concentrated on the assimilation and creative reuse of Flemish light and color.

At the same time, the essentially classical, Humanist, and quasi-scientific vision developing in Italy was attractive to both major and minor artists in 15th-century Flanders. Memling's admiration for Italian art cannot be ignored, still less that of Gerard David and Quentin Metsys. In 16th-century Flemish artists the adherence to Italian principles and prototypes ceases to be marginal or accidental, becoming a deliberate study, a complete artistic program. Jan Gossaert was the first to make a real study trip to Italy, and after him began the wholesale pilgrimage of Flemings to Rome or Venice, where they devoted themselves to the study of the antique and of lighting, perspective, and composition. Pieter Coecke, Michel Coxie, Lambert Lombard, Frans Floris, Marten de Vos, Hieronymus I Francken, and Abraham Bloemaert all formed their styles either in Italy or in direct contact with Italian art. Titian (q.v.) was certainly a model for later 16th-century Flemish portrait painting, and contact with the classical Italian landscape was a determining influence on 17th-century Flemish landscape painting.

During the 16th and 17th centuries the number of voluntary or involuntary Flemish exiles was great. The religious struggles and internal crises of the Low Countries led many artists to become expatriates, while others went abroad simply to seek work. Pieter de Kempener (called Pedro de Campaña) worked in Spain (in Seville after 1537); Bartholomeus Spranger was at the court of Maximilian II in Vienna and then with Rudolph II in Prague. Pieter de Witte (Pietro Candido) worked in Florence and at the court of Munich, and Jan van der Straet (Johannes Stradanus) worked in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. Lodewyck Toeput (Ludovico Pozzoserrato) was active in Venice. Many artists were attracted to the Austro-Hungarian court; Frans Luyckx (1604-68) worked for Ferdinand III and then for the Archduke Leopold William, particularly as a portraitist, and was succeeded in this capacity by Jan Erasmus Quellinus (1634-1715) under Leopold II and Joseph I. Denys Calvaert (Dionisio Fiammingo, ca. 1540-1619) established himself in Bologna, where in 1574 he founded the first academy of art (preceding that of the Carraccis, q.v.), in which were trained Guido Reni, Domenichino (qq.v.), and Francesco Albani.

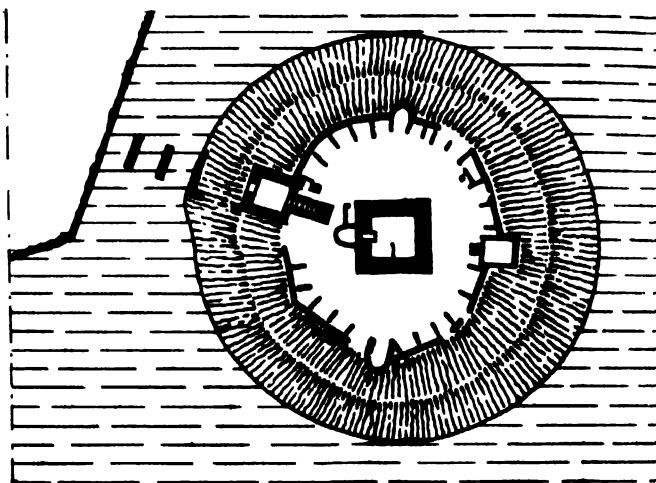
Lucas and Cornelis de Wael in Genoa were highly esteemed Barmoccianti (q.v.); Mattheus and Paul Brill became well known in Rome. Jacob Voet was attached to the papal court after 1664 as a portraitist under Alexander VII and Innocent XII, as was Justus Sustermans in Florence to the court of the Medici. Jan Miel worked for Alexander VII in Rome and then as painter to Charles Emmanuel in Turin.

Also important throughout the 17th and 18th centuries was the contribution of Flemish sculptors to the decoration of the Palace of Versailles, and some Flemish painters as well were active at the French court: Frans Pourbus the Younger, who worked for Marie de' Medici, Pieter Boel, the collaborator of Charles Lebrun (q.v.), and Adam van der Meulen, painter to Louis XIV. Philippe de Champaigne (q.v.; PL. 402) of Brussels became one of the greatest French painters after establishing himself in Paris (1648) as *peintre du Roy*.

Contact with Holland has been continuous, as has the

reciprocal influence between the two neighboring but always distinct traditions.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF DUTCH ART.** *Architectural centers from the 10th to the 16th century.* During the Romanesque period architecture flourished in a number of Dutch centers, each having distinctive local characteristics (FIG. 428). The town of Maastricht became very important during the 10th and 11th centuries, and its churches, which were closely related in style to those of the Meuse region, were imitated throughout the surrounding area (FIG. 429). Under the bishop Bernulphus, Utrecht emerged as an important architectural center toward the middle of the 11th century, and it was destined to have a long and impressive development, especially in the 12th cen-



Oostvoorne, Netherlands, plan of fortress, 12th cent. (from *Guide to Dutch Art, The Hague, 1952*).

tury (e.g., the Church of St. Mary, from which were derived the collegiate church of Rolduc and the Church of Our Lady at Maastricht). An independent school of architecture that flourished in the north was related to monastic activity and was influenced by developments in Westphalia and France. Unfortunately, there are no remaining examples of this style, but it is known that the chief building material was brick. In the chronicles, there is mention of an architect, Master Everard, who had come from Cologne in 1238 to complete a monastic church at Groningen.

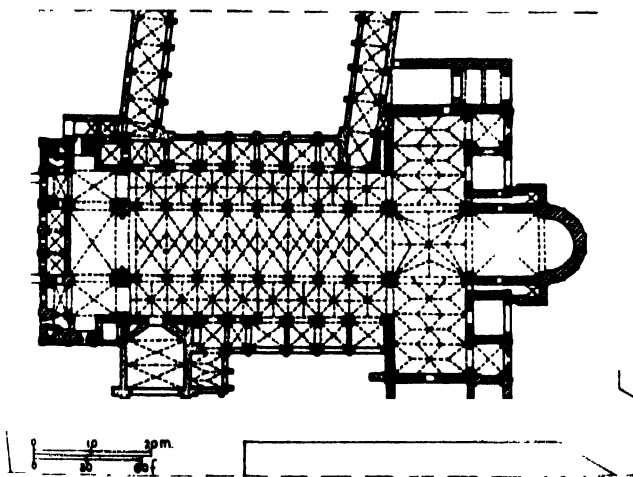
The center of Gothic architecture in 13th-century Netherlands was Utrecht, where beginning in 1254 the Cathedral (FIG. 430; PL. 331) was rebuilt in a manner revealing (particularly in the choir) the influence of Cologne and Soissons (VI, PL. 292). The first-recorded Gothic architect was Jan I van den Dom [Magister Johannes de Hannonia (Henegouwen)], builder of the bell tower of the Cathedral of Utrecht. Following him as chief architects of the Cathedral were Jan II van den Dom and Aernt Bruun (van den Dom), and in the 15th century Willem van Boelre (who also directed construction of the Cathedral of St. John at 's Hertogenbosch; FIG. 430) and Jacob van der Borch.

In the second half of the 14th century the choir of the Church of St. Nicholas at Kampen, a rich Hanseatic city, was renovated in a highly original and subsequently much-imitated manner. The local architect was succeeded by Rutger van Keulen (Cologne), son of Michael of Savoy (architect of the Cathedral of Cologne) and former collaborator of Peter Parler in the Cathedral of Prague (1372-73). The activity of Rutger, whose earlier international mode assumed local inflections, was reflected in the choir (apsidal) of the church at Zutphen. The chief architect of Xanten, Gisbert Schairt, greatly influenced architecture throughout the region: collegiate church of Kranenburg, choir at Nijmegen (1426), reconstruction of the church of Doesburg and its bell tower (1430). About 1400 a number



of religious structures were undertaken in the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Brabant. The first-known architect at 's Hertogenbosch was Willem van Kessel, a native of the vicinity of Liège and later the chief architect for the Cathedral of St. Lambert there (now destroyed). The Cathedral of 's Hertogenbosch represents a local interpretation of Brabantine Gothic style. The architects involved in this regional trend (Engelbrecht van Nijvel, who worked for the Count of Holland, and Jan II Keldermans, to whom are attributed St. Gommaire at Lier and possibly the church at Breda) remain obscure as historical personalities. More information is available, however, after 1439, when Everaert Spoorwater (van Veeweyden) was named master builder for the city of Antwerp and chief architect at Dordrecht and Bergen op Zoom. Many works, both religious and secular, can be ascribed to him: the churches of Hulst, Bergen op Zoom, Dordrecht, Veere, and Haarlem, as well as the town halls of Middelburg (1452) and Weere (1473). The work of Spoorwater initiated an influential, genuinely regional school of architecture. In his official position he was followed by Herman de Waghmakers, then by Antonis II Keldermans, who often finished his works and who may be credited with the tower of Zierikzee and the church at Alkmaar. Keldermans and his son Rombout II, who succeeded his father as chief architect of Malines (Mechelen), finished the town hall at Middelburg and built the "Markiezenhof" at Breda.

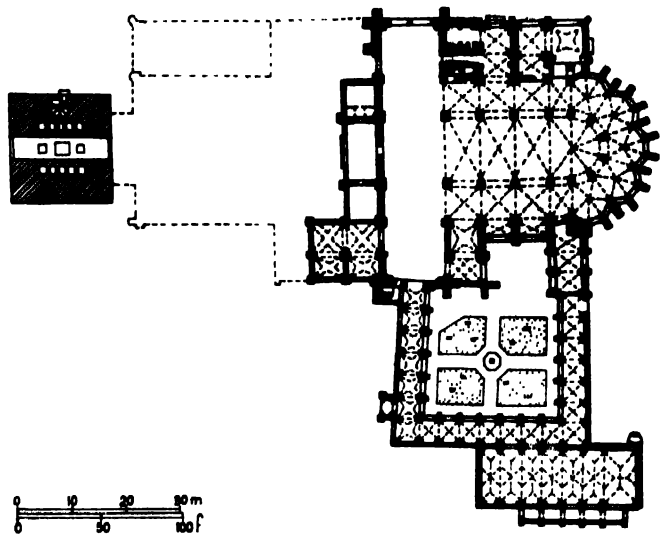
Practical considerations, such as the lack of stone in the northern provinces and the consequent necessity of importing it from the southern provinces and Brabant, determined the



Maastricht, Netherlands, plan of St. Servais, 12th cent.

influence of the latter provinces on the northern regions, an influence that continued throughout the 15th century. Nevertheless, an indigenous architectural style did arise, especially in the western part of this area (Oude Kerk of Amsterdam, ca. 1490; churches at Gouda and The Hague, the latter ca. 1540). Among the architects working in this style was Cornelis Frederiksz. van der Goude (remodeling of churches at Gouda and The Hague). One of the original contributions of Dutch architecture was the bell-tower type evolved at Delft and Breda. These towers, surmounted by a spherical form that later developed into the bulbous finial in molded wood, served as prototypes throughout the Renaissance and recurred not only in Dutch architecture but in that of northern Germany and the Baltic countries as well. Until 1550 the use of the Gothic style remained widespread, and it was still employed in religious architecture until late in the 17th century.

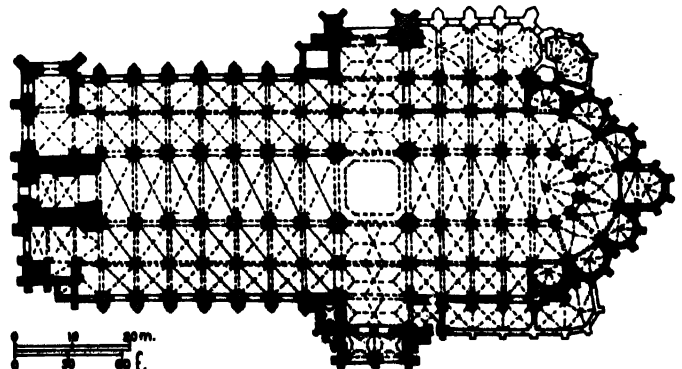
**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Willem Bachervord*, native of Utrecht, chief architect of Cathedral of Xanten 1486-93; ThB, II, 1908. *Willem van Boelre*, chief architect of Cathedral of Utrecht 1425-42, worked also on churches in Leiden, Haarlem, and 's Hertogenbosch; ThB, IV, 1910. *Jacob van der Borch*, d. 1477, chief architect of Cathedral of Utrecht 1443-75, worked also in Delft; ThB, IV, 1910. *Aerns Bruun (van den Dom)*, chief architect of Cathedral of Utrecht 1396-1424, worked also in 's Hertogenbosch and Leiden. *Jan I van den Dom (Magister Johannes de Harmonia)*, native of Henegouwen,



Utrecht, Netherlands, plan of the Cathedral, tower, and chapter house, 13th cent.

architect of the belfry of Cathedral of Utrecht, active until ca. 1355. *Jan II van den Dom*, chief architect of Cathedral of Utrecht 1362-ca. 1485, perhaps d. 1385, though according to other sources still alive in 1389. *Godijn van Dormael*, chief architect of Cathedral of Utrecht 1357-62, d. ca. 1368. *Cornelis Frederiksz. van der Goude*, active 1532-ca. 1564 in Leeuwarden, Rotterdam, Gouda, and Tiel; ThB, XII, 1916. *Alart du Hamel*, ca. 1440-1507, city architect of Louvain, after 1485 chief architect of Cathedral of 's Hertogenbosch; ThB, XV, 1922. *Antonis II Keldermans*, d. 1515, son and successor of Antonis I, worked with his father as chief architect of Malines, active also in Alkmaar, Haarlem, Middelburg, and Delft; A. Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, Brussels, 1849-50. *Jan II Keldermans*, 1375-1443(?), active in Breda and Leiden; A. Schayes, op. cit. *Rombout II Keldermans*, 1460-1531, city architect of Malines, from 1511 also director of building projects in Bergen op Zoom, active also in Zutphen and Leiden; A. Schayes, op. cit. *Willem van Kessel*, chief architect of the collegiate church of St. John at 's Hertogenbosch from before 1382 to his death ca. 1418-20. *Rutger van Keulen* (Cologne), son of Michael of Savoy (chief architect of Cathedral of Cologne), worked in Kampen 1363-1402. F. A. J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der nederlandse bouwkunst*, The Hague, 1928-41. *Engelbrecht van Nijvel*, architect of the Count of Holland, city architect of Haarlem from 1400. *Alessandro de Pasqualini*, d. before 1559, active in the region of Utrecht; F. Lau, *Die Architektenfamilien Pasqualini*, Düsseldorf Jhb., 31, 1920-24. *Gisbert Schaert (van Kranenburg, van Zaltbommel)*, 1382-1452, worked on Cathedral of Xanten 1406-37, active also in Nijmegen. *Everaert Spoorwater (van Veeweyden)*, d. 1474, city architect of Dordrecht, active also in Haarlem and Bergen op Zoom; A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländische Künstler-Lexicon*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1906-11. *Herman de Steenbicker*, active ca. 1350 in Kampen. *Tommaso Vincidor da Bologna*, ca. 1500-after 1536, active in Rome, Antwerp, and Breda; H. Voss, ThB, XXXIV, 1940. *Herman de Waghmakers*, ca. 1430-1503, chief architect of Lieve-Vrouwekerk in Antwerp 1473, active in Hulst after 1481.

**Painting from the late Middle Ages to the 15th century.** During the late Middle Ages the region that is now Holland was divided into a number of small feudal states, and Dutch art of the period reflected both the cosmopolitan nature of these

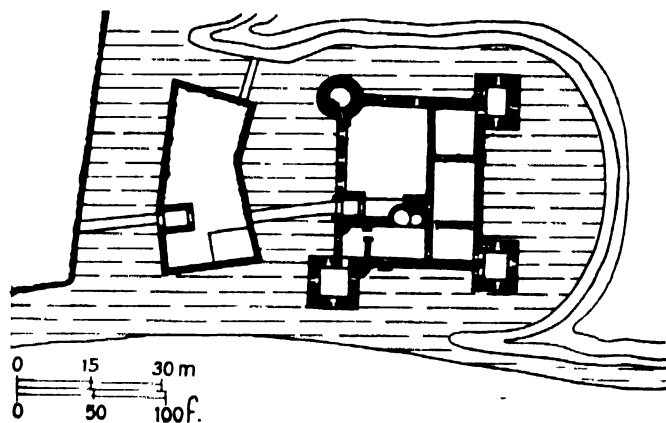


's Hertogenbosch, Netherlands, plan of Cathedral of St. John, 15th cent. (12th-cent. façade tower shown in heavier shading; modern enlargement of the transept in white).

territories and their erratic political fortunes. The brilliant miniature courts of the feudal rulers were flourishing centers of artistic activity, so receptive to foreign influences that it is virtually impossible to trace the development of medieval Dutch art without taking into account contemporary artistic events in Flanders, Germany, and France. The courtly and international character of Dutch art was further enhanced by the number of its exponents trained or employed abroad. A genuinely independent national style, therefore, began to develop only with the establishment of Burgundian hegemony over Holland in 1433, an event that brought about a measure of political stability and prosperity. However, even prior to Burgundian ascendancy (from as early as about 1400), an artistic center of some importance had existed at Nijmegen, a locale that also nurtured the reformist spiritual movement of the Brethren of the Common Life (called the "Devotio Moderna"), which was later to exert great influence on Dutch life and art. From the area of Nijmegen emerged the painter Jan Malwael (Jean Malouel) and the renowned miniaturists of the Duc de Berry, the Limbourg brothers (q.v.).

Other than miniatures few examples remain to document developments in painting in the northern provinces during this period; this scarcity may be due to the ravages of zealous iconoclasts and to the puritanical nature of local Protestantism (among the extant works, a few murals at Deventer and a tabernacle from Zutphen, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). On the other hand, ample evidence still attests the prolific 15th-century schools of manuscript illumination, especially those at the court of Guelders and the Bishopric of Utrecht. The art of manuscript illumination was liberally subsidized by the ruling houses. Among the earliest of the great patrons was Mary of Guelders, whose subjects the Limbourg brothers passed into the service of her cousin, the great bibliophile Jean de Berry. It was also in this medium that the vigorous interchange of artistic influences operative in the region was most conspicuous. The work of the Limbourg brothers, for instance, was at first similar to products of the school of Cologne and subsequently reflected the impact of Campin and the brothers Van Eyck. On the evidence of early-15th-century Dutch miniature painting, it is apparent that two of the most important influences on Dutch art at this time were Jan van Eyck (q.v.) — especially after his transfer to the court of The Hague — and Claus Sluter (q.v.), court sculptor of Philip the Bold at Dijon. Sluter, a native of Haarlem, was also probably active in Utrecht.

Under Burgundian rule Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Delft, Gouda, and Amsterdam rose to prominence, and in the second half of the 15th century a characteristic Dutch art began to take form. Although a number of Dutch artists, such as Dirk

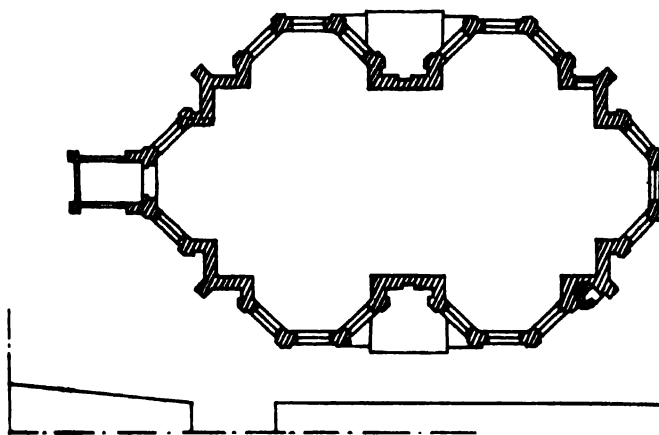


Sandpoort, Netherlands, plan of the ruined Van Brederode castle, 14th cent.

Bouts and Gerard David (qq.v.), continued to be attracted by the more highly developed Flemish style, the indigenous style began to flourish — particularly at Haarlem, where at the end of the 15th century there was an active group of painters, among whom were Albert van Ouwater (PL. 282), the Master

of the Tiburtine Sibyl, and the Master of the St. John Panels [possibly Hughe Jacobaz., father of Lucas van Leyden (q.v.)], who were largely free of Flemish stylistic influence and disclosed expressive qualities that were strongly conditioned by the native Dutch movement of the Devotio Moderna. The latter relationship is even more forcefully evidenced in the work of the

10 m.



The Hague, plan of the Neiuwe Kerk, 14th cent. (rebuilt in the 17th cent.)

great Master of the Virgin among Virgins, which is characterized by an emphasis on piety and suffering (PL. 288). Stylistically, however, the Master of the Virgin among Virgins (who probably worked at Delft ca. 1470–1500) also reveals distinct traces of Flemish influence, particularly that of Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and Justus of Ghent (qq.v.).

The greatest master of the school of Haarlem was Geertgen tot Sint Jans (q.v.), who lived and worked among the Brethren of St. John (although not a member of the order). His monumental compositions, diverging greatly from the excessive emotionalism of his contemporaries, convey a severe and solemn grandeur, and their majestic tone is enhanced by warm and glowing color. Although somewhat influenced by such Flemish masters as Van der Weyden and Van der Goes, Geertgen remained essentially a Dutch personality, and the refined and sensitive landscape backgrounds of his paintings give weight to Van Mander's seemingly chauvinistic assertion that Haarlem was the cradle of Dutch landscape painting (PL. 282; *The Raising of Lazarus*, Louvre).

A contemporary of Geertgen who long outlived him was the extraordinary figure Hieronymus Bosch (q.v.), an artist whose unique and imaginative vision gave expression to the dark undercurrent of Nordic fantasy in Dutch thought and art. Following a medieval tradition, but revitalized by modern sensibility, Bosch employed the bizarre, the fantastic, and the demonic to weave a panoramic allegorical tapestry of a realm of tormented spirituality. The religious temper of Bosch was inherently Dutch and generally alien to the southern sectors of the Low Countries, where his influence was nevertheless appreciable.

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Mannerist currents and the schools of Leiden, Haarlem, and Utrecht. The Dutch painters of the early 16th century were

cager and uncritical in their reception of the influence of the Italian Renaissance; Dutch style and taste throughout the 16th century were conditioned by the great Renaissance masters of Italy and Germany, and in particular by such widely known graphic artists as Dürer and Cranach (qq.v.). The result, however, was not a classical Dutch Renaissance style but a local variant of international mannerism (see MANNERISM), which predominated until the end of the century. This imported style affected nearly all the painters, and sometimes, as in the case of Jan Mostaert of Haarlem, it was only with evident difficulty that it was imposed upon a late-Gothic stylistic base of decorative linearism. The only painter who continued to represent the unadulterated Dutch tradition was the Master of Alkmaar (PL. 282).

Leiden and Amsterdam came to the fore as lively artistic centers at this time. One of the most important workshops of the period in Leiden was that of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz., where his sons (Pieter, Cornelis, and Lucas), Lucas van Leyden, and Aertgen van Leyden (PL. 287) all received their training. One of his sons was Cornelis Cornelisz., who was also called Kunst de Cock and whose work (e.g., a tabernacle in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) sometimes recalls Bosch, was an artist of some importance. Lucas van Leyden the foremost master of the school of Leiden, went beyond the contemporary mannerism and established his place among the first modern masters of the Dutch school (PLS. 292, 299). By mid-century three main trends were discernible in the work of three major figures: Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen, who began to work at Amsterdam shortly after 1500 and was the representative of tradition, although his late works were quite free and modern, probably influenced by Van Scorel after the latter's return from Italy in 1524, (PLS. 287, 291, 294); Lucas van Leyden, the creator of a new style whose development was interrupted by his premature death; and Jan van Scorel (q.v.), the standard-bearer of Italian Renaissance style and theory (PL. 288).

Van Scorel went to Italy in 1521 and visited Venice and Rome, where he studied the work of Raphael and Michelangelo. His intellectual comprehension and acceptance of Italian style and theory was not always readily transferred to his hand, and except for his portraits, his works often betray the conscious effort exerted in this task. Van Scorel maintained a large workshop at Haarlem (1527-28); through it and through his effect first on Maerten van Heemskerck and then on such gifted pupils as Antonis Mor and Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen, he became a highly influential force in Dutch art. Maerten van Heemskerck, at first heavily dependent on the Italianate manner of Van Scorel (PL. 290), in 1532 reached Italy himself. During a Roman sojourn of three years, he became a confirmed mannerist and then returned home to become the leading exponent of Dutch mannerism. His work is characterized by accentuated dynamism of form and expressive content strongly tinged with pathos. Heemskerck and Van Scorel, both extremely gifted artists, personify both the unrest of the 16th century and its characteristic and abortive tendencies toward formal eclecticism and pointless experimentation.

Another important "Romanist" in Amsterdam, Pieter Aertsen (q.v.; PL. 294), along with his sons Aert Pietersz. and Pieter Pietersz., stressed the illusionistic rather than the fantastic aspects of mannerism. From about 1550 onward, his principal themes were drawn from peasant and domestic life, and in the area of realistic still life his paintings closely paralleled the Flemish in spirit and differed markedly from the typical polished and abstracted Dutch still life.

In the second half of the 16th century the intellectualized Italianism of Van Scorel and the highly personal mannerism of Van Heemskerck were generally abandoned. Such artists as Frans Floris of Antwerp became immensely popular, with their large and ostentatious Counter Reformation altarpieces greatly in demand. At the same time another pupil of the school of Van Scorel rose to international prominence as a portraitist, namely, Antonis Mor van Dashorst (Antonio Moro), court painter to Philip II. Following the precedent of Titian, Mor evolved a canonical formula for the state portrait, suitably static and solemn yet demonstrating psychological acuity. Among his

sitters were Cardinal Granvelle, Mary Tudor (PL. 293), Philip II, the Duke of Alba, and William of Orange. Through his official position at the court of Philip II, Mor was enormously influential in Spain, as evidenced by the work of his disciple Claudio Coello and that of the great Velázquez himself.

The undisputed models of the late-16th-century Dutch painters were Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, and the Venetians. Almost nothing remains of the work of some of the most prominent artists of the period, such as Anthonie van Blocklandt, Jan Nagel, and Joost de Beer. After the generation of Lucas van Leyden, Van Scorel, Heemskerck, Aertsen, and Mor, no outstanding personalities emerged until the arrival of Dirck Barendsz., who was an exponent of the late-16th-century Venetian style. The greatest and most representative artist of this generation was Cornelis Ketel, a very complex figure — poet and sculptor as well as painter — whose work was dominated by the characteristic late-mannerist symbolic conception of the world popularized in the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa (Venice, 1593) and also tinged with the fashionable elegance of the school of Fontainebleau.

About 1600, after the example of the Italians, the first Dutch academy of art was founded in Haarlem by Karel van Mander, Hendrik Goltzius, and Cornelis Cornelisz. The aim of this academy was to furnish precise canons for teaching, based on study of the nude and copies of Greek statues. The guiding spirit in this endeavor was Van Mander, painter, theoretician, and author of the *Book of Painters* (*Het Schilder-Boeck*) and of a treatise called *The Foundation of the Noble Art of Painting*. The mannerism of the 16th century was swept aside by the new classicism, which was directed toward the formal and expressive possibilities of the human figure and devoted chiefly to the representation of mythological subjects (the change to nonreligious subject matter being congruent also with Reformation ideas). Concurrent with this new style, however, and acting as foil to it, was the influence of Bartholomeus Spranger, the archetypal international mannerist whose works had been popularized through the engravings of Goltzius.

Probably the most important painter of the school of Haarlem was Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (PL. 297), who was rather academic and dogmatic in his early style but subsequently turned to mannerism — a style by then completely anachronistic, especially in the city where Frans Hals had already achieved great success. In the course of the 17th century the academic school of Haarlem became less programmatic, and in the final analysis Dutch classicism was influenced much more first by Flemish (Rubens) and later by French (Poussin and Lebrun) example than by the Italians. The only great monument of the earlier Flemish-influenced Dutch classicism was the decoration of the Huis ten Bosch, a country house near The Hague built by Jacob van Campen (PL. 308) for the stadholder Prince Frederick (d. 1647). However, the new French-derived mid-century classicism affected even the more typically "national" Dutch painters, such as Albert Cuyp and Jacob van Ruisdael, Gabriel Metsu (PL. 316) and Gerard Terborch (PL. 330), Jan Steen (PLS. 314, 317) and Vermeer (qq.v.), Willem Kalf (PL. 313) and Abraham van Beyeren, and even Rembrandt himself (in the period 1640-50; q.v.).

The school of Utrecht, a city that was an episcopal see and a stronghold of Catholic religious art, continued the tradition of Jan van Scorel. Its most important exponent was Abraham Bloemaert, whose work reflects a number of other influences as well: for example, Bartholomeus Spranger (*Death of the Niobids*, 1591, Copenhagen, Statens Mus. for Kunst), Federico Barocci (q.v.), and even Caravaggio after Bloemaert's pupil Gerard van Honthorst's return from Italy in 1621, as well as Rubens. The paintings of Bloemaert, as well as those of Paulus Moreelse (*Pomona and Vertumnus*, Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans-Van Beuningen), were typical of the "arcadian" movement of Utrecht. Joachim Wittewael of Utrecht, who worked in France, was influenced by Spranger as well as by the Bassani.

*The northern followers of Caravaggio.* The Dutch Caravag-  
gists, centered in Utrecht, emphasized special lighting effects that were derived from Caravaggio's dramatic lighting, and a

kind of narrative spotlight was characteristic of their work. The most important representative of this trend was Hendrik Terbrugghen (q.v.), who after contact with Caravaggio in Rome translated the dramatic realism of the master into a more serene and carefully equilibrated idiom (*The Doubting of Thomas; The Denial of Peter; The Liberation of Peter*, 1629, Schwerin, Staat. Mus.). Gerard van Honthorst (PL. 297), in Italy from 1610 to 1620, was acquainted with the followers of Caravaggio in Rome, especially Bartolomeo Manfredi. He made frequent use of artificial night lighting in a highly personal manner and specialized in the representation of scenes by candlelight. Sometimes called "Gherardo delle Notti," he popularized a type of genre scene that won him great favor in his homeland. His influence was evident in Utrecht long after his lifetime and even outlasted that of Rubens. Dutch Caravaggism, emphasizing as it did only the superficial realistic aspects of Caravaggio's art and being unrelated to his moral intent, was destined to be a short-lived movement. It was only with Rembrandt that the essence of Caravaggio's work was fully understood and further developed. Once again, light became the agent of high moral drama and spiritual revelation.

Somewhat more important than Caravaggio as a lasting influence on Dutch art, although himself affected by the Italian master, was Adam Elsheimer of Frankfurt (see GERMAN ART), who was active in Rome and whose work was known in Holland through the engravings of his friend Hendrik Goudt. Elsheimer revitalized landscape painting and brought to it a sensitive and original interpretation of Caravaggesque lighting effects used as a medium of fantasy and evocative intimacy. Also pursuing this general direction were the Dutch painters Pieter Lastman (who had also known Paul Brill and Annibale Carracci in Rome), Jacob and Jan Pynas, Nicolaas Moeyaert, Moes van Wittenbrouck, and Jan and Esaias van de Velde, as well as the more traditional artists Willem Buytewech, Leonard Bramer, and Cornelis van Poelenburg(h).

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*The emergence of Dutch painting as a national art.* Only on the threshold of the 17th century is it possible to speak of an unmistakably Dutch art, mirroring in style, spirit, and content both the Dutch tradition and the qualities of contemporary Dutch life and culture. The new-found autonomy of Dutch art coincided with the establishment of Holland as an independent republic, politically and religiously separated from the Flemish territories, as well as with its rapid growth to worldwide importance as a colonial and maritime power. Artistic inspiration now emanated from a nationalistic Dutch culture, not only imbued with nascent political and economic power but even more with Protestantism. Dutch Protestantism lent a particular character to Dutch life and art, precisely as the Catholic Counter Reformation in large measure determined the nature of 17th-century Flanders and created an esthetic, an iconography, and a set of moral problems of its own. Dutch art of the 17th century was permeated with the Calvinist virtues of mental vigor, moral restraint, self-examination, and rational analysis, while a direct and immediate effect of the ascendancy of the Reformed Church was evident in the suppression of religious representations and the consequent reorientation of painting toward secular subject matter, in general, toward the representation of contemporary actuality. The spaciousness of the bare, flat Dutch landscape and the ordered serenity of Dutch daily life became the primary thematic sources, and the characteristic Dutch genres emerged — the landscape, the marine painting, the domestic interior, the urban vista, and the full-length portrait in a domestic interior. Flower and still-life painting were also fashionable, and this subject matter reflected both the enthusiasm for technical minutiae and color and on occasion the 17th-century taste for allegorical and emblematic representations of everyday subjects (for example, the still life often became a symbol of "vanitas").

Although the various phases of 17th-century Dutch art defy strict chronological organization, it may be said in general that the style of the second half of the century was increasingly concerned with exploration and exploitation of tonal effects, a development culminating in the subtle luminosity of Jan Vermeer (q.v.). Aside from this single generalization, a variety of elements and trends appeared. Echoes of international classicism were manifest in the careful balancing of compositions and in the high degree of intellectual abstraction present in some Dutch works of the period. In the mature work of Frans Hals, Rembrandt (qq.v.), the younger Ruysdaels, and Jan van de Cappelle, the detailed descriptive style of earlier Dutch painting was transformed through manipulation of light and color into a crystallization of form, affording not a representation of the fortuitous appearance of reality but a glimpse of the artist's inner vision of ideality.

Late in the 17th century Dutch painting once again became susceptible to international developments in art, especially to French influence; and again external events seem to have played a part in this change of orientation. Holland, by this time on the decline as a world power and confronted with the new superstates — the France of Louis XIV, the consolidated state of Prussia, and the emerging imperial Great Britain — had been forced to reassess her position. The result of this reevaluation was abatement of the vigor of Dutch nationalism and acceptance of a secondary role in art as in politics. Significantly, the influence of Rembrandt declined during these years, whereas the great popularity of his former pupil Gérard de Lairesee, who had become a follower of Poussin and Claude Lorrain, marked the triumph of French style in the Netherlands. French

art was also imitated in its theoretical, pedagogical, and propagandizing function by the establishment of the Academy of The Hague in 1682 under the direction of Augustin Terwesten. The Dutch academy followed the lines laid down by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in his slightly earlier reorganization of the Academie des Beaux-Arts in Paris (founded 1648). Dutch art declined in vigor and originality to the same degree that it assimilated these international influences.

*Characterization of currents and genres. a. Flemish influence.*

The influence of Flemish painters working in Holland (Karel van Mander, Gillis van Coninxloo, David Vingboons, and Roelant Savery, not to mention the great Bruegel) should not be underestimated in the consideration of 17th-century Dutch painting. The landscape painters Arant Arentsz. (Cabel) and Hendrik Avercamp belonged to this Flemish-inspired current, as did the marine painters Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom, who was influenced by Bruegel, Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, Adam Willaerts, and Simon de Vlieger. Esaias van de Velde, whose early works in particular reflect his debt to Vingboons, Van Mander, Elsheimer, Lastman, and Buytewech, transmitted his refined tonalism, which exemplifies the basic pictorial interests of mid-century Dutch art, to his pupil Jan van Goyen (q.v.). However, the representational immediacy and tonalism of Jan Porcellis, a landscapist of Flemish origin, even more clearly pointed the way to the landscape style of Jacob van Ruysdael and Jan van de Cappelle.

*b. The portrait.* At The Hague, the seat of the stadholders, an official portrait art emerged that was supported by the rich bourgeoisie and devoted primarily to the production of group portraits — families, public officials, and societies. Probably the greatest examples of the Dutch portrait, however, were painted in Haarlem; these are characterized by the expressive immediacy, lively realism, and acute observation of character initiated by Frans Hals. Rembrandt's portraits, though continuously in demand, met with less favor as they became more introspective and spiritualized. Van der Helst, Flinck, Ferdinand Bol, and Nicolaes Maes also worked at Amsterdam. Other portrait painters of the period include: Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn, Cornelis van der Voort, Nicolaes Elias. (Pickenoy), Thomas de Keyser (the most original of these, even though his work was uneven; PL. 302), Jan Cornelisz. Verspronck (who continued the style of Frans Hals in Haarlem), Adriaen Hanneman, Cornelis Janssens, and Jan de Baen (the latter two active at the English court) and Gerard Terborch, who worked at Zwolle and Deventer (PL. 330; see PORTRAITURE).

*c. Still-life and flower painting.* The simultaneously analytical and intuitive Dutch spirit was fully realized in the still life and the flower painting, both of which are genres characterized by a highly calculated and quiescent formal purity. At Leiden, perhaps as a result of the influence of the theological university, the emblematic still life on the theme of "vanitas" found great favor. (Old books, candles, skulls, and musical instruments were typical symbolic elements.) Both Willem Claesz. Heda (II, PL. 216) and Pieter Claesz. (PL. 311) worked in this vein; but the most important exponents of the symbolic still life were Jan Davidz. de Heem, David Bailly, and Pieter Potter.

Flower painting, introduced by the Flemings Roelant Savery at Utrecht and Jacob II de Gheyn at the Hague, became extremely popular as a distinctive genre. The multicolored Dutch "bouquet" was generally rendered with as much finesse and evidenced as precise an observation of nature as a scientific botanical study. The painters of Middelburg — including Ambrosius Bosschaert (PL. 329), his sons Ambrosius and Abraham, and his brother-in-law Balthasar van der Aest — excelled in this subject matter.

Still-life painting became an increasingly specialized and independent pursuit in the work of Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer, Floris van Dyck and Floris van Schooten of Haarlem, and Nicolaes Gillis. Haarlem was considered the home of still-life painting, and noteworthy still-life motifs appeared there

even in the early work of Hals. The most beautiful Dutch still-life paintings, however, belong to the second half of the 17th century. In those of Jan Janasz. van de Velde, for example, perfect equilibrium was achieved between the representation of reality and the abstraction of formal relationships. Three of the greatest Dutch still-life painters were undoubtedly Jan Davidz. de Heem, Abraham van Beyeren, and Willem Kalf. De Heem, who spent most of his life in Antwerp and whose taste for large and showy compositions was shared by the Flemings Frans Snyders, Jan Fyt, Adriaen van Utrecht, and Daniel Seghers, should perhaps more properly be considered a part of the Flemish school. The work of Abraham van Beyeren is lively, brilliant, and rich in color, while the paintings of Kalf (PL. 313), in their enigmatic splendor and monumental stasis, compare in spirit with those of his contemporary Vermeer. Kalf, who succumbed to the influence of Rembrandt after moving to Amsterdam in 1653, might be termed a composite of Rembrandt and Vermeer concentrating in the area of still life. These still-life painters never worked directly from nature; the hyperreality of the images they produced emanated not from slavish imitation of nature but from the power of convincing selective recall.

Another form of still-life painting was the large-scale composition depicting fowl or game, a favorite decoration in the elegant houses of the period. The great specialists in this field were the Utrecht painter families Weenix and De Hondedeoeter, heirs of the stylistic tradition of Jan Davidz. de Heem, whose son Cornelis also worked effectively in this genre (see STILL LIFE).

*d. Landscape.* In the 17th century the keen observation of natural environment seemingly inherent in the Dutch temperament encouraged the independent development of landscape painting, in which several currents were at once discernible. The extreme simplicity of the bare and sweeping Dutch landscape furnished a constant source of inspiration. Nevertheless, such a painter as Hercules Pietersz. Seghers (q.v.; II, PL. 214; PL. 310), under the influence of Elsheimer, chose to rework his natural surroundings and incorporated romantic and fantastic elements (such as ruins by night) into his pictorial world. Jan van Goyen (q.v.), on the other hand, preferred a less complex, though strongly lyrical statement of reality in his views of the great Dutch waterways (II, PL. 215). Among his pupils were Jan Steen (q.v.) at The Hague and Paulus Potter of Haarlem, also a center of importance in landscape painting. Among the painters working at Haarlem were Salomon van Ruysdael (q.v.), Pieter de Molijn, Cornelis Vroom (son of Hendrick), and Isaac van Ostade (younger brother of Adriaen). The work of the younger Van Ostade, whose development was cut short by his premature death, covered a wide range of subjects, most of which afforded opportunities to place human figures in the landscape, such as scenes of travelers at rustic inns or on country roads.

In the second half of the century, landscape painting became the tangible projection of the painter's emotional state. This later form of landscape painting, the so-called "grandiose" landscape, was characteristically monumental (in actual size as well as composition), somber, and brooding, and its popularity paralleled the demand for still lifes and portraits of exceedingly large scale. In this genre, for example, Jacob van Ruysdael painted the Castle of Bentheim — in reality, set on low hills — and transformed it into a great mountain stronghold. Albert Cuyp (q.v.) conceived his herds and river banks in grandiose fantastic terms (VI, PL. 72), while the distant panoramas of Philips Koninck and the seascapes of Jan van de Cappelle were equally solemn and evocative in atmosphere. Willem van de Velde the Younger and Meindert Hobbema (q.v.), the last of the great Dutch landscape painters (PL. 309), worked in a similar vein, which had been foreshadowed by the landscapes of Rembrandt as early as 1650. Among the plethora of landscape specialists and specialties, Aert van der Neer chose to represent frozen rivers and ponds, as well as sunsets or moonlight scenes, while Paulus Potter dotted his countryside with stolid animals (PL. 304; see LANDSCAPE IN ART).



e. *The Italianizers*. During the 17th century a number of Dutch painters journeyed to Rome, both to find new motifs for their genre pieces and to study the representation of atmospheric effects. Classicistic or academic predilections were completely alien to this group, which settled in the Via Margutta and gathered around Pieter van Laer (called "il Bamboccio"). Their study concentrated upon direct contact with everyday life and nature, and they were generally at odds with the Academy of St. Luke. They were, however, in contact with both Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin, and the influence of the two great French classicists became pronounced after the departure of Van Laer in 1638. By this time the taste for the popular genre scene was on the wane and was gradually replaced in public favor by the pastoral landscape inspired by the Roman Campagna. In these scenes, figures and landscape were suffused with a golden Claudian light. The Roman sojourn constituted only an episode in the pictorial activity of most of the members of this group, but the experience was sufficient to condition their subsequent work, in which the only characteristic Dutch element was the quality of light. The most important painters of this group were Pieter van Laer; Jan Both of Utrecht; Jan Asselijn, active in Amsterdam; Jan Baptist Weenix; Johannes Lingelbach; Jan Hackaert; Claes Pietersz. Berchem, an outstanding painter from Haarlem; Adrian van de Velde; and Philips Wouwerman, who also worked in Haarlem (PL. 306; see BAMBOCCIANI; BAROQUE ART).

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*Architecture from the Renaissance to the 18th century: the stone masons and the painter-architects*. Elements borrowed from Italian Renaissance architecture appeared in Dutch painting and sculpture much earlier than in Dutch architecture. The Gothic style of architecture prevailed long in Holland largely because the artisan tradition of the stone masons (who monopolized the art of building), fixed in its formulas and based on increasingly intricate and decorative models, was not receptive to new ideas. Even after architectural ornamentation had become classical, structure remained Gothic. A kind of Renaissance movement did occur, however, in the field of secular architecture (fortified gates, public buildings, castles), through the stimulus of Italian architects working in Holland: Tommaso Vincidor da Bologna (PL. 333), Alessandro de Pasqualini (church tower at Ysselstein, 1532; reconstruction of the Castle of Buren; remodeling of the Castle of Gulik), and Donato de' Boni Pellizzuoli (reconstruction of the ring fortifications of



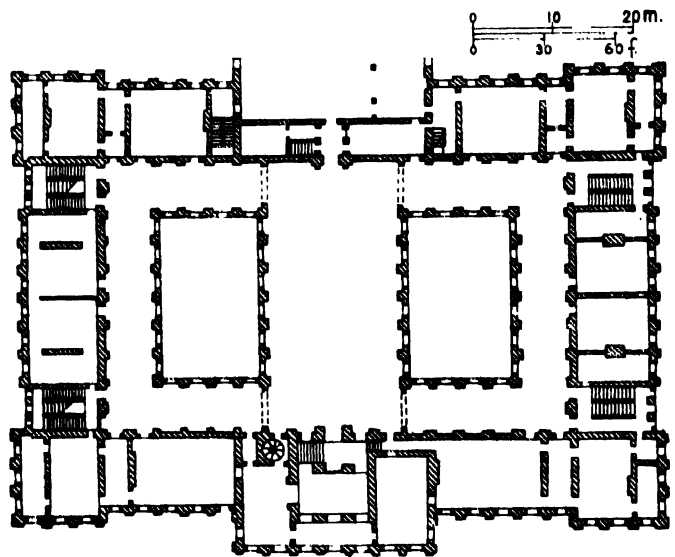
Antwerp and the fort at Rammekens, to which he added a monumental portal). Many cities became centers of Renaissance style, especially Utrecht, where Willem van Noort rebuilt the façade of the city hall (1546) in the Italian style and collaborated with Donato de' Boni Pellizzuoli on the fortifications. Study of sculpture inspired the Renaissance town hall of Kampen by Jacob Colijn de Nole.

From the 15th century on, developments in Antwerp had exerted an ever-growing influence on western Holland and Flanders. In 1537 Pieter Coecke van Aelst published an edition of Vitruvius and in 1539 the first translation of Serlio, while from the artisan workshops of Antwerp emerged the great masters Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, who popularized the architectural Renaissance of Antwerp in a long series of engravings of architectural ornamentation (begun 1565). Another equally important center of Renaissance style was Amsterdam, where unfortunately almost nothing remains of the great number of buildings erected between 1550 and 1570 (the Waag, or public weighing house, and the Weeshuis, or orphanage, are known from pictures). The most important master of the period was the municipal stone mason and surveyor of Amsterdam Joost Jansz. Bilhamer, designer of the crown of the tower of the Oude Kerk of Amsterdam (1568) and perhaps of the monumental east gate of Hoorn (1578). Also influential was the production of the stone-cutters' workshops (especially important was that of Conrad van Norembergh at Namur), architectural decoration and funerary monuments that were shipped throughout the country.

After the wars of religion and independence at the end of the 16th century, Amsterdam shared eminence as a center of building activity with Haarlem. The municipal architect of Amsterdam, where a great urban development program was undertaken in 1595, was Hendrik de Keyser, who was responsible for — among many other works — three great Protestant churches, the old Exchange, and a monumental city gate (now destroyed) in Amsterdam, as well as buildings in Delft, Deventer, and Rotterdam; his influence was evident as far away as Denmark and England. Lieven Lievensz. de Key of Haarlem may have built the Waag in that city, a building that incorporated classical forms, and was certainly the builder of the beautiful town hall of Leiden, in collaboration with the mason Luder van Bentheim. Both De Keyser and De Key endowed their architecture with strong plastic qualities and freed it from imitation of models popularized by prints, in the process making an original contribution within the context of Renaissance style.

Toward the middle of the 17th century, a new current emerged, a trend dominated no longer by the master masons but by painter-architects and more receptive to international influences. Artists now gravitated to the court of the stadholders, and Frederick Henry and his secretary Constantijn Huygens became the first to concern themselves officially with artistic matters, thereby giving rise to a form of official patronage. The Castle of Honselaarsdijk (begun 1621, demolished 1815) retained certain traditional characteristics, but its plan was clearly inspired by that of the Luxembourg (probably a result of the Stadholder's Paris education). The architects of the Château of Nieuwburg near Rijswijk (demolished 1703) are unknown, but the Frenchman Jacques de la Vallée and the first painter-architect in the service of the stadholders, Bartholomeus van Bassen, may have been among them. The influence of painters on architecture spread beyond the court; for instance, the painter Salomon de Bray succeeded Lieven de Key as civil architect of Haarlem, with his work showing definite classical tendencies (Zijlpoort, 1627, demolished 1821; reconstruction of Warmond Castle, 1630). At Utrecht the painter-architect Paulus Moreelse designed the Catherijnepoort (1621) in an Italianate style. The painters of Haarlem were the enthusiastic champions of Italianism and international classicism, tendencies discernible in the work of Jacob van Campen, palace at The Hague, 1640, modeled on a French residential palace and built for the stadholder Frederick Henry; private palaces for Constantijn Huygens and Maurits van Brazilie at The Hague in Palladian style; and the royal palace at Amster-

dam (FIG. 442; II, PL. 148; finished in 1655 on a different plan), the most complete expression of the local baroque style, which was further enlivened by the sculpture of Artus Quellinus the Elder and Rombout Verhulst. Pieter Jansz. Post, trained as a painter in Haarlem, followed Van Campen as court architect, and his smooth brick façades, generally bare of columns or pilasters, appear to conform more closely to the Dutch spirit. The Vingboons brothers, also painters, worked in Amsterdam; under the influence of Van Campen, with whom he had worked, Philip II built about fifty buildings on the great canals of Amsterdam (1638–66), as well as nearly twenty-five country houses (now mostly destroyed). The city architect of Leiden (1638) was Aert van 's Gravesande (Sebastiaans-Doelen,



Amsterdam, royal palace, formerly town hall, plan of the main floor, 2d half of the 17th cent.

The Hague, 1635, Palladian in style; Marekerk, Leiden, 1638, with hexagonal dome; and the octagonal Oostkerk, Middelburg).

At The Hague there also worked men of international interests such as Pieter Noorwits, architect of the Nieuwe Kerk (FIG. 432) and brother of Aert van 's Gravesande. In the small provincial cities, however, which were cut off from international currents and where classical style was known only indirectly, the tradition of the journeyman architect or master mason (such as Ermond van Hellenraet, active in Zutphen) continued. Between 1630 and 1650 a number of large châteaux (such as that at Hoensbroek, remodeled by Mathieu Dosin of Visé, near Liège) were built in the outlying areas of Groningen, Friesland, and particularly Limbourg (influenced by nearby Liège, Maas-tricht, and Aachen). After the middle of the 17th century, the classicist painter-architects were definitely in control, and the new architectural ideals of decorative yet functional simplicity, quiet colors, and plain façades enjoyed widespread public adoption. Amsterdam, with the activity of Adriaen Dortsman and Steven Vennecool among others, was an important center for the dissemination of this style.

The stadholder William III gathered around him a group of artists, among whom were Maurits Post (son of Pieter Post) and Jacob Pietersz. Roman (Villa 't Loo; Château de Voorst; and the town hall of Deventer, 1696). This artistic circle sponsored by the Stadholder was particularly receptive to influences from Italy (Martinelli) and France. The French classical style, in particular, as interpreted by the Huguenot refugee Daniel Marot — whose modified Louis XIV manner became a permanent part of the Dutch tradition — was of basic importance to the subsequent development of Dutch architecture. Equally as important as Marot was the painter-architect Adriaen van der Werff of Rotterdam (a flourishing architectural center during this period), whose principal work, the Merchants'

Exchange of Rotterdam (1721-33), was a bizarre pavilioned structure that was almost totally destroyed during World War II. The border provinces fell increasingly under the influence of outside centers in the course of the 17th century; external influences included the Rhineland, Westphalia (Johann Conrad von Schlaun of Münster and Johann Joseph Couven of Aachen), and Antwerp (Jan Pieter van Burscheit).

The 18th-century renewal of architectural originality was stimulated by the appointment of Pieter de Swart, one of the most eminent artistic personalities of the century, as court architect to the new stadholder, William IV. Among the works of De Swart were the Lutheran Church, The Hague; the governor's palace, 's Hertogenbosch; Weilburg Palace, The Hague; and the Delft Gate of Rotterdam. The Paris-trained De Swart contributed to the popularity of the Louis XIV and Louis XV styles. His ideas were perpetuated by Friedrich Ludwig Gunkel, Johan van Westenhout, and Philip Willem Schonck, who was active chiefly in Brabant.

About 1770, scholars and architectural students again evolved a classical style, which in their enthusiastic pursuit of academic rectitude approached neoclassicism. This style was especially favored in Amsterdam and also received popular acclaim in the much-publicized contest for the town hall of Groningen (1774), won by Jacob Otten Husly, municipal architect of Amsterdam and teacher of drawing at the Academy. However, the strongly classicizing tendencies of Husly were partially abandoned by his successor Abraham van der Hart (active as city architect of Amsterdam 1772-1820), noted for buildings with tile façades that were more closely related to the local tradition. The important official centers of Amsterdam and The Hague were subsequently joined by Rotterdam, where Jan (Carlo Giovanni) Giudice worked — his Italian background subordinated to Dutch architectural forms, from which he departed only in the Catholic Church of St. Rosalie modeled on the Chapel of Versailles — and, in the interior provinces, Middelburg and Maastricht (Matthias Soiron).

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*Local tradition and foreign influences in sculpture.* For various practical reasons (among others, the lack of local raw material and the ultimate triumph of Protestantism), sculpture did not find widespread favor in Holland. As a result the best Dutch sculptors, such as Claus Sluter (q.v.; *PL*, 320) and Adriaen de Vries, resettled in Flemish territory and — with respect to art history — became part of the Flemish tradition. However, Utrecht did emerge as a sculptural center in the 14th century, as evidenced in a silver reliquary bust by Elias Scerpsweert (1362; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), for example; it is also possible on the basis of a few remaining works, particularly wood sculpture, to reconstruct the achievements of other sculptors: the sensitive Master of Joachim and Anna; Adriaen van Weesel of Utrecht (*PL*, 321), close in spirit to his notable contemporary Geertgen tot Sint Jans, whose work is redolent of the religious introspection of the Brethren of the Common Life; and the great Nikolaus Gerhaert, active in Trier, Strasbourg, and Vienna. Although the latter is generally said to be a native of Leiden, not a trace of his presence exists there (see GERMAN ART).

The early 16th century did not witness any original indigenous sculptural developments; rather, it was characterized by interest in Italian Renaissance style, a tendency toward the grandiose, and a generally international flavor. Very little remains from this period, and in any case some of the most important monuments were the work of foreigners, often influenced by the French school (tomb of Engelbert I of Nassau at Breda, probably by Jean Mone; tomb of the Van Brederodes at Vianen, and that of Karel van Egmond at Arnheim). By the end of the 16th century some sculptors, such as Jean de Boulogne (Giambologna) of Douai, recognized the need of a broader international background and, wishing to have direct acquaintance with Italian Renaissance style, went to Italy. Johann Gregor van der Schardt, Hubert Gerhard, and Adriaen de Vries (all of whom had also studied in Italy) became artists of wholly international cast and were in demand at the courts of Prague, Munich, and Vienna, as well as among the rich merchants of Augsburg and Nürnberg. Most of these artists no longer maintained contact with the artistic life of their native country. Only Adriaen de Vries, the most important among them, credited his origin in the signature "Batavus" or "Hagiensis." Even though De Vries seems never again to have worked in the Low Countries, he greatly influenced the mannerist style of Haarlem and Utrecht through the prints of Jan Muller. The fine goldsmith-sculptor Paulus van Vianen of Utrecht (*PL*, 325), stylistically related to Spranger and his contemporaries from Haarlem and Utrecht (Cornelis Cornelisz. Van Haarlem, Joachim Wittewael, and Abraham Bloemaert) and to his brother Adam (who remained in Utrecht), was active at the imperial court in Prague. From this same background emerged the most important Dutch sculptor of the early 17th century, Hendrick de Keyser (perhaps trained in Antwerp, but closely related to the Van Vianens), whose classical composure and realistic inclination align him with the nascent baroque style even though some vestiges of mannerism remain in his work. After De Keyser, Holland produced no other outstanding sculptors during the 17th and 18th centuries, with the possible exception of Bartholomeus Eggers, a pupil of the Fleming Artus Quellinus the Elder (*PL*, 326), who with Rombout Verhulst (*PL*, 327) decorated the city hall of Amsterdam.

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H. Vollmer, ThB, XXXIV, 1940: *Le triomphe du maniérisme européen*, Amsterdam, 1955, exhib. cat.

*Rembrandt and his circle.* Throughout the first half of the 17th century, the artistic life of Amsterdam (by then the most important city of the Dutch Republic) was dominated by the personality of Rembrandt, whose spirit affected the style of a wide range of Dutch artists for many years afterward. For Rembrandt the representation of the external image of man was the vehicle for the recording of his inner being as well, fraught with individual spiritual drama and universal religious significance. In his effort to find visual equivalents for the interior realm of human experience, Rembrandt experimented with a variety of media — drawing, etching, painting — and encouraged his students to similar artistic expansion, thus increasing the means of expression at their command. Rembrandt's interest in man was extended to his natural environment, which in his work is meant to evoke the moral, historical, and religious climate in which the human drama unfolds.

Although in a certain sense Rembrandt's humanistic preoccupation, his concern with man and the human condition, might be considered profoundly and essentially classical, he was totally removed from the kind of academic classicism current in the schools of The Hague, Haarlem, and Utrecht. The enduring fascination of the master and his teaching remains evident in the work of his pupils, which preserves the traces of his extraordinary personality. The followers of Rembrandt at Amsterdam included the excellent portraitist Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, Govert Flinck (PL. 308), and Ferdinand Bol (PL. 302). The latter two, on the basis of their numerous portrait commissions, enjoyed greater prestige among the ruling classes of Amsterdam than did their master Rembrandt, probably because they knew how to achieve an agreeable balance between the technical freedom of Rembrandt and classicistic form, a compromise conforming to current taste. (The burgomasters of Amsterdam even entrusted the decoration of the city hall to them rather than to Rembrandt.)

In the 1630s and 1640s Rembrandt himself moved into a sphere of artistic inquiry where it was difficult for others to follow, the quest for a workable equilibrium between imagination and reality. Of all the Rembrandt pupils, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout was most similar to the master and remained generally faithful to his training, even though he did make some concessions to the spirit of the times and in representations of domestic interiors was attracted to the style of Pieter de Hooch (q.v.). As the interests and the work of Rembrandt became more introspective, his students became fewer in number and his hold on the popular imagination declined. While Bol and Flinck struggled to develop personal styles, Bartholomeus van der Helst achieved great popularity as a portraitist with work that was elegant, pleasing, technically proficient, and distinguished by lively and realistic images.

*Carel Fabritius and the school of Delft.* Carel Fabritius (q.v.) departed from the style of Rembrandt, which had found in him more an admirer than an imitator, as soon as his artistic individuality (already apparent in the interest in form and color disclosed by his early works; PL. 324) markedly asserted itself. After the death of his wife and son, Fabritius retired to his native village, where he probably painted the moving and psychologically revealing *Self-portrait* (PL. 302). Fabritius was more concerned with classical modeling and realistic effect than was Rembrandt; his works, although decidedly serious in tone, are nevertheless remote from the magical immateriality of Rembrandt. After 1650 Fabritius lived in Delft, where he conducted a school. It is likely that Vermeer, ten years his junior, was among his pupils. The prime concern of Fabritius in this last phase of his career was perspective, an interest shared by the popular architectural painters of Delft (Gerrit Houckgeest; Gerrit van Vliet; and Emanuel de Witte, PL. 317). A characteristic example of these late perspective experiments of Fabritius is *A View in Delft* (1652; London, Nat. Gall.).

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. *Jacob Adriaensz. Backer*, 1608–51, painter, pupil of Rembrandt from ca. 1632, active in Amsterdam and Haarlem, visited

Italy in 1660: ThB, II, 1908; K. Bauch, *Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, ein Rembrandt-Schüler*, 1926. *Ferdinand Bol*, 1606–80, painter, active in Amsterdam, pupil of Rembrandt ca. 1635: A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländische Künstler-Lexicon*, Vienna, Leipzig, 1906–11. *Gerbrand van den Eeckhout*, 1621–74, painter, active in Amsterdam, pupil of Rembrandt ca. 1635–40: A. von Wurzbach, op. cit. *Barent Fabritius*, 1624–73, painter, brother of Carel Fabritius, probably pupil of Rembrandt ca. 1645, active in Amsterdam and Leiden: D. Pont, *Barent Fabritius*, Utrecht, 1958. *Carel Fabritius* (q.v.). *Govert Flinck*, 1615–60, painter, native of Cleves, active in Amsterdam, pupil of Rembrandt from ca. 1632: C. Hofstede de Groot, ThB, XII, 1916; J. Leymarie, *La peinture hollandaise*, Geneva, 1956. *Aert de Gelder*, 1645–ca. 1725, painter, pupil and friend of Rembrandt in his late years, active in Amsterdam and Dordrecht: K. Lilienfeld, *Aert de Gelder, sein Leben und seine Kunst*, Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte, IV, The Hague, 1914. *Bartholomeus van der Helst*, 1613–70, portraitist, pupil of Nicolas Elias, active in Amsterdam: J. de Gelder, *Bartholomeus van der Helst*, Rotterdam, 1921. *Jan Lievens*, 1607–74, painter, pupil of Pieter Lastman, friend and associate of Rembrandt, active in Leiden, Amsterdam, Antwerp, and The Hague: H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Haarlem, 1932. *Rembrandt* (q.v.).

*Dutch environment painting: Vermeer and others.* Dutch environment painting stems from works of Frans Hals that are not — strictly speaking — portraits, paintings where familiar types assume realistic attitudes and appear in faintly delineated landscape backgrounds. Many pupils of Hals, his son, and his younger brother developed and worked in this genre. Willem Pietersz. Buytewech was the most important exponent of this new trend. Related stylistically to Van Mander, Vingboons, and Hals, he became the lively and ironic chronicler of a gay and exuberant society. Among other painters working in this genre were Esaias van de Velde, more noted as a landscape painter; Dirck Hals; Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, who was influenced by Jan Brueghel the Elder and active in nearby Antwerp and who preferred literary themes, important events of contemporary history, and complicated allegories (*The Truce*, 1609, Louvre; *Fishers for Souls*, 1614, PL. 305).

The family group portrait was represented either as an ordinary scene of domestic life (even by Rembrandt himself) or, at the opposite extreme, was transformed into a mythological or arcadian scene (as in works of Thomas de Keyser and Hendrik Gerritsz. Pot). The best pupils of Hals, Jan Miense Molenaer and Judith Leyster, produced notable group portraits in this manner. The representation of the civil guard, an important element in Dutch urban life, was a favorite motif for such artists as Willem Cornelisz. Duyster, Pieter Codde, Dirck Hals, and Molenaer. Anthonie Palamedsz. painted festive family groups, sometimes engaged in music-making, set in domestic interiors, and their genre character entirely superseded the ostensible portrait intention. The Fleming Adriaen Brouwer, who worked mainly in the Hals circle at Haarlem and subsequently in Antwerp, painted roguish scenes of tavern and peasant life, as did another pupil of Hals, Adriaen van Ostade (PL. 315).

In the second half of the 17th century, genre painting began to display refinement of taste and a renewal of moral content. Small, simple compositions were preferred, and the pictorial interest was concentrated in the figures. Even the elderly Adriaen van Ostade participated in this experiment, as did Gerard Dou, pupil of Rembrandt in his Leiden years as well as a straightforward painter of admirable technique, and Jan Steen, an occasionally moralistic narrator of daily life (PL. 317).

The "intimate" painters, on the other hand, neither characterized types nor narrated events. They were not concerned with a moralistic portrayal of the human comedy; their interest was in the tranquil atmosphere of the Dutch interior, where people and objects composed a single entity of existence. Accordingly, the careful attention to visual detail characteristic of these painters was intended to define a moral (and visual) atmosphere but was entirely free of anecdotal intent. The greatest representative of this vein of environment painting was Vermeer (II, PL. 210). Pieter de Hooch (PL. 317) approached the acknowledged master, although his vision (which he later, about 1662, tried to combine with Rembrandt borrowings) was somewhat more rigidly analytical and geometrical than the sensitive compositional equilibrium attained by Vermeer. Gerard Terboch was also akin to Vermeer in the tranquil

stasis of his interiors, which are, however, sometimes noticeably precious and estheticizing. Jacobus Vrel, Jacob Ochtersvelt (PL. 316), Frans van Mieris (PL. 303), and Caspar Netscher participated in the same trend.

*Saenredam and architectural painting.* Another type of environment painting was the architectural piece, which became particularly important after the middle of the 17th century. Typical both of the period (1630-50) and of the Protestant bourgeois society in which he lived at Haarlem was the work of the great architectural painter Pieter Jansz. Saenredam (q.v.), whose recurrent theme was the bare and silent interior of a Protestant church, recorded with a quality of serenity and architectural exactitude (PL. 307). His interiors were neither arbitrarily rearranged nor idealized, but were painted from precise, on-the-spot studies (sometimes later, and with minor liberties taken only in details; e.g., interiors of St. Bavon and the Nieuwe Kerk of Haarlem). Light and space were the major vehicles of Saenredam's esthetic and expressive purpose. The almost metaphysical purity and austere piety of his works derived from faithful representation of the limpid light and color characteristic of these churches.

Despite the importance of architectural elements in the work of Vermeer (*View of Delft*) and De Hooch, the specialized genre of architectural painting assumed its characteristic form only after the middle of the 17th century. This new strain of architectural painting was quite different from that of Saenredam himself because of its portraitlike, documentary intention. The architectural subjects chosen began to reflect civic values rather than detached esthetic preference, and buildings that were important as symbols of civic pride and accomplishment (public works, government or commercial centers, historical monuments) were the predominant selections. The new mode of architectural painting was introduced, appropriately enough, by the painter-architect Bartholomeus van Bassen, who was active in The Hague. Delft became the chief center for the painting of interiors in analogous spirit. Others who worked in this vein were Gerrit Houckgeest (active ca. 1650), Hendrik Cornelisz. van Vliet, and the greatest of all, Emmanuel de Witte (q.v.; active in Delft 1641-50), whose splendid and whimsical views of architecture (*St. Bavon of Haarlem*; *Oude Kerk of Amsterdam*) were not rediscovered until the 20th century. The topographical painters Job and Gerrit Berckheyde (particularly the latter) foreshadow 18th-century preciousness in their works.

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*The decline of the national style and the triumph of French taste in the 18th century.* Although Dutch economic and cultural life in general remained at a high level at the beginning of the

18th century, the vigor of the visual arts declined, with a gradual submission to the Francophile taste current throughout Europe. The volume of artistic production remained enormous, but unsustained by forceful inspiration, it settled into tired repetition of traditional motifs rendered in the traditional manner; for instance, the taste for objective representation of domestic life continued strong. A modicum of originality survived in portraiture (even though traditional modes were preserved) and decorative painting, especially in the work of Jacob de Wit (ceiling of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), who had studied with Rubens in Antwerp. International stature was attained in the first half of the 18th century by the fine portraitist Cornelis Troost, by that time the only Dutch name of consequence on the international scene. Aert Schouman, working in the manner of Melchior de Hondecoeter, made decorative animal paintings; George van der Myn was influenced by English portrait style; Jan ten Compe continued traditional city views.

Foreign artists, especially portraitists, were much in vogue in Holland during the 18th century, among them La Tour, Perroneau, Liotard, Guillaume Spinny, J. F. A. Tischbein, Ziesenis, and Bolomey, whose stronghold was the elegant and cosmopolitan court circle of the Hague. Toward the end of the century the work of the portraitist Adriaen de Lelie revealed the first signs of neoclassicism (*The Anatomy Lesson*, 1792; *The Drawing Class*, 1810; *Sculpture Gallery*, 1807 — all Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; PL. 318).

The establishment of the Kingdom of Holland under Louis Napoleon (1806-10) wrought a profound transformation in Dutch life and art, which from that moment became merely a reflection of the great international movements (see NEOCLASSIC STYLES; ROMANTICISM; REALISM; EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS).

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*The influence of Dutch art.* The influence of Dutch art, particularly 17th-century Dutch painting, has been of such magnitude as to affect profoundly the course of European taste and style. In a sense, it might be said that much of 18th- and all of 19th-century painting, from romanticism to impressionism, was a direct outgrowth of the Dutch visual tradition. Even such complete antitheses as the 18th-century *scène galante* and 19th-century realism have equal claim to Dutch descent. Holland's role in the baroque reaction to mannerism was similar to that of Flanders in the anti-Gothic phase of early Renaissance style, in that Dutch artists stimulated a return to reality through their example of poetic visual honesty.

The spread of Dutch influence was encouraged by many factors, among them the great volume of engravings fostered by the complete freedom of the press enjoyed in Holland, the far-flung commercial enterprises of the Dutch merchants, and the extensive travels of Dutch artists. Dutch influence, however transmitted, has operated historically on several levels: by promoting realistic painting in general, by stimulating the taste for genre scenes, and by inspiring trends derived from specific masters. The greatest over-all contribution of Holland was the fortuitous circumstance of providing the proper religious, economic, and social climate in which the realism stimulated by Caravaggio could flourish and develop into one of the great schools of European painting. An instance of very specific

influence may be seen in the spate of landscapes with flaming cities in the background (usually alluding to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah), arising from the work of Bosch and Lucas van Leyden, that suddenly appeared in the painting of northern Italy (particularly that of the Veneto and Ferrara) during the second and third decades of the 16th century. Another example of the specific influence of longer duration is the grotesque type derived from Bosch's allegories, which was reinterpreted by Bruegel and subsequently became a permanent part of the decorative vocabulary of the Late Renaissance and the baroque (for instance, as used in book illustrations, such as for the Rabelais *Pantagruel*). A painter such as Vermeer, on the other hand, who was not influential outside Holland in his lifetime, was not followed until the 18th century in the works of Chardin and perhaps of Canaletto in Venice (preceded by the Fleming Vanvitelli in Rome). Rembrandt was studied and imitated by Solimena, and his influence was decisive for Delacroix, Géricault, and other romantics much later; his work (particularly portraits) was also of interest to the impressionists as the embodiment of pure painterly effects. Rembrandt's influence is also apparent in the English school of the 18th century, which was in reality of strong Dutch orientation.

In the romantic period, literature was also profoundly affected by the imagery of Dutch painting, and frequently romantic literary descriptions of landscape or social climate seem almost like verbal transcriptions of well-known Dutch paintings. On the other hand, 20th-century criticism places more emphasis on the formal values inherent in Dutch art rather than on its quintessential realism. Currently, efforts are made to isolate and analyze compositional principles and to ascertain and interpret recurrent symbolic themes. It is indeed probable that more searching examination of religious subject matter may elucidate the profound seriousness and moral tone of many compositions that are seemingly lacking in literary content. The burgeoning contemporary critical interest in the formal qualities of Dutch art has coincided with the major contributions of modern Dutch art — once again of international importance — the de Stijl movement and the work of Mondrian, whose austere purist compositions might well be regarded as the culmination of Occidental classicism.

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Illustrations: PLS. 277-334; 10 figs. in text.

**FOLK ART.** The consideration of folk art has from its 19th-century beginnings presented problems of definition, scope, critical standards, and methods of interpretation which have yet to be resolved to the satisfaction of all points of view. As a category distinct both from the sophisticated art of an evolved society and from the products of cultures at a primitive level, the idea of a folk art first arose within the sphere of Western art, where it was identified primarily with the peasant arts then existing in Europe and aroused interest as the repository of a particular cultural heritage. Within these limits the product itself exhibited recognizable characteristics, although there were theoretical disagreements as to its origin and history. Subsequently, as the collection of objects proceeded independently of theory, it became evident that analogous arts existed outside these limits — for example, under certain urban conditions, during other periods, and in many parts of the world — so that the original concepts of folk art were inadequate to this wider horizon. Identification of folk products in such fields as ancient, medieval, and Oriental arts is still impeded by the fact that these last have until recently been studied as a whole, without distinction of folk levels. In any case, the discussion of what constitutes a folk art inevitably revolves around environmental conditions, and among those conditions a predominant factor is some form of isolation within which old inherited patterns tend to survive on the fringes of a coexisting world of sophisticated art that has discarded or revised them. The direct effect of the environment emerges in the form, style, and material of the folk product — the construction of the dwelling and all its furnishings, tools and implements of the day's work, everyday as well as festive costume, all the appurtenances of home devotions and religious observance, recreational objects, and the equipment for the chief events of life — birth, marriage, death, and disposition of the corpse. See also CERAMICS; COSTUME; DEMONOLOGY; DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES; ESCHATOLOGY; FURNITURE; GAMES AND TOYS; GRAPHIC ARTS; HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS; MAGIC; MASKS; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; PUPPETS AND MARIONETTES; TABLE AND FOOD; TAPESTRY AND CARPETS; TEXTILES, EMBROIDERY, AND LACE; UTENSILS AND TOOLS; VEHICLES.

SUMMARY. Problems of analysis (col. 452). Historical background (col. 455): *Folklore and the concept of the "folk"*; *The rise of interest in folk art*; *Survivals and the magic-religious element*; *Criticism of*

*folk art and artists*; *Characteristics attributed to folk art*. The environmental conditions (col. 466): *The effect on the product*. Investigation of historical connections (col. 477). Sampling of the folk arts (col. 483).

**PROBLEMS OF ANALYSIS.** Our ideas about folk art have evolved in two independent and often conflicting ways: theoretically, in a literature laden with suppositions periodically discarded or reevaluated, and on the other hand practically, with the accumulation of the tangible product itself in a manner on the whole generally uncorrelated with theory. We have before us innumerable examples which fall, or possibly fall, in the folk category, and the accidents of collecting them have sometimes been as "folkloristic" as the product itself. This material has not, until recently, been assembled or studied primarily because it was folk art, but usually for other reasons: as national or racial art, accumulated in the process of studying the racial heritage or associated with national self-consciousness; as individual arts and products, such as costume, ceramics, furniture, valentines, trivets, or shoes, in which either folk or nonfolk examples are equally of interest; as mementos of a personal or local nature; as examples of processes, methods, and designs of value to all who work with crafts and decoration; or as adjuncts to anthropology, ethnography, and folklore, that is, as a tool for the general study of man. Thus the material is to be sought, not merely in well-documented folk museums (which in some areas are completely lacking), but in innumerable collections and studies made along these other lines, where the material is rich but the product is often not labeled "folk" at all, or where sometimes that label is carelessly used. It has so far proved impossible to formulate an accepted definition of folk art into which all this material may be neatly fitted (or from which some of it may be clearly excluded), and the boundaries of the field are far from clear. Furthermore, the well-documented material presents an extremely one-sided picture, since certain arts have long attracted attention as folk whereas others have been neglected or only recently begun to be studied. At present the soundest procedure is to pursue without prejudice an analysis of the art which has been called "folk" and the conditions under which it occurs, seeking analogies among the familiar and the newer fields, in the hope that such analysis will eventually establish satisfactory limits to the concept.

The study of folklore preceded the interest in folk art as such (that is, apart from the general cultures within which these arts occur), and it is natural to turn to that vast accumulated literature for at least a comprehension of the word "folk." Aside from the fact that folklore, too, deals with nebulous boundaries, and agreement is far from universal, there are limits inherent in drawing parallels between oral traditions and arts which are purely tangible and visual. (It is significant that many folklorists do not consider art a proper inclusion within their field at all.) The element of transmission, for example, which has been so profoundly studied in folklore, necessarily operates with different limitations in art. It is obvious that such oral traditions as a song or riddle, which can be carried in memory and communicated instantly, and art objects, which must be carried on the back and are dependent on materials and tools for perpetuation (a slower process in general), may not necessarily travel the same routes to the same places. They may not even be born in the same cradle, for art has its special uses, notably in the design of useful objects, which in thousands of instances have no apparent relation to verbal lore at all. As soon as a symbolic motif is applied to the object, however, or when objects are created to serve a ritual or festival purpose, or are otherwise related to the beliefs of people, or when lore and customs are, as so often, actually depicted, the relationship of the two fields becomes of supreme importance. Thus it is in the spread of motifs and themes and subject matter that art is most closely related to the transmission of folklore. The characters depicted in nativity cribs, for example, and the gifts they bear, are found also in carols and nativity dramas. An image once seen in India by the Buddhist pilgrims from farther east, then imitated in local materials in China and Japan, could provide an enduring prototype, locally modified, for generations of folk as well as other art.



In this respect the study of folklore has served to delineate a variety of products which are unmistakably folk because they plainly reflect folk beliefs, customs, and usages — the fertility charm, festival mask, evil eye, Easter egg, the decorated prayers for women in childbirth, funeral equipment, bridal chests — characteristically used or decorated, often symbolically, in accord with folkways. In such objects, as well as in the depictions and representations which are paralleled in song, legend, or tale, the lore and the art obviously each serves and contributes to the other. Any clear-cut body of material is invaluable in defining a field, and, apart from that, these objects are among the most absorbing in the whole of folk art and have attracted, perhaps, the most attention. (They are widely treated in such articles as DEMONOLOGY, DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES, ESCHATOLOGY, MAGIC, the articles on the religions, and articles on products such as MASKS or MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.)

On the other hand, a vast amount of folk material and a great part of the decoration (especially that which is geometric or abstract rather than figural) do not participate in these relationships. Without wasting the folklorists' research in certain strategic areas, we must be prepared also to proceed from it wherever the material itself leads. The limits of folklore, even if firmly established, would probably not be accepted as the limits of folk art. A divergence in present usage, for example, is that folklore is still considered "folklore," no matter who retains or repeats it (as in the case of a riddle or proverb repeated in a sophisticated gathering), but folk art does not include objects, however traditional, that are executed by sophisticated people; the latter are viewed as "imitations" to be excluded from the authentic folk-art field.

An important contribution already made within the general folk literature has been the recognition of certain well-defined regional groups, where the nature of the society as a whole may be considered folkloristic and both the lore and the arts have been well documented. These groups — such as the Tirol, Alsace, the Black Forest, Epiros, the Transylvanian mountains, Sardinia, Catalonia, the Pennsylvania Dutch area — provide the basic core of our concept of the field. Here it may be said that folk art is the graphic experience of the same social temper, background of thought, religion, character, and even aspiration that characterize the folklore and the group as a whole, and the study of these arts (often called "regional arts") has provided the awareness of a folk style which we are now seeking to explore in more difficult and less documented areas.

Folklore has furthermore bestowed (as a rather troublesome heritage) a concept which still seems to be basic in most thinking and is to an extent inherent in the use of the word "folk" — that is, that folk art is "communal," a result of what might be called "cumulative originality" rather than strictly individual creativity. This thought has always produced controversy, especially in the art field, because all general art styles, including the sophisticated, have evolved with countless contributions from various artists; also, a complete object produced in one man's hands, however imitative he may intend to be, is inevitably subject to an individual and therefore stylistic variation. There are many folk artists whose pieces are signed or whose names and styles are well known. However, in general we seem to feel that an individual molding of the style is less prominent in folk than in sophisticated art. On this point the differences of opinion, often violent, have worn smooth with time. A communal development, still allowing for individual expression, is generally accepted, with the recognition that in so diverse a field the proportion of these elements varies. There are few scholars now who would define folk art as a whole only in terms of types which were slowly developed and slavishly repeated for a long period of time.

A practical point of divergence between the fields of folk art and of folklore in general has to do with primitive areas ("primitive" being used here in the ethnological sense, as pertaining to societies at an elementary and nonliterate stage of development). In folklore, the primitive cultures are prominently included, such subjects as the "folk tales of Africa" or "folk songs of the American Indian" being commonly encountered, whereas in art the primitive is generally considered a study in its own

right, and those museums and publications which combine the folk and the primitive usually do so in separate divisions. In a sense this is ironical, for primitive cultures offer the most nearly perfect examples of "folk" as a homogeneous and closely interrelated group. However, whatever the parallels in the society or the lore, folk and primitive art appear to have visually a quite different character. It may be possible to single out respects in which both differ from "sophisticated" art, and analogies between them are provocative, but an effort to bracket them would greatly complicate any sort of stylistic analysis, a problem hazardous enough in any case. Thus "primitive art" is applied specifically to the art of preliterate peoples, whose outside contacts are minimal if they exist effectively at all; folk art (provided the primitive is excluded) may be said to exist *within* a general cultural sphere which is at a more advanced stage of development, and among its salient features are its interaction with and derivations from the sophisticated art with which, however isolated, it is in contact.

It will be readily seen among the collections that such well-defined regional groups as those referred to above do not account for anything like the total permeation of the product called "folk." We must take into consideration not only folk communities, but folk trends threading in one way or another through the sophisticated community. Many can be analyzed, some perhaps will remain as gray areas on the fringe of the folk or the sophisticated world. It is interesting to note how often, in work outside the folk field, certain examples may be referred to as "folkloristic" or as having a "folk character," without actually being called "folk"; Talbot Rice so refers, for example, to the later Byzantine art of Romanian churches. To what extent an art so described is merely folklike or truly folk is a point to be decided case by case, and the decision may be arguable as long as some scholars take a wider and others a more rigid view of the field. A rigid view, adhering to limited and obviously folk groups, is certainly the easier, but it excludes a fascinating body of material which at least borders on the folk and is likely to be called so, and which at any rate fits into no other comprehended category. This material exists, and it would seem that we should adjust our ideas to accommodate it, either in a more clearly understood view of the folk or, finding reasons to exclude it there, by seeking logical brackets within which it may fall.

There are obviously two basic ways of trying to distinguish what is folk from all the rest of art. One has to do with the character of the product, that is, we may say that objects are folk art because they look like folk art, in respect to style, content, material, and technique. The other has to do with environment, that is, the objects are folk art because they were produced by these people, at this time, under these conditions, and for these reasons. Primitive art is so called because it is the product of a primitive society (i. e., for environmental reasons), even though the art itself may be highly elaborate and of supreme esthetic quality. By analogy folk art might be called "folk" (and often is) because of the circumstances in which it is produced. Unfortunately, the boundaries of folk art are by no means so clear-cut. In practice (though less in theory) they have been explored from both directions: the concept of a folk style recognized in the well-defined folk areas has been instinctively applied when objects of a parallel character occur elsewhere, and we tend to seek reasons in the environment to account for them. The problem of stylistic definition, always difficult and subject to artistic chance, becomes only more complicated as more fields and products are analyzed and brought into the range of folk art, for their style is not merely folk but is also shaped in each case by the general cultural region; a folk object from France and one from China may very likely seem to have less in common than each respectively has with the rest of French or Chinese art. The problem is not forgotten, but an over-all delineation of a generic folk style has not emerged, or even been attempted, on a world-wide basis. The factor of environment has so far attracted more attention and is at present considered a more trustworthy guide to definition; it is discussed more fully below.

Another consideration is the esthetic one — whether a

product, granting that it is folk, is also "art." The point of view has been presented that folk art represents a decay of the fine arts, a theory which might hold up for certain limited areas or products but is refuted in general by the attention the subject has aroused — to an extent that would be impossible for an art with no vitality. This view, if it had taken hold, would long since have eliminated folk art as a subject worthy of attention, rather leaving it as an unhappy epilogue to the study of the fine arts. Those truly interested in the subject, notably the enthusiastic *aficionado* captivated by what is popularly called the "fresh charm" of folk art, have stubbornly resisted any effort to belittle it, and any attitude of condescension toward the folk mentality is now antipathetic to people accustomed to a democratic frame of thought. The transference of a motif from porcelain dish to carved shepherd's cup, for lack of means, or of the carved design on a chest to a painted version, or of a mosaic theme to a color-washed lime wall — or the use of straw for inlay effects — appears, in view of the ingenuity required, to be less decay than evolution. Folk art is full not only of adaptations but of many new inventions, and it can, as in the Americas, represent a passage toward (not merely away from) new sophisticated forms. It has also served to stimulate specific developments in the sophisticated arts where, especially in contemporary times, folk-art forms and themes have often been consciously utilized. (See various references under EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS.)

Considerations of the purely functional within the art field have caught the folk product in the middle of a dilemma. In the sophisticated field fine arts are distinguished from applied arts and from the more recent field of industrial design (q.v.), but the latter are also treated as art. In the primitive and prehistoric fields the entire handmade product is included in museums of art, even on the simplest level of the crude cooking pot. The folk product, on the other hand, has sometimes been minimized because of its high percentage of utilitarian objects, thus being subjected to a fine-arts rather than ethnographic standard of comment. Actually the folk society is largely one within which (like these others) a distinction between fine and useful arts has not yet set in, and skill and invention are likely to spill over into any object that comes to hand. An inclusive treatment of the entire handmade product, like that given to the other nonsophisticated arts, seems both logical and practical at the present stage of definition.

In the past, as will be seen, the response to folk art has veered between extravagant enthusiasm and a denunciation of what has even been viewed as the meaningless repetitions of the dumb masses. Enthusiasm remains, though fortunately not the latter extreme, but it is now accepted that folk art shares the usual human range from poor to superior examples and forms. Much of the folk art which is indubitably fine is discussed and illustrated under AMERICAS, GRAPHIC ARTS, etc. — for the discussions of the various fields of art have never consciously excluded the folk product whether or not they have recognized it under that name.

MAMIE HARMON

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.** *Folklore and the concept of the "folk."* The study of folk art dates back only to about the mid-19th century, lagging a century or more behind scholarly attention to the oral traditions of folklore. The word "folklore" itself, equivalent to the German *Volkskunde* (introduced by Von Arnim) and now commonly adopted in many languages, was proposed by William John Thoms, an English antiquarian (*Athenaeum*, Aug. 22, 1846), to replace the earlier terms "popular antiquities" and "popular literature." Some scholars still prefer to limit the field of folklore to the verbal arts and to place the manual arts under the ethnographical category of "material culture" (cf. definitions in *The Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*, I, s.v. Folklore). The continuing variation in definition of terms and concepts of "folklore" and "folk art" reflects more or less directly a reaction against a special concept of the "folk" that arose during the 18th century and assumed great significance during the romantic period (the effect of which has never completely disappeared); it reflects particularly

a distrust of some of the early theories and methods of research adopted in support of this concept.

The literary climate in which the romantic concept of the folk evolved was one of revolt against the neoclassicism of the "age of reason," with all the formalism, artificiality, and sterility ascribed to it, and of nostalgia for some ideal past in which the creative spirit of man thrived unfettered by esthetic regulations or conventions of decorum. Idealization of the "natural" man, of the primitive and the pastoral life, characterized much of painting as well as writing in the 18th century. Within this framework the heroic epics and the anonymous oral repertory of ballad and story seemed to provide evidence of unstudied expression and free imagination surviving from an Arcadian past. The very anonymity of this traditional literature was seized upon as the essence of its quality — the proof that innate, rather than studied, genius had produced it.

Reinterpretation of Homer as not one but various poetic voices contributed to the romantic myth of the folk. Giambattista Vico, in the *Principi di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla comune natura delle nazioni* (1721, rev. ed. 1730, 1744; Eng. ed., *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch, trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1948), used the words "primitive" and "popular" in a new way in his discussion of Homer. Vico stated that the epochs in which great poets come to flower are those in which imagination, rather than contemplation, is dominant. He labeled such creative ages as "primitive," viewed the Homeric epic as the creative product of an entire people, as "popolare" or "popolaresca" ("popular" or "folklike"), and attributed its sublimity to its very "popularity."

Rousseau's influence on the idea of the folk was enormous. In his writings (e.g., *Discours sur les Arts et Sciences*, 1750) he elevated the primordial condition of man above that of civilization, placing it in an enchanted state of nature and endowing it with political liberty. In Rousseau's thought, the myth of the "noble savage" was extended to embrace also the "inspired peasant" (cf. I. Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, 5th ed., New York, 1960).

It was the character of German romanticism, however, which transformed the naturalist-primitivist concept of the folk into a mystical, nationalistic myth of the collective soul (*Gesamtgeist*) of a race, from which epic poetry and the ballads emanated without, or with only incidental, mediation of individual authors. The statements of J. G. Herder (1744–1803) and later of the Grimm brothers on the nature of folk literature, rightly or wrongly interpreted, lie at the base of a long-lasting controversy as to whether ballads sprang from group improvisation or were individually composed. Herder conceived of folk poetry as a national heritage whose source and originality were to be sought in the "barbaric" strength, the creative virtue of the "primitive" soul. It is said that Herder's enthusiasm for the "savage" songs of the *Volk* dated from the experience of having seen, perhaps in 1765 at a summer-solstice celebration in Latvia, folk dancing with a singing leader and choral response that for him revealed "the living residue among living peoples of those songs, rhythms, ancient and savage dances" uncorrupted by modern customs (F. Meinecke, 1936). His imagination was stimulated particularly by the publication in England of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*... (1760) and other poems purporting to be translations from an ancient Celtic bard, Ossian, and of Bishop Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). In his own collection of *Volkslieder* (1788–89) he included not only "Ossianic" fragments and Scottish and English ballads, but also various published poems, thus demonstrating his conviction that the spirit of the *Volk*, the racial genius, was the true author of all poetry.

With this coloration, interest in folk literature (and the customs that produced or explained it) took various directions, first toward collecting and subsequently cataloguing and organizing the material, and then toward analyzing it, seeking its origins and paths of diffusion.

Before the romantic period some collections of folk songs, customs, sayings, proverbs, and stories had been assembled in an amateur, antiquarian, or gentleman-scholarly fashion, but

they remained more or less unnoticed in commonplace books, travel reminiscences, and diaries. Charles Perrault's *Contes de ma Mère L'Oye* (1697), a collection of French nursery and household tales retold, attracted imitators, but the real surge of folklore publications began with the interchange of translations and issues of songs and tales (Sir Walter Scott; Gottfried August Bürger, Herder, and other German romantics such as Ludwig von Arnim, Johann Ludwig Uhland, and the Grimm brothers; and in the later 19th and early 20th centuries (Giambattista Basile and Constantino Nigra, Nikolai and Svend Grundtvig, Paul Sébillot, Francis J. Child, and Ramón Menéndez Pidal). Child (1882-98) and Svend Grundtvig (1853-1912) particularly tried to establish a canon of the ballads, singling out and cataloguing by number what they considered to be original or parent forms, distinguishing variants and bowdlerizations with their provenance. A similar effort was made by Nigra in Italy.

This material provoked, in addition to the controversy over collective versus individual authorship, the opposing ideas of diffusion versus polygenesis — i.e., (1) that similarities in themes indicate a common origin from which the path of migration may be traced, or (2) that certain themes are so basic and simple that they may have arisen independently in many places.

The work of the Grimm brothers was extremely important in several fields — collection, mythology, and the application of linguistics to folklore (e.g., the collaborative *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Berlin, 1812-15, popularly called *Grimm's Fairy Tales*; *Deutsche Mythologie* by Jakob, 1835). In exposition of their joint philological theories, Wilhelm (1856) stated the diffusionist notion that folk tales demonstrating common themes were of Indo-European origin and were the fragmentary remnants of ancient myths, a point of view attacked by Andrew Lang and others. At the same time he accepted the polygenesis theory, admitting that simple and natural themes might well be of multiple origin. The Grimms' phrase "Das Volk Dichtet" was frequently quoted in support of the communal-creation theory, but later studies have shown that they did not reject individual authorship (cf. P. Barry, "Das Volk Dichtet Nichts," *Bull. Folk-Song Society of the Northeast*, 1934, no. 7, p. 4).

Various other writers applied the discipline of linguistics to the study of folk literature. Theodor Benfey (1809-1881), a German scholar of Sanskrit, so-called "father of the Indianist theory," attempted to find the roots of the most widespread Western tales in Indian prototypes on linguistic grounds. He was followed by Gaston Paris and Emmanuel Cosquin, but came under heavy attack by Joseph Bédier (1864-1938), who stated in *Les fabliaux* (1893) that many themes were so simple that it was fruitless to try to discover a common origin for them. Linguistic studies, however, along with the compilation of linguistic atlases in various languages, have offered enlightenment on the significance and diffusion of symbols, both verbal and graphic.

Two other lines of investigation of folk literature are significant for the art field.

The comparative method for tracing origins is based on the theory that all cultures follow the same evolutionary process, and that therefore elements of an advanced culture may be explained by comparison with similar phenomena in less evolved societies. This was the concept followed by the "anthropological school." An early expression of the anthropological point of view was that of Father Joseph-François Lafitau, a French missionary in Canada, who, in 1724, suggested striking comparisons between beliefs and customs of the Hebrews of the Bible and the Greeks of the Homeric epics and those of the Canadian Indians (*Moeurs des Sauvages Américains comparées aux mœurs des Premiers Temps*). The French anthropological school of Voltaire, Fontenelle, and De Brosses succeeded Lafitau. The English school was led by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, with his theory of "survivals" (*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 1864) and *Primitive Culture* (1871). He was followed by Andrew Lang (one of the first to realize that anthropology, mythology, and ethnography could be mutually helpful to this research), who not only collected fairy tales but also speculated on their significance (*Custom and Myth*, 1884,

and *Magic and Religion*). Lang carried on a long controversy against the comparative mythologists, particularly the solar-mythology trend of Max Müller, and applied Tylor's "survivals" idea to the folk tale. Perhaps most influential of all was Sir James Frazer (1851-1941), with *The Golden Bough* (1890; 12 vols., 1911-15; etc.) and other studies. Special studies in comparative mythology are exemplified by the works of Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831-80), on harvest rites; Max Müller (1823-1900), solar mythology; Elard Hugo Meyer (1837-1908), cult of the dead; and Friedrich von der Leyden, with *Die Deutschen Heldensagen* (1912) and *Deutsche Dichtung in Neuzeit* (1922). This line of research is extremely provocative, but it has its obvious dangers, especially in the field of art: lines of descent from ancient practices and contacts with contemporary primitive societies are difficult to demonstrate, and the possibilities of independent origins, individual originality of artists, and loss or modification of the original significance are often ignored.

The historic-geographic method of tracing relationships and lines of transmission was based on the theory that each song, story, or custom should be subjected to individual historical investigation. The method was formulated by the so-called "Finnish school," beginning with Julius Krohn (1835-88), who attempted to isolate clear-cut motifs of songs and study their variants according to geographical provenance and migration. His theories were published by his son Kaarle (1926), and the method was systematized by Antti Aarne (1910) in a type index of tales, later (1932-36) expanded by Stith Thompson. "Types," as defined by Thompson, "are narratives capable of maintaining an independent existence in tradition" and may contain many motifs. Each repetition of the type constitutes a variation or a version. This method of study offers fruitful suggestions that might be carried over to the study of folk art. Even the controversy between A. Wesselski (1931) and Kaarle Krohn as to the importance of literary versus oral variants in the spread of specific motifs may offer a contribution if paralleled with the sophisticated versus popular treatment of the same art motifs.

Out of this background of conflicting concepts and theories folk art emerged as a separate study with a mixed inheritance comprising various prejudicial and nationalist points of view but also serviceable methods of analysis.

*The rise of interest in folk art.* Various explanations have been offered for the fact that folk art — even though at present it can boast of an extremely vast documentation — has not yet been studied so profoundly on an international level as folk literature. A German scholar, Conrad Hahn (1932), observed that in the early phases of romanticism still-living dialects and forms of poetry could be studied and treated as the continuation of a linguistic development and a creative tradition, as live material, while folk art seemed already in a state of decline. He held that, while everyone spoke and thus helped to mold and spread the language, folk art was limited to a few surviving craftsmen working either with professional aims or, in certain instances, as a pastime. Hahn undoubtedly singled out one aspect of the situation — that there was relatively less folk art than folk language and poetry available for study. The neglect of folk art by the scholars of romanticism was not, however, so much a negative judgment on folk art as a complete ignorance of its existence; critics of representational art at that time gave it no importance whatsoever. The fact remains that when an interest in folk art came to the fore, in the second half of the 19th century, it had its roots, like folklore, in romanticism and was stimulated by the myth of the primitive. The theories about the art grew out of Herder's concepts, and the primary characteristics of art were sought in barbarity and "primitiveness." Diderot, during the Enlightenment, had called the Greek artists "primitive" but when it was accepted (cf. Winckelmann) that the Greeks had produced "the only perfect and absolute art," the so-called "primitives" had to be found elsewhere — and they were sought among those who had preceded that "almost perfect" artistic period of the Italian Renaissance.

This was the point from which the Pre-Raphaelites of Victorian England departed. There had already been an appreciation in Europe of a "primitive" character felt in medieval art (by Blake, the Nazarenes, etc.), but the "primitives" of the Pre-Raphaelites were not the "creators" of the Gothic nor the German and Flemish artists (among whom Frederick Schlegel had found the leaders of a national *Volksgeist*) but rather the craftsman-artists of the Italian Middle Ages. The Pre-Raphaelites thus nourished a lively interest in such products of the pre-Renaissance workshops as richly decorated wooden chair backs, carved chests, and all those objects which began to enrich the bourgeois houses. With these medieval Italian artist-craftsmen as their "primitives," the Pre-Raphaelites set themselves against the empty and academic painting of the time. Dante Gabriel Rossetti declared that drawing, chiaroscuro, and perspective must be eliminated in a painting if it were not to be lost in technical elaboration, and rebelled against the very "rules" which had made the greatness of Renaissance art. William Morris added that art must become social, that is, the expression of a collective "ethos." This esthetic "requirement," concealing a renewed romanticism of a social character (art of the people for the people) and overlooking the fact that the Pre-Raphaelite works were anything but popular, was adhered to by John Ruskin. He attributed great importance to rustic architecture. In the work of master masons who had learned the profession from their fathers and who utilized their models and materials Ruskin distinguished one of the highest, even the highest, forms of folk art. It was thus an interest in craft forms that brought Ruskin to the discovery and understanding of folk art, but, like the Pre-Raphaelites, he saw in folk craftsmanship, not a lifeless and mechanical reproduction, but a production destined to elevate the social life.

Even more than the myth of the primitive, a rising nationalism activated the study of folk art. This was evidenced primarily in the northern countries and in those of eastern Europe in which romanticism took the poetical folk heritage as the symbol and the proof of the national individuality. In late-19th-century Russia the interest in folklore turned toward collecting and studying the materials of folk art with the same fervor that had been dedicated to the songs, stories, and folkways.

In 1860 a Slavic scholar, S. J. Kraszewski, in a study on the art of the Slavs focused on the relationship between national art and folk art. Then, between 1872 and 1884, F. Lay thoroughly went into the matter of folk art and, although limiting his research to the southern Slavs, reviewed the better-known forms of the crafts and the products directly related to the folk environment. In 1877 O. Kossac presented a precise compendium of all those "ornaments" which give life and color to the Ukrainian household. The work of O. W. Kusinoy, published in 1887, is more complete, being an album dedicated to Russian folk art. B. Sojka's work (1887) is a monograph on the models for the embroideries of the Slavic peoples in Moravia.

The works of W. S. Bergstrom for the Nordic countries, of J. Ahrenberg for Finland, and of J. Huszka for Hungary were also inspired by this nationalistic concept of folk art and, like many other works of the same period, tend to glorify folk art. Naturally each scholar tended to place in evidence the distinguishing characteristics of his own nationality, expressed by the artistic products of the "folk genius." Under this political and cultural impetus a number of ethnographic museums sprang up.

The first to approach folk art in a more dispassionate way was Alois Riegl (1858-1905). He extended his interest in the folk arts of his native Austria to the allied arts of Germany, where studies had already been devoted to forms such as rustic architecture. The importance of such works as R. Henning's *Das deutscher Haus und seiner historischer Entwicklung* (Strasbourg, 1882) for the history of the so-called "material culture" of the people cannot be denied, but while constituting a mine of valuable information, they lack a real esthetic point of view. Riegl, as a critic of art rather than a folklorist concerned with establishing a relationship between history, geography, and human works, held that folk art deserved investigation and study without fanaticism and without prejudice. This fact is of con-

siderable importance, for the dignity of folk art was thereby acknowledged in the field of art criticism.

In 1860 Gottfried Semper (*Der Stil in den technischen und tectonischen Künsten*, Munich) had maintained that, among all artistic creations, chronological priority was held by the ornamental and geometric forms — those very forms which in the various monographs on folk art had a clear preponderance over the representational ones. Riegl did not accept this thesis; in one of his major works, *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1893), he held that, though there is a "personality of styles" which, like the artists who create it, lives, dies, or passes, the essential factor in the transformation of styles is the individual. With this awareness of the individual creation Riegl faced the study of folk art in his *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie* (Berlin, 1894); his importance consists in having brought into the light the individual character of folk works, which, even though partaking of the traditional heritage, still animates and continually renews tradition.

In connection with ornament, Riegl mentioned the transmission and elaboration of motifs, proof in itself of a collective ethos. But the transmission — and this is the point — may be passive, while the elaboration, even though taking place within a collective framework, is of a completely diverse nature. This concept follows those applied to the study of folk poetry.

However, the scholars of folk art, unlike Child, Grundtvig, and Nigra, who had transformed the study of folk poetry into a study of each song, with its variations, repetitions, and innovations, continued to consider their subject as a genre to be studied in its entirety and not in its individual examples. A glance at the monographs published between 1894 and 1912 (e.g., those by O. Schwindrazheim, D. Comas, H. Fett, J. Belović, A. Bruck-Auffenberg, M. J. Padaitescu, E. Hannover) shows that the authors did not go beyond a classification or cataloguing of the material collected. The material and the environment were of greater concern than the artists who became "creators" in that material and environment. In other words Riegl's fruitful suggestion as to the individual-traditional relationship in folk art had not yet been adopted in these studies.

Folk art was meanwhile enjoying a fashionable popularity. Innumerable societies interested in the field of the decorative arts thus came into being, and furniture, household objects, and other objects were designed on folk models. The esthetic delight in the "decorative repository" of folk art was reflected, for example, in the English magazine *The Studio*, which published incomplete but useful monographs on Swedish, Icelandic, and Lapp folk art (1910), Austrian and English (1911), Russian (1912), Italian (1913), Dutch (1913), Swiss (1914).

In 1926 the monographs on the folk art of the various European countries published up to that time found a meeting point in H. T. Bossert's album, *L'art populaire en Europe*, with 2,132 plates and 2,100 examples. In the preface Bossert presents a rather desolate picture of the decline of true folk art under the pressure of commercialization following the fashionable rage for folk objects. That which is displayed and sold to the public by great stores, he said, is a weak reflection of what folk art had previously produced. Such objects are no longer evidence of domestic work; rather, they are pieces made in the home by craftsmen who have forgotten the traditions and lost the feeling for the authentic materials and who moreover have had to conform to the requirements of sophisticated taste. Even so, such products may preserve some of the charm and richness of the folk decorative forms. Bossert was convinced that while folk art may nourish the sophisticated craftsman, its inspiration is lost when put to service for demands outside the folk environment.

*Survivals and the magic-religious element.* About the time when ideas on folk art were surrounded by concepts of nationality, certain scholars placed the problem on a different basis, viewing it as a kind of half-historical archive. Sir Edward Burnett Tylor in 1871 (op. cit.) formulated the concept of "survivals," according to which the archaic ideas animating the life of prehistoric and primitive peoples were carried over into the manifestations of folk life, even though at times they had

lost their significance. A Russian scholar, M. T. Volkov, pursuing Tylor's thesis, maintained that Ukrainian folk art was directly derived from prehistoric art.

Prehistoric and primitive art were viewed as magical-religious rather than esthetic in context. Frazer, for example, considered art, all art, as the product of the magical-religious ideas of primitive peoples. This, together with Tylor's "survivals" concept, led to the notion of a close relationship between primitive and folk art, the latter appearing to be in itself primitive art surviving among the folk of the evolved societies.

The art historian, A. Della Seta, set forth this idea in *Religione e arte figurativa*, 1912, taking a position that wavered between Tylor and Frazer. Primitive peoples, says Della Seta, believe that they can influence actions and events by magically treating some part of the body and even by similar magical treatment of figures representing the person. This belief leads to an "elementary production with magical purpose." The life of modern primitive peoples offers innumerable proofs of this, but "examples also exist in the lowest layers of modern society." In both cases the representation would serve an absolutely utilitarian need. Among the humble classes, he said, the use of images for witchcraft or magical purposes is frequent. The motivation is no longer the primitive one of ensuring success in hunting or fishing, but rather that of reversing circumstances such as an unrequited love, a difficult pregnancy, an incurable disease, an implacable hate. The examples of folk representational art with this magical intent do not differ greatly from those of primitive art, for when men are guided by the same ideas they turn to the same means of expressing them, he concluded.

The difficulty with this completely generic interpretation of primitive, prehistoric, and folk art is that it universalizes acts and facts without recognition of aspects that should be individualized. It is true that both primitive and folk art can have magic-religious characteristics, especially to be noted in objects related to certain times of the year, to specific events, to funerary rites, to the agricultural or pastoral life itself, etc. Nor can it be denied that there are certain easily recognizable resemblances between the art of the primitive peoples and that of the folk, for example, in certain carved wooden spoons, in the engravings on horn beakers, etc. However, it seems erroneous to regard primitive, prehistoric, and folk art as a single-headed beast. While primitive art contains elements common to and widespread among all the groups, it includes others which have an absolute individuality. So does prehistoric art. No less varied in types is folk art, to which neither an inert immobility nor an amorphous identity can be attributed. Furthermore, magical-religious requirements are not the only incentive to representation in any one of these arts, and even the objects produced for religious or utilitarian purposes may have an esthetic value, which M. Mauss calls "additional." Finally, any art object is a product of man and an expression of his complete personality—not a fragmentary aspect. The artistic objects of any culture whatsoever, prehistoric or primitive, must then be interpreted within the totality of their relationship with their society. This point is all the more valid for folk art, which develops within the culture alongside a strongly individualized fine art. Therefore attention must be turned to the differences as well as to the similarities, between folk art and the prehistoric and primitive arts, since the similarities are often more apparent than actual.

Della Seta's interpretation was applied specifically to representational art, but he also stated that ornamental geometric art, too, generally was due to religion, citing the decorative motifs of tattoo or body painting among primitive peoples. The works of W. Deonna and R. Corso move in the same direction. Deonna has discussed several common motifs in folk art, such as the crescent, the cross, the tooth, the spiral, the triangle, the rayed or crossed wheel, and declared that the archaeologist and the folklorist should work together toward a comprehension of the themes. The folklorist must document the survival of specific ancient motifs he is interested in; the archaeologist must supply the origins for themes enduring in folk tradition. Corso, investigating additional motifs (Solomon's knot, the heart, siren, etc.), concludes that certain ornamental

motifs, though not necessarily originating simultaneously with the animistic or magical ideas which they were or are meant to represent, must at least have their roots in primitive beliefs. There is no symbol without meaning in art, in religion, in the everyday activity of the primitives, he continues. Ethnology demonstrates and continually stresses this. In discussing Solomon's pentagram, he asks whether its significance to present-day Adriatic fishermen has the same magic symbolism as in ancient times. Lacking actual proof, he says, if retention is nevertheless the operative factor in material of oral tradition, why should it not be supposed that this knot preserves the coercive magical power attributed in the dim past to all knots?

Obviously these ideas lacked historical foundation, and Corso himself had to retract his theory of a static retention of form and meaning, admitting that the symbolism of various Italian folk textiles had come to acquire a new meaning with the passage of time. And this is the essential point: that in time every motif acquires new meanings or may completely lose all significance, becoming exclusively an ornamental motif. No symbol can be interpreted exclusively as a magic-religious concept, for magic and religion are historical realities that are valid within a given time and place. The relationship between concept and symbol must be studied in its historical context.

The ethnographer must be depended on to isolate the area of diffusion of a "sign," to comprehend the magical or religious significance that it takes in each period, and to recognize its evolution. The historical-geographical study must record the use of the theme on folk-art objects and its significance at the time. An example might be a *stecca da busto*, an object that served as a betrothal gift, a small wooden stay carved by a shepherd, in the Museo Pitre, Palermo. At the top is a circle inscribing a rosette; there follows a human head; next to the head are two hearts divided by a chain and enclosed in a garland; between the two hearts is a key; next is the representation of a monstrance on a base with two candles at the sides; another figure represents St. Blaise with his attributes; under the saint are two doves and, finally, a dog. A study of the magical-religious value of the individual "signs" does not explain the whole. The stay is a love letter. The circle indicates the knot that binds the two lovers, as proved by the hearts. The key symbolizes the house. The signs are ancient, but they form a new unity on the stay. The folk artist availed himself not only of the magic signs of circle and heart but also of the symbols and figures of the Christian faith and common motifs of peace and faithfulness (the doves and the dog). The composite sense of the representation encompasses a little-large world of hopes and promises, the useful and the beautiful, expressing what was to be communicated in a manner that was instantly understood.

In tracing folk products back to archaic models and techniques, a Romanian scholar, N. Iorga, did not hesitate to state that Romanian pottery reflects the neolithic vessels widespread in Romania. He considered the designs on Romanian and Balkan pottery to be the same as the geometric stylizations on Cretan and classic pottery. In the Argeș region, he says, potters still follow ancient working methods comparable to those which produced the beautifully glazed fragments excavated by Draghiceanu. A. Tzigara-Samurcas affirms that Romanian pottery reproduces models 2,500 years old.

In Sicily also many contemporary pottery products hark back to ancient models. The ordinary folk plates, the form of handled cooking pot, and the open jug of today have prototypes in the Sicano-Siculan period, which in their turn were grafted onto Greek clay forms. The so-called "candles" with handles and spouts like the anthropomorphous lamps can also be considered descendants of ancient statuettes representing idols or votive figures. Baskets, textiles, etc., present analogous survivals in nearly all countries, but among the products mentioned there are some which have also undergone continuous transformations or innovations. Among the Sicilian lamps some figures follow historical events, for example, the 19th-century ladies in French dress expressing the Jacobin political point of view. Obviously folk art, although tied to a close network of traditional motifs and forms, also produces new creations, and along with tradition the capacity for renewal must be recognized.



*Criticism of folk art and artists.* The concept of folk art as a "primitive" expression has led many scholars and critics to underrate it. Thus Ugo Ojetti (*Ottocento, Novecento e via dicendo*, Milan, 4th ed., 1943) in his essay on Sardinian art said, "So much mystery does too much honor to this, and let's call it that, art. It is nothing but the monotonous infantile or savage lisp, the same the world over, among primitives, children, illiterates, prisoners, and the insane, white, yellow, or black, and significant only for science. By falling in love with it, one can discover that a Lapp decorates his ax handle with a design like that of a Calabrian." And this leads to his final judgment: "By now it's nothing more than history and precious and at times charming documents. Art is something else. As for the artistic capacity of our shepherds, fishermen, woodsmen, and peasants, give me the works of the citified peasants — Giotto or Canova, for example." Obviously Ojetti's common denominator of "infantile or savage lisp" for all these other expressions and folk products is a wild exaggeration. Apart from the historical distinctions between folk and primitive art there is a fundamental difference between these two and the rest. Folk and primitive art are subject to development, whereas the art of children and the mentally disturbed does not develop and the subject almost always is exhausted in "hypotheses." And besides, is there really a "lisp" or even a shepherd's rude whistling in which a Giotto or a Canova does not exist in germ or in genesis? Ojetti thought in terms of absolute values of art, in respect to which any product whose esthetic values reached the heights of fine art ceased for that very reason to be "folk" art. Paradoxically Ojetti was full of enthusiasm when faced with a rare Sardinian carpet from Morgongiori, stating that in an absolute sense the carpet was artistically equal to the best of 14th-century Sienese painting. He did not ask himself how the carpet had been created and forgot the primary necessity of inserting the carpet in an exact historical perspective. Yet he also put forward demands for a methodical study of folk art: "When will they begin to treat so-called folk art with a little critical method, seeking its origins and area, as they have done or sought to do for so-called folk poetry and music?" "And furthermore," he demanded, "what does the adjective folk stuck on to art mean? That textiles, embroideries, carving, jewelry are still in use among the people of a region? Or that these objects and designs were invented and created, no one knows how, by the people of a 100 and a 1,000 years ago! In the first case, the adjective still is logical . . . In the second, justice has for some time been done to the romantic fancy of collective invention . . ."

The denial of collective creation made it easy to deny all creative capacity of the "people," so that folk art came to be thought of as a secondary product of fine art, attention being turned only to the influences, undeniable but not exclusive, which medieval and modern art had exercised on it. As early as 1919 an Austrian folklorist, M. Haberlandt, detaching himself from the position of Riegl, maintained that folk art was a secondary manifestation of a nation's creative output. And more recently (1958) as important an art critic as Bernard Berenson wrote, "I am convinced that popular art is always a derivation from professional individual art, never a spontaneous upsurge from the dumb dull masses of new ways of feeling, seeing and expressing with the voice, the pen or the pencil. . . I have never seen a specimen of popular visual art that was not a copy of a copy of something professional, classical, always suffering degradation that each copyist with the originality of incompetence introduced, until it reached the puerile, the infantile expression of the mass soul. Folk art . . . flourishes where there is no professional art, as in the mountain fastnesses of central Europe and in the Balkans. In the first, gifted peasants carved entertainingly naïve images, in the second, needlewomen plied their craft with eminent success." Still thinking here of folk art in terms of collective creation and not finding it, Berenson dismissed it altogether, even though he recognized a "dignity" in the work of certain gifted peasants.

The fact is that folk art, like poetry, can be collective, of the group in its diffusion and taste, but never in its inspiration and creative elaboration, which is always individual — fruit of a painstaking and careful work, employing a technique handed

down from shepherd to shepherd, from cartwright to cartwright, from painter to painter, and valid not only in the back country but also in the artisan workshops which produce the ex-voto, the sides of wagons, wedding chests, glass paintings, devotional statues, etc. In this sense, it is reasonable to speak of "schools" of folk artists whose history can be followed for generations and which may be likened to the workshops of medieval masters.

Precisely grasping this essential aspect, André Malraux (*Les voix du silence*, Paris, 1956) stated: "Folk art has traditions just as strict as those of museum art. Often it is the language of a particular artist addressed to a particular public." The problem is to delineate these traditions and to single out the individual qualities which, while part of the whole, reveal a specific personality.

Hahm remarked that in folk art as well as fine art the individual stands out as an innovator within the traditional production and that the will and faith to create something original or superior as well as to keep up with the times exist among folk as well as fine artists. H. Focillon (1931), too, regards folk art as the domain of particular individuals who, almost always, even though inspired by an ancient, prehistoric, fine, or what-have-you repertory, impress thereon their own creative imagination. The history of folk art thus takes form as the history of these individuals and their works: the history of artists who, taking their initial techniques from a skilled master, go on to create unique forms within the folk-art environment.

The fact that folk artists are in general anonymous is not contradictory to this view. In fact, folk artists have frequently fully signed their works. Known artists in Italy include Giovanni Matera, creator of a thousand shepherds for manger scenes (preserved partly in the Museo Pitre and partly in the Bayerische Museum in Munich); the Sicilian cart painters Lo Monaco, Cronio, Carrozza, Ducato; and the poster painters of the puppet shows Nicola Faraone, Francesco Rinaldi, and Rinaldo di Cristina. Many dower chests, wardrobes, samplers, ceramic plates, and paper cutouts of central Europe and of the Pennsylvania Dutch are signed and dated. However, the signature (which the folk artist often does not bother to put) or an anagraphic identification of the artist (which folklorists have often neglected to decipher) is secondary to the "personality" of the artist, which makes its appearance through internal characteristics. Compared with nativity figurines created by cultured artists, the Sicilian shepherds by Matera have an expressive tone fitting the folk life to which he belonged. His creations are shepherds of the people, such as the folk might see or imagine.

Having recognized the presence of creative personalities in folk art, students began the attempt to single out the traits in common that characterized them as being folk.

*Characteristics attributed to folk art.* A profitable approach to the characteristics of folk art may be found in Malraux's "particular public" addressed by the folk artist. Joseph Vydra takes this direction in *Des principes constructifs et logiques du génie artistique populaire* (*Art populaire*, I, 1931) when he observes that the folk artist produces his objects only for the folk, and that his products exhibit an ineradicable popular quality which he defines as rhythm and dramatics. The folk artist, for Vydra, may be inspired by nature, but if so he employs rather abstract forms and a rhythm of symmetry and repetition.

There is some truth in these observations. The folk artist does work in an environment ruled by an uncontested artistic tradition, but that tradition itself is continually renewed as it is recalled or accepted. Certain folk artists seem to tend toward abstract form, but that form is often narrative or, in any case, in tune with a reality which is the immediate and daily one of the people. An interesting example is a wooden crucifix, of Veneto origin (see P. Toschi, *Arte popolare italiana*, pl. 479) in which the figure of Christ retains the characteristics of a tree trunk whose upper part ends in branches with the bent head in the center, barely indicated. Yet the crucifix, the Christ, the man become divine, is also clear.

Vydra insists on another characteristic of folk art: the lack of the notion of space, as indicated by the horizontal and vertical arrangement of figures and flat perspective. Moreover, he is



of the opinion that the folk artist begins with the details to arrive at the whole of his composition, that his preference for ornamentation becomes the constructive unit of the composition itself. The facts do not completely support these observations. There are folk artists whose concept of space is the same as that of the fine artists, for example, those who produce ex-votos, cart sides, glass paintings. A kind of magic space rather than any want of a spatial concept might be one of the characteristics of folk art. Often in this magic space the reality of the world is confused with a reality which is that of the dreamworld — of a "lost paradise" and therefore of innocence. The folk artist at times paints and sculptures as if telling a fairy tale, which has a reality of the unreal.

Conrad Hahm says that in folk art there is no essential and realistic faithfulness to nature, but rather an interpretation of the subject, an element of free creative representation, independent of the model taken from nature. Hahm adds that representations of manger scenes and saints, pottery figurines, glass animals, and embroidery models mostly adhere to nature only in an intrinsic symmetry — an abstraction which is suited to the place and individual iconographic combinations rather than to actual likeness. It is more important to include a saint's attributes than to make an accurate portrait. Fine-arts traditions requiring a specific technique for a specific material need not be observed in folk art. Models in a given material are transferred indifferently to another material; incised crockery ornaments may imitate the braided silhouette of the basket; inlay may give the effect of braiding or ribbon work.

Hahm's study was continued by P. Toschi (1951), who points out the following characteristics of folk art: (1) lyric synthesis, shown in the choice of typically representational lines and the rejection of all accessory elements; (2) simplification of lines, colors, volumes, so that shading is eliminated; (3) exaggeration for expressive reasons, giving rise to deformations, to accentuation of certain elements, so that, for example, the principal personage, the king, the saint, is proportionally larger; (4) materialization of movements, of sounds, of sensations, of ideas; (5) stylization and synthesis of motifs to create decorative elements; (6) repetition of lines or of entire figures or spots of color for intensive and rhythmical purposes.

These characteristics may, at least in part, apply to the works of individual folk artists, but the distinguishing features are still to be sought in the particular public to which folk art is directed and in the midst of which it is found. Hahm, Malraux, and Vydra all agree that folk art cannot be studied apart from the environment in which it exists.

Benedetto Croce (1933) attempted to separate the folk creation in literature from its environment. He arrived at the conclusion that a cultured artist may be "folk" in tone and that a folk artist may be "cultured" in tone. Transferring this notion to the figural arts, S. Bottari (1956) treated as folk art the wooden ceiling of the Palazzo dello Steri, in Palermo, with its historical figures by Cecco di Naro, Darenio da Palermo, and Simone da Corleone, on the ground that these painters came from the people and used a popular language. But at this point a problem arises: comparing a painting by Cecco di Naro with a cart painting by Cronio, one is aware immediately that the art of Cecco di Naro fits into a cultured tradition of which it is a reflection, while Cronio's work, even though certain "cultured" motifs enter in, belongs to a dimension of taste and an idiom differing from the cultured one. And what matters is not the elementariness of technique or intellectual content, but the particular character of this elementariness in the works of the folk environment. It is not possible to attribute the term "folk" to works conceived outside this environment, which, if anything, testify to an educated "folkloristic" taste. Folk quality, as M. Barbi notes in reference to poetry, is given by the vastness and intensity of the tradition, which is diffused through the folk ranks and is the heritage of all, though transformed in the course of time by individual modifications concordant with a common environment of tastes and culture. In this sense folk art is not a poor relative of fine art, but a product of a different historical situation and a different reality. This reality is that of the folk for whom art is essentially practical.

For an adequate examination of the artistic products of the people it is not enough to say that here there is art and here there is none. The artistic products of the people conform to the needs and everyday facts of the domestic or working life and may include the magic-religious element. In every case they deeply engage the emotional life of the producer and the user or observer. An amulet or a religious object, a gift or a pledge, the object, whatever it is or may become, is simultaneously a fact in art and a document in the history of the folk custom and spirit. In this identification of the historical environment with the representational expressions arising therein, the art historian and the ethnologist must meet, setting up new criteria and new principles for evaluating and distinguishing folk art as art and folk art as document. There is no doubt that from the collaboration of the ethnologist with the art critic the creation and diffusion of folk art will be illuminated.

Giuseppe COCCHIARA

**THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS.** With folk art being studied, as it now is, on a world-wide basis, the environmental setting presents highly diverse details. To approach it in general terms one might first consider under what conditions art "sophisticates" and then attempt to determine how folk art lies outside them, for these two streams are not completely separate. The most obvious circumstance is the accumulation of wealth and power, which permits a privileged individual (or class) to command and import rather than to produce the products he wants, to vastly extend and enrich his possessions, and to enlarge his contacts with the outside world. This is a process which sets in, obviously, as soon as may be. Already in the primitive society there is the chief's stool, the king's bed, the medicine man's regalia, and in the primitive cultures a part of the art that is folkloristic on these grounds may often be distinguished (cf. the two beds in PL. 425). The existence of class privilege does not mean that the art of the lower classes is automatically folk. The objects used by the poor may be simply poorer or simpler versions of those used by the wealthy. The use of poorer means, however, is likely to force a difference in the product; in Gupta India bright-colored clay images and plaques were made by the poor, whereas the wealthy had statues of stone or ivory; in early Mohammedan pottery luster and enamel painting were used only in high-grade ware, the peasant ware being limited to incising and underglaze techniques; in Oriental countries the embroidery of the rich is often paralleled by a use of batik among the poor. As soon as different types of objects become required among different classes (the shepherd's pipe or the bow and arrow as compared with lute or sword), and a different style is applied to universal objects such as dress, a separate folk art has tended to appear.

Religious sponsorship has been another strongly sophisticating influence in art, a fact made clear by the various art fields named for the predominant religion — Early Christian, Buddhist, Mohammedan, etc. — and by the importance of Catholicism in Renaissance art. Here there is a folk distinction which parallels the basis of wealth: the great churches and temples commanded the services of the best artisans of the time, often drawn from other, even distant, places, whereas the rural churches or shrines and their appurtenances were constructed by local craftsmen. These, and the religious images carved for the common home, are nearly always folkloristic. Even when local craftsmen were attempting to copy certain famous images, often from memory or recopying versions many times removed from the original, the "replicas" emerged as a folk style.

However, there are also other important elements in religious folk art. The organized religions tended to develop strict canons and rigid iconographical systems; for example, neophytes in India were subjected to an arduous formalized art training, and the Byzantine iconography became rigidly prescribed. The great majority of the people, while requiring religious objects, could hardly be aware of these complicated specifications; they proceeded to evolve a more mingled art, perhaps attaching a religious theme to a practical or everyday object, suiting it to the use, or decorating religious objects with symbols and designs retained from ancient beliefs. Purely local legends emerged,

as well as local deities or saints, and even personal events gave rise to a folk form — those ex-votos (PL. 353; IV, PL. 209, col. 376) depicting escapes from disaster and hung in churches as a token of gratitude. (They are paralleled perhaps by the individual calligraphic prayers hung in Oriental temples.) Furthermore, the objects associated with earlier beliefs, such as charms or masks for revels, were, like the beliefs themselves, not totally abandoned. See DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES.

Examples of such religious folk art seem to have appeared wherever a predominant religion has become the focal point of elaborate art forms. In Spain, for example, one may find rural versions of the Virgin of Montserrat or of Pilar (a folkloristic "replica"), or a Pieta in which the figure of Christ has movable joints (a technique associated with homemade toys and applied to the religious theme), or, though more rarely, nude female figures repeating the ancient fertility or mother-goddess theme. The Byzantine Museum of Athens has devoted a room to "popular icons" which, according to the museum's description, "has taken its name from a collection of icons representing popular traditions," as well as miracles and lives of the saints. Such subjects are included as Mary tearing her hair before the body of Christ, votive offerings of persons saved from danger, the wheel of life (a widespread symbol), and St. Christopher the Dog-headed (a version of the saint which, one may deduce, is related to earlier dog-headed human representations such as the Egyptian Anubis).

Any development which tends to bring one art style into contact with others — urbanization, the expansion of trade and communications — becomes thereby a sophisticating factor. When an art culture evolves, it does so around hubs — imperial courts, centers of religion or learning or production, ports of trade — and it spreads along the most accessible routes. The more remote areas may be no less active artistically, but the art remains less touched by outside influences and therefore more traditional and more prone to develop purely local characteristics. Thus there are not only "peasant" or "rural" arts, but provincial styles peculiar to specific outlying areas; Moravia, for example, developed a peasant type of majolica with indigenous motifs, and Rajput painting drew heavily on folklore. Provincial art is not necessarily folk, for such areas may have their own local potentates who dispense patronage and import art, but they have been fertile for the production of folk art and even the wealthier products often have a folkloristic quality.

As isolation is vanquished, or when outlying areas develop a sophisticated style of their own, the conquest is not complete. Little "pockets of survival" are left behind where traditions may last longest and developments are most sharply local, and these are those well-defined "regional" folk arts referred to above as the backbone of our comprehension of the subject. This phenomenon seems to be due primarily to geographical isolation, and it occurs characteristically in inaccessible mountain or island areas. However, psychological factors may also be involved, such as the religious motives which separated the Pennsylvania Amish Mennonites from neighboring groups, and the desire of French Canadians, in contact with compatriots of English derivation, to preserve their traditions. Any racial or national minority, while tending to be absorbed in the general pattern, will retain specific ritual objects and motifs; this element can be seen in Jewish folk art and in the festival arts of Chinese and Italian Americans, while among gypsies the caravans, apparel, and some musical instruments are distinctive.

When speaking of isolation, it is not to be assumed that contact is entirely lacking. In a folk art one speaks rather in terms of "limited contact" with its sophisticated counterpart, from which it is likely to draw from time to time and in common with which it has, at the very least, the same original sources and the same large cultural framework. American ceramic artists continued to borrow from such new European imports as they were able to see; they adopted the pierced technique, for example, and converted the cavalier motif into the Revolutionary soldier.

A significant variation in the pattern of geographical isolation is found among people who, contrary to being passed

by in the spreading sophistication of art, deliberately left a more or less developed society for life in undeveloped places, where they evolved what might be called a "colonial" folk art. This is to be distinguished from the art referred to above as "provincial" (that of outlying sections within a nation or region) in that the products of people who have migrated are subject to two particular influences: the adaptation required when transferring traditions, with probably some developed art skills, to more elemental and deprived circumstances, and the contact with primitive people already entrenched there and having perhaps a distinctive art of their own. This contact has not only a possible effect on the settlers' art (whether minimal as in eastern United States, or notable as in Mexico), but also on the indigenous art, which becomes subject to acculturation. A process may then be observed by which the primitive art, or aspects of it, may be diverted into a folk stream. The Philippine natives were taught embroidery by Spanish nuns and the product became well-known in world markets, but the technique was also incorporated in the evolving local folk costume. The Mexicans, charmed by Spanish fireworks, created for their festivals huge firework castles which exploded into images of saints and other motifs.

These two aspects of the colonial situation, which mingle in varying degrees and ways, combined with the diverse origins of the settlers themselves, can produce highly varied folk arts within the same general area. The most significant example from the past is the folk art of the Americas (see below), but as the still-remaining undeveloped areas of the world are penetrated, unless the penetration is so rapid as to eliminate them, conditions favorable for new folk arts may emerge. Like provincial art, colonial art is not necessarily all "folk," but the great bulk of it is likely to be so for some generations.

It is natural that groups of people in an isolated region should develop a homogeneous style of the kind associated with folk, but such a style can develop among groups of a different kind altogether, and this accounts for the folk art which may be produced in urban centers or in the shadow of the palace or cathedral. People plying the same trade have a community of interest, skills, and contact which makes possible the evolution of folk-art forms. An example is the coopers' art common to the wine- and beer-producing areas in the heart of Europe. The carved bars of the huge barrels, the bungs in the shape of mermaid or fish, the figure of a jovial and rotund drinker astride the barrel may be found over a considerable area, but primarily within this craft. These people could have seen sophisticated art (the beer barrels went also to the *schloss*), but it was outside the sphere of their daily lives, within which their own particular form of art developed. Another example is the scrimshaw of American sailors, who in their long hours at sea evolved a common style of carving the material (whalebone) which came to their hands. The home arts of women (the weaving, embroidery, sewing, lace, culinary creations, etc.), which have proved among the most durable of folk-art forms, demonstrate patterns and techniques which permeate various social levels.

It appears evident that the communal character widely attributed to folk art cannot be defined strictly in terms of groups that are strongly knit in all respects. Art is visual, and a style can even evolve when people have in common only the fact that they see each other's product and proceed to create along similar lines. Chalked or scratched graffiti seem to appear almost miraculously on the sidewalks and blank walls of the world, and with remarkable similarities and a highly folkloristic content. The motifs are often ancient — the rayed sun, heart, stick figure, sex symbol, the simple square or circle given features and limbs — but current themes from a comic strip or the latest style in dress can also spread rapidly. It is thought that this art may belong in the special category of children's art, but it can appear also in a strictly adult locale. The significant factor in the dissemination is that it appears in public places, where it is readily seen and quickly imitated by anyone with a piece of chalk and a like turn of mind.

The circumstance which is generally supposed to have sounded the death knell for folk art is industrialization. Certain

products which require elaborate technical equipment and knowledge — such as decorated and fired ceramics, popular prints for broad distribution, some textile arts, vehicles combining wood and metal, buildings on a larger scale — have always threatened to emerge from the folk category even if, in their simpler or original phases, they belong in it; a tendency arises to organize the use of the equipment and to divide the skills among workmen specializing in different steps of the process, and here folk art soon begins to leave off. Conversely, products that are not industrially practical but still are needed or even create a commercial demand tend to maintain considerable folk quality.

The organization of production began long ago, in the Near Eastern ceramic and rug industries, for example, and under the European guild system, but the folk product developed alongside or even in part within it. With mechanization, however, the machine-made product began to take over much of the function of art in providing both the visual ornaments of life and the practical products required — even the religious objects. Finally in contemporary times the sophisticated have acquired art as always, but to supplement the industrial product, and the unsophisticated, finding their old techniques too laborious in an industrialized society, becoming indifferent to or even ashamed of their creations as crude and old-fashioned, have made do with or embraced the machine-made product. Whether a living folk art can exist under today's industrialized conditions, which are rapidly invading the remaining folk areas, is a moot point. There are some who seek for it in such forms as the typical wedding pose of early photography.

As one follows such diverse threads it appears that every sophisticated culture is likely to be accompanied by folk manifestations, provided someone takes the trouble to analyze them, and this may be true. However, the field is limited by a factor inherent in the word "folk": that is, true folk art emerges with an identifiable character common to a number of examples produced by a number of people (even though an individual stamp may be evident), and at the same time with recognizable differences from its sophisticated counterpart. Random and isolated examples are not generally called folk, but are left in the anonymous brackets of the culture as a whole, though some of them now unrecognized may be subjected to future scrutiny.

There are inevitably many "gray areas" in the folk field because, however isolated the region, there is some degree of interaction with or derivation from the nonfolk, and in some cases such as urban folk arts the two are contiguous. However, the nature of the environment presupposed for folk art permits the exclusion of certain manifestations. One is the general category of "amateur art," for the typical amateur does not operate within the limitation which frames the true folk art; he either participates in the fine arts on a noncommercial basis, or imitates the fine arts with inadequate skill. Even so, when cultivated individuals are subjected to isolation or deprivation, they too may evolve folklike forms. An entertaining instance, produced actually within a highly intellectual atmosphere, may be found on the walls of the students' prison at Heidelberg University. Here for two centuries prior to 1914 student offenders were kept apart for two to four weeks, and the various rooms eventually became completely covered with paintings and inscriptions made with candle smoke, soot, and crude water colors, sometimes framed with mixed bread and wax. The characteristic motif, the black silhouette of head and shoulders, was repeated in superposed groups, with a thin white outline separating profiles and lapels; blank white collars and bright-colored caps provided the only accents. This is perhaps a minor example except that it demonstrates in miniature certain salient features often present in the folk-art process: isolation in a limited group, the absence of theoretical training (since these were not art students), the resort to whatever materials came to hand, the evolution of a common style, and "inherited tradition" in the repetition from one group of inmates to the next. Prisoners' art, in fact, is common, though not always preserved. Another example is at the Caetani castle in Sermoneta, Italy, where a prevailing motif is the mili-

tary costume of the day and the technique is far more delicate. As late as World War II attention was called to the bone carving of American prisoners of war.

Another exclusion from the true folk field is the product of revivals and imitations. Those artists and designers whose work proceeds in a sophisticated environment, but who acquire a folk style or make use of folk themes and methods, are not thereby converted into folk artists — nor are those people who are retrained in the vanishing arts of their antecedents, as often happens in the interest of producing a commercially desired product, or under public or charitable auspices, to create labor for groups not supported by modern industry. In the latter case the product may duplicate earlier folk examples, but the resurrection of a living folk art, which responds to the needs and even the whims of the people themselves, is not likely to be accomplished.

One of the most difficult of the "gray areas" is the point at which commercialization affects a true folk product to such an extent that it is no longer folk. It is a platitude that the folk artist produces his objects for his own needs. This is not strictly true, for barter and sale are practiced very readily even in remote tribal societies, and it is common in folk art that one man will make the pots, another forge the iron, and another adorn the birth certificates for the entire community. There are even itinerant journeymen who go from place to place, like the American or the Chinese portrait limners. Products may even be bought up for the sophisticated market for some time without losing their basic character. Commercialization sets in when the product changes to suit extraneous demands; it may then often still be called "folk" (for this is at present a popular term likely to be diverted to the service of commerce or propaganda), but it is no longer within the field of folk art. In Sardinia a true *bisaccia* (saddle or carrying bag), hand-spun, hand-woven, and suiting its original function, may now be bought only off a donkey's back or a man's shoulder, though a commercialized variety is readily available — generally smaller, highly but repetitively decorated, made of commercial yarn, or even adapted to plastic handles. The people themselves use the former, made by each wife for her husband, and make the latter for sale. In a true folk art, even if the product is sold, there is no basic divergence between the tastes and needs of the maker and the consumer.

A form of commercialization can also set in within a folk group, without outside impetus, if a particular type of object is needed in quantity. An example is the crucifix, universally worn in Catholic countries, and found even in remote places in quantity-produced versions, such as stamped metal. A step-up in production inevitably affects the product, though the result may be to take it out of the "art" category (by degradation) rather than out of the "folk" category. However, as methods and standards change, it may be seen that the folk product of itself can evolve into what is at least one aspect of the sophisticated environment — the commercial product. Minor religious objects and such products as stamped textiles are natural victims of this process. When quality is low, the distinction between "folk" and "nonfolk" becomes minor for the art field.

There is also a distinction to be made between things made by the folk for themselves and things made simply for folk consumption, a respect in which practice has been inconsistent. In contemporary times it is quite clear that the machine-made mask or hand of Fatima is not folk art. In earlier art there are a number of things — such as the popular prints from France, Japan, and many other places, the *Biblia pauperum*, the Staffordshire earthenware, or American cast chalkware — which have often been called folk art but are not actually of folk genesis. The product may be so folkloristic, both in style and manner of production, that the inclusion is warranted. Examples like the *Biblia pauperum* (VI, PL. 403), which was a deliberate utilization of graphic material to convey religious instruction to the illiterate, have had such a profound influence that they cannot be ignored; they have served to inject from the sophisticated into a vein of folk art some of its essential thematic material. However, the rapidly increased dissemination of a variety of products for the so-called "masses" has

given rise, especially in America where the phenomenon has been most acute, to a tendency to distinguish between "popular" and "folk." Thus the early comic strip is a popular art, which could never be considered folk, and the word "folk" rather than "popular" is generally applied in America to the type of art under discussion here.

*The effect on the product.* The environmental limits, as described above, have considerable elasticity (more than some scholars are disposed to allow), but it is still evident that the folk are cut off from the sophisticated to some degree — whether in the clear-cut terms of geographical isolation, or as a result of poverty, class, trade, or way of life. They are contained within a narrower world, where habits are different and where they are deprived not only of wider contacts, access to changing ideas, and more formal learning, but also of the range and wealth of materials which may be available elsewhere. These lacks are readily apparent to sophisticated eyes, but there is no particular evidence that the people are aware of them as deprivation (such awareness might suggest a step outside the folk frame) and they do not necessarily indicate an extreme of poverty; a group may achieve considerable well-being and individuals may become well-to-do and still remain contained within the folk environment. The art is not necessarily less rich because of its circumstances — in fact, it contains many ingenious solutions unknown in the sophisticated arts. However, it is different. A stamp has been put upon it which causes us to bracket together as "folk" various widely separated arts in spite of the fact that they are at the same time clearly marked by the different cultures to which they pertain.

The environmental effect which has attracted most attention is that of "retention," that is, the predictable fact that ancient or earlier motifs, themes, products, and methods endure longer among people more remote from centers of progress and change. This effect is so conspicuous that the folk is often called "traditional" art, but it is more precise to recognize that tradition is strong in all societies and to use that word for traditional elements wherever they may occur. The traditional elements adopted into folk art can be repeated in innumerable examples for long periods of time, and this unbelievably patient repetition partly accounts for the "decay" assumed on the part of some critics (though it is always well to remember that the artist himself sees few examples, the historian many). Actually, the very condition which gives tradition so strong a hold (isolation) at the same time favors a freshening factor — those sharply local or personal developments referred to in connection with religious folk art. It also furthers considerable independence from extraneous demands, and folk art at its best represents a lively meeting place between traditional themes and original inventiveness, spurred by an occasional but potent outside stimulus.

The problems of tracing the course of traditional motifs are dealt with below, but it may be noted that the retained elements in folk art are subject to two almost contradictory processes. Folk art can reduce an ancient or an adopted sophisticated idea to a formula, making it more and more schematized; or it can reactivate and humanize a concept which has been previously theoretical and abstract. The former occurs particularly in decoration and in such techniques as weaving, basketry, or lace (where the methods themselves induce conventionalized forms), but it also occurs throughout the art. The tree of life may become simply the suitable thing to put on a coverlet, or a floral design on a cupboard panel, and the motif is then repeated out of pure association or visual attractiveness, its meaning blurred or lost. The artists take for granted the "rightness" of the designs to which they are accustomed and modify them, often strikingly, but not so much by intent as simply in the process of reusing them.

But the second process can also occur when a theme captures the popular imagination or when, instead of being merely a shape from an alien world, it relates closely to the human situation. This process can appear vividly in medieval art (a period for which discussion has not generally dealt with a segregated folk product, but which is rich in the folkloristic).

The Rhine Valley artists represented the Wise and Foolish Virgins with their lamps, as authenticated in the Bible story, but they enriched the theme with the addition of a folk-invented character, the "seductor," who was obviously responsible for a kind of foolish behavior well understood among the folk. But, in turn, in the crawling creatures climbing on the back of the seductor they returned to a traditional symbol of sin. The story of Aristotle and Phyllis inspired a typical comical portrayal — a woman with a lash riding the back of a man on all fours — which must have been irresistibly attractive in a society dominated no doubt by men. In the same way a crude folk crucifix, painted at a time when the usual sophisticated product might seem mannered and empty, could convey all the horror of a human being who realizes that he is actually going to die — an impact which is not usual, certainly, but can be found. The development of the nativity crib is an outstanding example of this revitalizing and humanizing process. In art, as in carol and drama, the folk became less concerned with elaborating the arrival of the exotic kings and their gifts and dealt more and more with peasants, villagers, and shepherds dressed in the local costume and bearing gifts of intimate human value — not jewels, but "a jacket to keep the baby warm." These moving little figures convey, along with humble reverence for the Christ, human concern for a peasant woman delivered of a child in impoverished circumstances. These figures were joined by others, gaily illustrating all the activities of village or country life, until finally the frame of the whole community was set around the holy event. In this form, then, the art became "retained," as it still is today, with thousands of figures hand-painted, and from the same molds, but on a commercial basis.

Such periodically original and highly creative elements, which account for the most prized examples of folk art, are not to be forgotten when we speak of the conventionalizing effect of the long-repeated tradition. However, "stylization" is a prevalent factor that would be considered in any esthetic analysis of the art, and it is furthered by the environment in yet another way. Just as people in constant contact may communicate with few words, a narrow, self-contained group may produce an art which is recognizable among them without extensive literal documentation. The Chinese "portraits of the dead," like the early American portraits, could make use of largely stylized elements (often ready-painted in advance) and still with the addition of a few salient features be accepted as satisfactory portrayals of individuals. A theme like Adam and Eve in the Garden (PL. 348) could be progressively conventionalized until one finds (e.g., in appliqué on American quilts) two silhouetted frontal figures, no longer necessarily nude, on either side of a sticklike tree. The theme, while no doubt unmistakable at the time of its evolution, might (or might not) subsequently lose its meaning even within the folk group and may historically become hard to identify. The point at which such things have lost their meaning within the folk group itself is hard to document, for at the time of production there was no interest in such problems. Studies paralleling themes in art with survivals in verbal form are invaluable in this connection.

A fundamental effect of environment may be sought in the types of products that the people are impelled to create — and it is commonly said that the bulk of folk art comprises useful objects. In a setting where typically people must produce the necessities of life for themselves, by hand, the useful is first served and will continue to occupy a major portion of the craftsman's time. In describing specific areas of folk art, it is natural to single out products that are distinctive or more elaborated, but a substantial part of any folk art, whether singled out or not, will be associated with such indispensable products as shelter (PLS. 337, 354), clothing (PLS. 346, 347; IV, PL. 32), furniture (PLS. 338, 340-342, 452), and utensils (PLS. 343, 344, 350, 351). In impoverished or stringent circumstances the art quality may not go far beyond the basic design of the object itself, as may be seen in the unadorned furniture of the first American homes. However, the craftsman who makes these objects has in his hands the tools and the skills they require,

and as soon as time permits he is fairly sure to elaborate or decorate them and to begin creating other objects with these tools and materials.

Characteristically, a useful trade may be accompanied by an artistic manifestation: the blacksmith who shoes the horses will also create decorative ironwork; the tinmith may add a cut-tin silhouette to the chimney pot; the potter may produce everyday ware with a simple slip along with elaborately ornamented plates sometimes signed and dated. Cloth is embellished with woven patterns, embroidery, or appliqué (PLs. 346, 347). An inn sign in the Black Forest becomes an intricate bas-relief. A boat may have an eye on the prow which sees over the water, a carved figurehead (PL. 352), or a painted St. Anthony on the rudder. Among useful objects that have provided distinctive examples of folk art at one place or another, to name a random few, are banners, beehives (PL. 336), buckles (PL. 340), certificates, clock weights, combs, cradles (PL. 342), cutting boards (PL. 338), fans, flour sacks, hitching posts, lace boards (PL. 339), mangles (PL. 335), musical instruments (q.v.; PL. 351), netsukes, pails (PL. 343), pins, pouches, powderhorns, shaving kits (PL. 341), spoons and spoon racks (PLs. 339, 343), tiles (PL. 351), trade cards, vestments, walking sticks, water jars (PL. 350), weathervanes, whips, yokes (PLs. 335, 343). Boxes have many special forms (PLs. 339, 341, 343). The basic commodity of bread has evoked literally hundreds of shapes, many symbolic, and many requiring, for example in the execution of delicately carved molds (PL. 348), a high degree of art. There are fortune cakes, wedding cakes, fertility breads, Easter and Christmas specialties, and many more. (See IV, col. 378.)

Beyond this a vigorous art goes on to a variety of objects created for entertainment, such as dolls and toys, kites, puppets (PL. 345), roundabouts, and valentines, for personal adornment (PL. 347), or even apparently for the sheer pleasure of making them, like the ship constructed inside a bottle or the intricate Japanese wooden puzzles. The folk environment is one in which the amusements, like the necessities, are not extraneously provided, and the people rely heavily on their own handiwork to pass the time. Outstanding in this category are the figurines — carved or painted, molded of clay or papier-mâché, made of straw, or assembled of various materials. Such miniatures have been favorite objects in practically all art. In folk art they are seldom exotic (as are the elegant shepherdesses fancied in sophisticated rococo ceramics), freer in choice of material, and often characterized, notably in Germany and England, by robust humor and a strong sense of caricature.

Of more serious nature are the objects associated with the prevailing religion, with traditional beliefs and efficacious practices, and with the customs of the people, especially those pertaining to the seasonal or the life cycle. These objects may be called "useful" in that they serve basic functions (for it is obligatory in the society that its ceremonies be observed), but they do not parallel the ordinary utilitarian. They are particularly subject to retention and are often of high symbolic content. The religion is served by an art that extends from the church or shrine itself with its adornment and contents, wayside statues, and crosses (PL. 350; I, PL. 393), to the common forms of the sacred image, such as the countless domestic Sivas of southern India or the household saints (PL. 353) and crucifixes of Europe. The more ancient traditional beliefs account for a variety of objects used to bring good luck or to afford protection against evil forces: amulets (VI, PL. 277), shoe-shaped pastries offered at the wedding, the Jewish mezuzah on the doorpost, the Chinese yang-yin hung over the door, the Rice Mother symbol hung on the East Indian granary. Decoration itself can have this amuletic quality: the decorations on the Baltic doorpost protect the home; the motifs on bells, like the noise itself, frighten away spirits; the designs on special bed curtains in Austria assure a successful confinement. The symbols painted on Pennsylvania Dutch barns are assumed to have had this protective origin, though the belief has not been documented among the Pennsylvanians and may have been lost in earlier times. Such motivations often dictate color and can affect the choice of materials; an Irish churn must have a handle of rowan wood, which is antipathetic to spirits

that can curdle milk. In sophisticated art, ornament is in large part exactly that — something which is added for looks alone — but folk decoration is often applied with meaning.

The change of seasons and the cycle of birth, marriage, and death are of vast importance in folk life. The newborn child requires the christening robe, the birth certificate, the symbolic gift. The bridal bed, like the bride and groom, will be specially decked; the bridal spread may be worked with the Eight Emblems of Happy Augury in China, or elsewhere with the tree of life, or pairs of mating birds; special "marriage toys" are made for the bridegroom in India. The dead may not always be honored with a funerary statue (PL. 352), or with such an elaborate art as the paper models of equipment burned by the Chinese and their ornate processional regalia, but there is at least, even if crude, the carved marker for the grave (PL. 339). See ESCHATOLOGY, col. 298.

Festivals (universally associated with the seasons and the religious calendar, but also with special dates in each nation) are prominent in the folk environment, not only for their roots in tradition, but as rare opportunities for assembly and amusement, requiring noisemakers, revel costumes and masks (q.v.; PL. 350), effigies, processional objects (PL. 349), fireworks, and special foods. So strong is this hold that festival objects, often homemade, continue to endure in the most sophisticated society, as in the celebration of Halloween, Christmas, and Easter. A still common example is the Easter egg. The egg, a natural ancient fertility symbol (eaten as one of many ceremonial foods, rolled in the practice of mimetic magic), entered the art category as the practice evolved of decorating it for the Christian Easter. The designs may be produced by painting, by application of wax or of dye with wax reserve in one or many colors, or reserved with flowers and leaves or paper cutouts, by scratching or etching, by offset from scraps of colored cloth, or by appliques of cloth, reed pith, tassels, hair, etc. The decoration is prevalently geometric, often incorporating life symbols such as flower or serpent, and the same techniques may be employed in many diverse regions (v. the collection at Basel). This example demonstrates the pervasiveness of folk art and some of the complicated aspects of its study. Ancient sources (in the fertility theme), permeation of a wide area, sophisticated influences (in the attraction of the theme to the church Easter), and survival in the sophisticated world are all manifest in this small object.

The form which naturally suggests itself as practical for a definite purpose serves to give diverse folk arts points in common. Thus the simple wooden collars made for domestic animals in Sicily or Germany or Canada have strong resemblances. From there we proceed, however, to an amazing variety of distinctive regional gear — the horse collar of bright-colored beads in Greece, hung with medallions and tassels (either decorative or amuletic), the highly patterned woven gear of the donkeys in Spain, further elaborated for the horses used in the bull ring, the tooled or braided leatherwork of Latin America, or the famous horse brasses of England. In all these cases a great deal of workmanship has been lavished on the object, far beyond the needs of utility — in some cases converting the useful into the purely decorative. The Pennsylvania Dutch "show towel," an impressive demonstration of the needleworker's skill and produced for that purpose, was naturally never used as a towel, and examples of crewel work and embroidered samplers were often hung on the walls. It is significant that the art is applied more often to such practically evolved forms than to forms independently created to serve as art. Thus we may say, not that folk art is limited to the utilitarian, which is not true, but that it evolves in considerable part in connection with the useful, or from originally useful forms.

This does not eliminate the penetration, into the sphere of folk art, of sophisticated types of objects. Many of the latter (a wigstand, for example) naturally would not create a folk demand, but others are readily adopted. There are many folk parallels of the basic fine-arts forms of painting and sculpture, not merely as applied to the useful, but also as independent objects (PL. 336). Here too, typical folk themes emerge which are intimately related to the circumstances of life. There are



naturally portraits, many paintings of a man's own house, inn, or farm, as well as representations of local events, such as a fire, or famous local sights, such as the Japanese popular prints of Mt. Fuji. Even more interesting is the thematic material relating to the habits of the people; an outstanding example in Alpine regions is the depiction of the *Alpfahrt* (leading the cattle up to the spring pastures), in which separated rows of stylized cattle, nose to tail, are depicted back and forth across the panel, often intertwined with traditional decorative plant motifs. These paintings illustrate very clearly how a folk art may differ from a fine-arts style, in this case, 18th or 19th century. A contemporaneous fine-arts painting of cattle in the Alps would show a complete landscape, following the laws of Western perspective, with the cows individualized and shown in various positions. It is obvious that two quite different concepts of representation are at work here. The folk example may either ignore the landscape background or make use of a so-called "primitive" time sequence to depict in separated landscape elements the successive stages of the journey. Formalized rather than individualized depiction, as in the case of the cows, is often considered adequate; on the other hand, extraneous decorative elements may be added at will.

In such cases the environmental factor seems to be operating in this way: while the folk artist may share various forms, as well as themes, techniques, and materials, with the sophisticated arts, he does not have access to the sophisticated point of view or its background of rules and techniques, such as perspective, the study of optics, analyses of pigments, or theories of composition, and he is therefore not guided by them; his techniques have evolved in the practical and local process of creating the serviceable or of communicating with his particular audience. Representation in the sophisticated sense of a detailed presentation of the visual aspects of subjects within a framework of perspective has not so often been a primary concern of folk art (though it occurs), and the product may seem by sophisticated standards least successful in this respect; on the other hand, the transference of ideas through the visual medium is operative but within the limit of folk concepts. Here we are confronted with a basic critical dilemma: because folk art exists on the fringes of the sophisticated and borrows many forms from it, it invites comparison with the sophisticated; but because it retains much of an older viewpoint, and operates in a different environment, often with different purposes, it is not properly subject, or at least not wholly subject, to sophisticated standards.

The effect of environment on the processes and materials of the art offers easier ground for analysis. There is a great variety of tools, for art as well as other purposes, these too mostly made by hand, but the equipment for elaborate construction is not available, and the folk artist, working at most with the help of an apprentice or a few neighbors, cannot overcome this lack by organizing an army of workmen, as was the case with the royal pyramid or the cathedral. A substitute is therefore found for more difficult processes; a stone grave marker (PL. 339) will often have shallow carving, as contrasted with the full-round battery of angels and attendants that can be found in tombs of the wealthy (just as the traditional stylized motifs like the winged death's-head contrast with a greater realism), and the appearance of a wooden marker with the same motifs betrays an even greater lack of means. Sometimes, especially in the service of religion, great labor and ingenuity may be spent or the resources of the group may be organized for more complicated structures, but this is less the rule. Constructions are generally, in all categories, something that one man can and does handle. And this man is not so often a specialist in a particular skill as one who must turn his hand to whatever is needed.

By contrast — as if by compensation — decoration, which may be applied simply with a needle, knife, brush, fid, scissors, stamp, scraper, or the like, often becomes very elaborate. The Sicilian cart, with its simple, unchanging construction, was completely covered with paintings (PL. 345). The so-called *horror vacui* in folk art, by which an entire surface may be covered with innumerable repeated or diverse details, is not so universal as is sometimes supposed. It is conspicuous rather

in certain types of products, and there are some regions where most surfaces remain bare and simple. However, one is inevitably impressed by the amount of decoration lavished in many parts of the world on such homely things as cutting boards or distaffs (PLs. 343, 344). Characteristic simple motifs may be repeated in bands, combined or multiplied in profusion, and applied, it seems, to almost anything, but decoration becomes particularly rich in articles of special use, such as the festival dress which may be handed down from mother to daughter in Sardinia, the complicated cut-paper decorations used for festivities in Poland (PL. 349), and the carved or painted dower chest (PL. 340).

It is obvious that locally available materials will be used except in very rare instances; when an imported product or material is preferred on any extensive scale, it is an indication that the process of sophistication has already begun. The common material in one area — silk in China, wood in Scandinavia, turquoise matrix in Mexico — may be rare or unavailable in another, and this serves to give the regional arts a part of their distinctive character. The reliance on certain universal materials, however, such as withes for basketry, straw, and clay, induces certain universal or widespread solutions; a human figure executed within a basket design is inevitably composed by using triangles, rectangles, and straight or diagonal lines, and an Oriental or an African will emerge looking about the same. Even the readily available materials often require a great deal of labor before they can be put to use; this fact has resulted in what are called the "salvage arts," such as patchwork quilts and braided rag rugs, and may be a factor in the care of workmanship and the extent of decoration.

The use of materials that come readily to hand might be expected to dictate a narrow range, and sometimes does, but any of the materials of fine arts may be used if they are available. In addition there are a great many inventions and oddities which bespeak the ingenuity of people to whom expensive materials are out of range and who are not inhibited by esthetic canons: pictures of fern or cork; carved gourds (PL. 344); painted eggs or pail bottoms; palm-leaf goddesses; animals of blown sugar; rag dolls or dolls with hickory-nut heads; figures of plaited straw or knotted rope; the snow man; the dough man; wax or bead flowers; toys of folded paper; designs spread in flowers, cut into a hedge, worked into a pebble paving, or arranged in trays of fruits or fish; quill boxes; string figures; carved seeds; ornaments of pasted shell, dyed grasses, hair, or kingfisher feathers; faces carved in pumpkins and coconuts. The man in the moon is even a folk invention, of whom a characteristic depiction emerged. The point at which imaginative invention and skill merge into art is arguable, but the folk-product offers a challenging variety of unclassified forms. Many of these forms have been dismissed as mere oddities, amusing for a rainy day in the attic, but they served in their time a creative purpose, developed as a theme, and were executed with skill and imagination. Miguel Covarrubias could admire in Bali the offerings composed of "great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste" and "monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers."

Folk art will always to an extent echo what is important throughout the general culture to which it pertains, but it has a different physiognomy, reflecting another kind of mentality. This physiognomy has many varied expressions, and it is easy to see why descriptive analyses of the folk style are limited to specific regions, products, or motifs. Almost any generalization about folk art, including those put forward here as tendencies, can be challenged by citing a specific example from some part of the world. The button made of a precious material like gold in Sardinia may elsewhere be common carved bone; the shoe, covered with multicolored embroidery in China, may be simple black with perhaps a plain silver buckle in colonial America; the saint's image, bright-painted with rounded, robust form in south Germany, could be attenuated, angular, and somber across the mountains in the Italian Valtellina.



Hundreds of motifs of such different cultural origin as pagan Europe, Christianity, Buddhism, the Semitic, or remote antiquity are here at work. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a great deal of art is recognized as folk and has found its way into folk collections by virtue of the way it looks, for in many cases the provenance is unknown. The experienced collector may be so sensitive to the folk mentality that he recognizes it at work; more likely he has also recognized the general cultural framework of the object as being, for example, Chinese, recalled the nature of the sophisticated product of that culture, and recognized that this is different — probably different in some of those respects that are clearly associated with the folk environment.

The folk environment does not present as clear a picture as one might wish; it is constantly obscured by the permeation from the sophisticated, has many fringe areas, and is above all insuperably difficult to document for an adequate number of art examples. In many cases one must resort to analogies among examples and among different types of products, including their style. The factor of style alone, however (apart from the important matter of esthetic appreciation, which is not under discussion here), has served primarily as a guide to locating the product rather than as a means of definition — to use a folk term, as a sort of "divining rod" by which a body of material, clustered around some particularly interesting concepts of a cross-cultural nature, has emerged.

Mamie HARMON

**INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS.** Among the most important tasks not yet adequately accomplished in the field of folk art is that of investigation from the historical point of view. It is necessary to discard at once two opposite positions — one presuming the autonomy and superiority of folk art, the other viewing folk art as simply a degradation of fine art — and instead to focus on the aspect of cultural dissemination, that is, the connections, case by case and place by place, between the dominant world of culture and the artistic manifestations of the folk. The danger in the "esthetic" approach of the 19th century, which judged and appraised on the basis of individual taste, ignoring the historical background of the product itself, is more serious here than in any other field, and the limitation of the romantic point of view on both folk poetry and folk art lies in a lack of documentation.

Such documentation is extremely difficult to establish, because the products of folk art, even though countless and geographically fairly distinguishable, do not offer a sure chronological point of departure. Objects known to be of the folk and earlier than the 18th century are very rare. This is not solely because of the hazards of physical survival (in a great many cases the objects were made of wood or other perishable materials), but also, and this is even more serious, because of their limited resistance to influence by the forms of cultivated art, which during the last half century, with the total social and political organization of modern life, have submerged what remains of the art of the folk.

The undated pieces can hardly be attributed to a very remote period. Since no really intensive study has been carried out to recognize a medieval folk art or to make a folk distinction within the art products of antiquity, the historian with an interest in the chronology of folk art finds himself today almost without points of reference, apart from the numerous, but recent, objects recognized as popular. To arrive at concrete results one must utilize with discernment the fruits of extremely disparate studies: folklore, archaeology and the history of art, linguistics, political, economic, and social history, and even historical and climatic geography.

The way to proceed must be to distinguish in the mass of folk products the various prototypes and to go back with the help of all the above-mentioned studies to the most ancient ones. At this point arises the first obstacle — the necessity of recognizing in the folk product the elements drawn from the fine arts and their modification by progressive deterioration or independent creativity. The latter cannot be minimized, for a spiritual world, even comparatively isolated from contemporary

events, nevertheless has its inner vitality, and it is unthinkable that, for lack of external stimuli, it can remain completely inert).

The reverse aspect of the problem seems practically negligible — that is, the process of adoption into fine arts of forms from folk art, the so-called "process of ascent" — and the subsequent restoration of elaborated forms. This process, if it assumed notable proportions, could constitute a most serious obstacle to research on the chronology of folk art. However, such processes of ascent can only have been rare, at least to judge from the documentation of European medieval and modern art. The apparent or real similarities of content and iconographic repertory might be the result of the assumption of popular motifs into fine arts; more likely, they merely indicate the existence of a vast common heritage of belief, myth, and story. The salient aspect is, rather, the truly artistic one, that is, the style, in the effort to establish the correct chronological sequence of a structure or motif.

For the recognition of a primary stratum, or at least a very ancient one, of folk art, it seems reasonable to take as a basis the study of certain decorative motifs which, among the products available to us, appear to be the most widely disseminated, with a technical and stylistic constancy which prevails regardless of geographical differences, variations in the types of objects on which they appear, and the varying forms of the fine arts to which they are related.

In this decorative repertory comprising constant motifs, for the most part incised or pierced in wood but also painted, there emerge certain elements, such as the rosette with several petals, with or without a central boss, inscribed in a polygon or a circle, or more rarely independent; the spiral rosette; the simple circle with a dot in the center (PLS. 338, 339). This type of ornament may be comparatively traced from Spain to eastern Europe and the Balkans, from Sicily and southern Italy to the Alpine regions and the Scandinavian peninsula. Aside from its appearance on a great range of useful objects (spoons, herdsman's staffs, buckets, molds, corset stays, etc.) which have no corresponding form in the dated objects of the fine arts, it is employed on coffers, chests, and boxes which repeat constructions known from the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, on chairs that are comparable to pieces of the 12th century from Georgia, on typical three-legged benches with a high back reminiscent of Tuscan Renaissance furniture, and on wardrobes clearly derived from 18th-century types.

This broad diffusion and this survival of cultivated forms transmitted to folk art assures us that we are facing a fairly old decorative level. How old? The magic and astrological interpretations (solar disk, etc.), which may readily be offered and which explain the original application of such motifs on working implements and everyday household objects and utensils, can lead us to believe that they go back very far in time, to prehistoric or protohistoric origins. But this is the point at which documentation is lacking. The motifs, as they appear, evince a certain particular taste in intaglio carving and in arrangement, that is, a style, which may be recognized in the appearance and diffusion of specific dated products.

A limestone ossuary in the Louvre shows the motif of the rosette in the form of a six-pointed star inscribed in a hexagon within a circle, repeated on the sides and on the cover. This is a piece from Palestine dated 1st century (PL. 338). Striking comparisons are observed with Jewish ossuary chests (Archaeological Mus., Jerusalem) dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century of our era. The rosette survives in barbarian goldwork (a little cross in the Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe; PL. 338) and in the decoration of plutei and transennae in Italian churches of the 7th to 10th century, sometimes combining with the spiral and approaching even more closely the calligraphic execution of certain folk examples. Finally, in Byzantine works from the 9th to the 12th century an extensive use is made of the decorative motifs listed above, the stylistic interpretation of which lends itself strongly to comparison with the folk repertory. Examples are a relief in the Little Metropole of Athens (9th-10th cent.), certain furniture of Byzantine influence in Georgia, U.S.S.R. (PL. 338), and the great series of ivory caskets (10th-12th cent.) which have a decorative ar-

rangement of rosette motifs forming a frame around the individual carved faces, corresponding to a favorite style of ornament in folk chests.

Between the 1st century and the 12th, therefore, the existence of a decorative repertory clearly surviving in folk art is demonstrable. One of the most ancient dated folk pieces bearing such motifs is a Basque stele of 1646 (PL. 339; Paris, Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires); from the 18th century on, the survivals are innumerable.

At this point arise certain questions which cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. Granted the indisputable existence of this decorative repertory and of precedents in fine arts which long antedate the folk pieces known to us, what is the connection between the presumed prototypes and folk decoration? Why are these motifs chosen and preserved in folk tradition while others also present in these prototypes are not? And finally, are these prototypes a fine-arts point of departure from which the motifs were transmitted to the folk world, or did there exist even then a popular substratum which disappeared and of which no traces have been rediscovered, and from which this decoration was adopted into the fine arts? On the basis of actual knowledge we can assert only that the fine-arts examples cited (representing a rather wide chronological as well as geographical spread, though, except for the barbarian cross, prevaillingly Mediterranean) cannot be considered folk, in that no distinction exists between these objects and art on a different cultural level. The choice of decorative rather than structural elements in this search for an ancient stratum of European folk art seems justifiable, since the objects are easily destroyed and their forms adapted to new utilitarian needs, while the elements of ornament survive, and the repertory continues despite the change in the forms on which they appear.

In the field of utilitarian objects, except for obviously archaic examples, it is not easy to isolate equally ancient strata of forms and constructions that are esthetic as well as functional in intent, and therefore the following discussion deals with more limited areas and less numerous examples. Certain types of folk chairs, with their spindle and spool elements, recall vividly the form and character of the Byzantine cathedra (PL. 340) as well as the Romanesque. The diffusion of the fine-arts prototypes (extremely rare in extant pieces but well documented in painting and illumination) must have been very wide in all Europe until the late 13th century, but in the folk world the preservation of the type appears to be limited mainly to northern Europe and Scandinavia, that is, to areas which have always had, because of the general availability of this material, a special preference for work in wood (PL. 341). However, it is not difficult to recognize a transformation of this widely diffused form (which was also adopted by the sophisticated cabinetmaker) in the rocking chair with spindle back which appeared in England and in America, and which constituted a typical furnishing in the American colonial home. Occasional pieces may even go back to more distinguished late-antique prototypes. Certain wooden armchairs repeat the structure of the 6th-century throne of Maximian, a unique survival (PLS. 340, 341).

In all these examples, folk art appears to have preserved prototypes at least from late-antique, Byzantine, and Romanesque times. This was a world in which furniture was relatively rare, and the chair of state (as throne or as episcopal chair) inevitably had great ceremonial and symbolic importance, which would have made a particular impression and therefore established the type for ages to come. The study of folk furniture may also be enlightening to the extent that it has preserved the heritage of medieval domestic furnishings. While the evolution of the fine arts has been very strong from the late Middle Ages on, the peasant and herdsman communities have varied very little the pattern of their tasks and thus of their daily habits; therefore the little furniture truly characteristic of the folk environment, notably the wardrobe and the chest, conserves almost unaltered certain more ancient forms. The chest had special ceremonial aspects, since it was used for the bridal trousseau, and also for funerary uses, in that the same garments often served as burial attire. The most elaborate examples preserve certain typical motifs of the late-antique sarcophagus,

such as the element of arcades carved or (through decorative transformation) painted on the front. The entire structure of the chest may reasonably be thought to go back to ancient and medieval wooden chests, today extremely rare, though an example is the famous pre-Romanesque wooden chest with arcade motifs enclosing figural elements, preserved in the Cathedral of Terracina, Italy (PL. 340).

The chest was subjected to the widest variety of decoration, from the ancient rosette already discussed to numerous plant forms, often with sprays of flowers, the origin of which is much more recent (PL. 342). This floral decoration is of a style which cannot be older than the 17th century, being clearly derived — perhaps through the medium of embroidery and fabrics — from the cultivated taste for floral still life, originally Flemish but disseminated throughout Europe in the second half of the 17th century, when it became an international genre. This use of a later type of decoration represents a phenomenon exactly opposite to that noted for the decorative repertory examined above. In that case the decorative motif remained unchanged, whereas the objects on which it appeared were modified in response to sophisticated taste. Here, on the contrary, the object remains unchanged, and it is the decoration which represents a more recent movement from fine into folk art.

In the 18th century, in certain regions such as the Alpine, there was a notable evolution in folk furniture, which underwent broad influences from the fine arts. A great part of the typical Alpine furniture preserves 18th-century styles, which were absorbed with a rapidity unparalleled in the 19th century. Their folk character cannot be determined solely on the basis of differences from sophisticated art, but must be submitted to less exact criteria, such as taste, the pressure of archaic elements, the quality of the execution, and the presence of typical folk usage such as the insertion of the owner's initials and the date (PL. 342). This statement of ownership in itself denotes a society in which the acquisition of goods was rare and worthy of special notice. These 18th-century forms, established in folk furniture on the threshold of the romantic "discovery" of the folk world, became models for the borrowing from the folk by the fine arts which resulted in the creation of the "rustic style." Folk furniture, then, although certain types correspond to ancient prototypes, appears to reflect successive chronological levels, some of which are relatively recent.

In the field of representation, including both animal and human figures, it is even more difficult to determine a clear-cut stratification. From time to time individual representations mingle, both iconographically and stylistically, elements stemming from diverse periods and sources in history. An exception is the heritage of popular icons widely diffused in the Balkans and eastern Europe (PL. 353), for here the origin is clear; both in the painted and the carved examples, the source is Byzantine art. The reasons for the retention are also evident; the icon must remain what it is — in so far as decline or variation in technical skill permits — so as to preserve the aspects of the venerated image. Religious reasons therefore control and condition the folk artists; production of this kind is inevitably subject to a certain amount of control on the part of the church and finds its outlet in established markets, as was the case with the madonna images sold in innumerable copies at such fairs as that of Sinigaglia on the Italian Adriatic coast.

The problem of establishing relationship is very different for the repertory of legend and story, of events and historical chronicles, which is widespread in folk representation. Here it is perhaps easier to go back to the source of the content than to that of the style, which is a seductive but untrustworthy foundation. There exist some typical methods of carving which, in their rudimentary state, suggest parallels with products of the barbarian period (7th–9th cent.) or with those Romanesque sculptures in country hill villages which retained pre-Romanesque characteristics. One example among infinite possibilities is a barber's kit in the Museo delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari in Rome, the representations on which offer an evocative comparison with those on a bronze fibula of the 6th–7th century in the Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie e d'Histoire at Lausanne (PLS. 340, 341). In such cases the question is whether the resemblance

arises from limited technical means or whether the images on many folk pieces preserve representational methods widely diffused before the year 1000, specifically in that society in which Latin and barbarian elements mingled and which lay at the beginnings of the new Europe. If the latter is true, we must suppose that, while prototypes of the barbarian period disappeared rapidly from the sophisticated levels and major centers of Carolingian and Ottonian and then Romanesque art, this style was preserved, even though continuously modified, in country and mountain regions long remote from urban life. The hypothesis is reasonable, and it would indicate another great stratum of folk culture which may be related to the barbarian phase in European art, when migrating populations settled within the cultural sphere of the Roman empire and influenced Latin craftsmen, so that a barbarian imprint blurs the reflection of the preceding art culture.

However, the figural repertory cannot long remain unchanged — unless arbitrary forces keep it static, as in the case of the icon — and therefore there exists an infinite series of stylistic variations for which only case by case would it be possible, and then not always, to recognize the sources. The possibilities of influence from the sophisticated world on folk representation are infinite. One of the most obvious examples is *ex-votos* (see IV, col. 376), frequently executed by artists of the lowest rank who organized at the artisan level (as did later the painters of Sicilian carts; PL. 345) and who therefore represented a stage between folk and a more commercialized art (PL. 353).

The aspects thus far discussed relate to a wide area of folk-art products without clear geographic distinctions. A generic folk art going back to a supranational and absolute folk character is naturally hypothetical. But along with these very general phenomena suggesting tremendously diffused cultural strata, the folk sphere also presents a whole series of phenomena with national or ethnic characteristics and within definite geographical areas. In these cases there is at work, by intention or by conditioning, a local tradition which adds its own conservative effect to the generic elements of retention. Uniformity of products such as those of Alpine or Sardinian folk art, the traditionalism of the many and varied styles of costume, and all that which represents the particular within the general folk level explain the variety of the folk world, just as the general condition in relation to the sophisticated world explains its even greater uniformity. The study of these national phenomena in a folk art corresponds to the study of centers and schools in fine arts, for these also are always related to urban, regional, political, and social factors.

In these more limited sectors the retention of ancient national traditions can be verified; for example, the extraordinary correspondence between certain folk carvings on Icelandic and Scandinavian furniture and those of the famous viking ships and on various objects of Anglo-Saxon art (PLS. 340, 341); or again, the remarkable persistence of certain ceramic forms, such as the *itrie* of the Italian coast between Terracina and Naples, a form documented from at least the beginning of the 15th century, when such pieces appear in a panel of the Virgin and two saints (appropriately called the "Madonna delle Itrie") in the museum of Gaeta; and finally the continuation of one of the most extraordinary examples of folk architecture, the trulli, which at Alberobello and a few other centers in Apulia still preserve a most ancient type of Mediterranean cone-roofed dwelling, the prototypes of which may be sought directly in the protohistoric period (PLS. 337, 354).

Another type of stratification may be reconstructed from two great divisions of folk society, the peasant farmers and the herdsmen. It would be interesting to observe whether one might trace consistent differences between these two groups in types or techniques. A sufficiently thorough study would doubtless produce significant results, delineating a social stratification along with a historical and national or geographical division.

Investigation of historical levels would appear to be much more difficult in the vast fields of textiles and ceramics. The former (comprising laces, embroidery, tapestry, and cloth) displays an exceedingly rich decorative and figural repertory on heterogeneous products ranging from purely functional cloth

made solely to cover the body to carpets and embroidery, which have a predominantly esthetic purpose. Because of the wide circulation of such products, the transmission from the sophisticated sphere to the folk has always been considerable. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the folk-made carpets of Pescocostanzo (Abruzzi) and in the embroideries of Sardinia and Spain reminders of medieval textiles imitating the Sassanian, and of motifs of ancient Near Eastern derivation disseminated by Byzantine art, such as peacocks or other animals affronted beside a tree or a fountain (PL. 347). Motifs from folk fabrics then are sometimes naturally absorbed into carving and other techniques of ornamentation. With regard to carpets, it seems impossible to draw a categorical distinction (aside from modern industrial production) among those made by the nomads of Baluchistan or Kurdistan, the Berbers, the Anatolians, and the European folk; in all these cases of traditional manufacture, execution with domestic means characterizes every aspect of the production, from the first spinning of the wool to the dyeing and the knotting.

Ceramics offers many obvious survivals and forms traceable to fine-arts prototypes, though the cultural relationships are not always determinable. National and geographical characteristics may be clearly observed in ceramics, not only in the repetition of shapes but also in the continuity of the decorative tradition, and in rare cases even in the continuation of known specific prototypes, such as the *itrie* mentioned above and the bottles and flasks in animal form which derive from well-known antique ceramics of the Mediterranean area. However, except for comparatively simple products, the ceramic art, with its application of color by firing, implies technical equipment at an artisan level which goes beyond the independent domestic pattern of folk production and represents an intermediate level between fine and folk art. Skills of such development — which were required also for the production of embroidery and lace — could well form a transition from the semifolk artisan workshop to the sophisticated level. This must be the explanation for the apparent continuity from products on the highest and most cultivated level to the more rudimentary and folklike — this, together with an active exchange or, at least, an easy and continuous passage of motifs from the fine-arts level. Like the icon, ceramics also attained a wide sale through markets and fairs, and it has thus been easy for modern industrialization to take possession of those outlets and to market brands of pseudo-folk ceramics, industrially produced but copying traditional decorative motifs and shapes. Here we are confronted with an attitude of traditionalism maintained for commercial purposes on the part of sophisticated groups toward the folk level. By this means a new pseudo-folk level is created, but its existence is already marked for extinction because of the rapid leveling of contemporary society and because of industrial pressure to standardize production and limit it to examples consistent with the new esthetic and functional concepts of industrial design (q.v.). Thus the country fairs, still rich until a few years ago in folk or pseudo-folk products, are today inevitably characterized by the omnipresence of standard plastic wares.

Folk architecture, with its close links to specific environmental conditions, availability of building materials, and functional relation to the life and work of the folk group, should offer a dependable basis for the determination of strata. Research from the typological point of view is more advanced, though in the historical and documentary sense the gaps in our knowledge are serious. At least until the late Middle Ages the dwellings of Europe were mainly of wood, while only great religious or public buildings were constructed of stone, but it can be supposed that in domestic architecture too there were influences from fine-art forms. Today only the mountainous regions, which have always remained isolated, still have an architecture primarily of wood and still have the heavy forestation which once covered all Europe; therefore the building types of these regions afford the best point of departure for seeking ancient strata in folk architecture (PL. 354). Their greater or lesser degree of technical complexity suggests greater or lesser antiquity in the broad classification of buildings. Certain other types, however, reveal very archaic origins. Besides the trulli,

stemming from protohistoric Mediterranean construction, there is a class of Mediterranean lime-washed dwellings with cubical openings and flat, barrel-vaulted, or shallow-domed roof. The last of these is surely Arab in origin (PL. 354); this architecture, which is the most common type of the southern Italian coast, is therefore for this region traceable to a cultural stratum later than the Arab invasion. Other examples of dwellings in France, England, and central Europe, with half-timbering filled in with compressed earth, earth and straw, etc., sometimes whitewashed, are traceable at least to the medieval period, from which some prototypes survive and great numbers are documented in representational art (PL. 354).

Upon all these types and others, such as the Russian isba, which seem to belong to a fairly ancient style, there has been superimposed in Italy and in central-western Europe from the beginning of the Renaissance the influence of planned building programs fostered by the cultivated classes who owned the land and commissioned qualified architects to build subsidiary houses around their own suburban villas. The successive effects of these building programs, together with the functional needs of country life, gave rise to many types of rural architecture which had, at least originally, very little folk character, but, once established, the types were then repeated with a traditional quality attributable to the craftsmanship of the folk.

Many other categories of folk products, such as basketry, symbolic and representational objects, jewelry, musical instruments, costume, toys and game equipment, are equally matters for investigation in terms of the historical relationships and chronology of the types. The hints contained in these pages serve merely to indicate and exemplify some of the problems.

Along with the most ancient, widely diffused, and general levels of folk art (represented here by a certain type of decoration), we encounter the possible existence of varying social levels in the agricultural and pastoral groups, the national folk substrata, and the pseudo-folk levels produced by such specific influences as the industrial or building programs of the cultivated classes. Certain examples of art indicate also the activity of a subsophisticated or superfolk level of organized craftsmen that continually acts as a middle ground between folk art and fine art. Finally, we have also observed a continuous employment on the part of sophisticated society of skills drawn from the folk world which, once restored to that world, transmit to it motifs obviously from sophisticated art. Other phenomena more typically politico-social, such as the ancient feudalism and the later economic paternalistic relations between the aristocracy and the folk group, were doubtless lines of communication for the successive movement of content and forms between fine and folk art. The times and the reasons for this experience are sometimes definable and sometimes not, or not yet. Certainly the encounters between fine arts and folk art have often had the character of pure chance. The particular effect of religion on folk art must also have been extensive in other forms as well as the icon. The church has always maintained contact between the cultivated and the popular society and has operated to bridge the gap between the two worlds by specific programs. It has been thus from time to time either a pathway for the passage of fine-arts motifs into folk art (e.g., the effect on folk artists of the heritage of works of fine art conserved in the church), or a factor in preserving certain forms and representations.

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**SAMPLING OF THE FOLK ARTS.** Any description or listing of the folk product on a world-wide basis is necessarily a sampling and no more than that, for each region, type of product, or craft is a study in itself. A selection will inevitably have a somewhat random character, but nonetheless it will serve to amplify our concept of the general nature of folk art. Certain categories of products occur in almost all folk regions and may be assumed to exist without special mention except where they attract particular attention by virtue of their elaboration or stylistic quality. We find nearly everywhere some form of architecture, arms, banners, calligraphic or printed documents and records (see CALLIGRAPHY AND EPIGRAPHY; GRAPHIC ARTS), cos-

turne, furniture, jewelry, musical instruments, figurines, textiles, elaborated by embroidery, lace, etc., tools and gear, toys and games, utensils, vehicles (see treatment of such subjects elsewhere in the Encyclopedia). These objects may not always be designed or elaborated in such a way as to be called art. However, they often are, for it is characteristic of the folk artist to lavish care and decoration upon objects that are inherently useful rather than to create distinct forms of nonutilitarian art.

The discussion below has been organized along national or regional lines, since the documentation is richest under this aspect, but several facts should be borne in mind. One is that water, while a convenient political means of division, often serves culturally as a means of connection. Thus the folk arts of areas along the Rhine, whether falling nowadays in Germany, France, or Switzerland, have much in common, more perhaps than the arts of Alsace and Brittany in France or those of the Black Forest and the northern parts of Germany. Similarly, the styles that traveled up the Danube carrying Near Eastern influences give an eastern European stamp to areas seemingly very isolated.

Division by national boundaries interrupts somewhat the picture of the folk society. Interesting parallels may be drawn between the arts of herders, farmers, or fishermen as a whole in any part of the world. Areas with plentiful forests will seem to have much in common as contrasted with those where stone and clay or tile are more relied on. Certain crafts and techniques of world-wide diffusion, such as basketry (q.v.) and pottery (see CERAMICS), are also similar in form and decoration.

The museum collections cited for the regions discussed below also constitute a sampling, since in each country or area rich in folk arts and crafts there are scores, if not hundreds, of useful assemblages of local and foreign folk works. Those named here are mentioned because they are extensive and well documented or classified, because they focus clearly upon a regional development of folk art, or because they present significantly the art of a specific trade, craft, or technique. Thousands of local historical, provincial, and city museums, "heimat" museums, and furnished buildings open to the public display examples, often unlabeled, of the vast production of the anonymous artists of the folk.

**Great Britain.** The effect of the Industrial Revolution was virtually to eliminate art and craft activity in England at the folk level. However, the arts in medieval England were to a great extent popular in spirit, and pre-18th-century products remain in sufficient quantity to afford display in more than 175 museums and local collections (as of 1959). The carry-over of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish skills into the Western Hemisphere produced a heritage in the United States and Canada (see below). Among the crafts are wrought and cast ironwork, in a variety of forms such as hinges, gates, and inn signs; brasswork, especially harness brasses, originally apotropaic in significance and still produced at Walsall; earthenware pottery in figurines of popular form (Staffordshire), salt-glaze household pottery, and lusterware in jugs and mugs; woodcarving in many forms, such as wall paneling in linen-fold decoration, merry-go-round horses, ship figureheads and stern-pieces, puppets and toys; furniture (IV, PL. 452; the "Windsor" chair type seems indigenous); lace, probably of Flemish derivation, from Buckingham and Northampton; a wide variety of embroidery, one type of which, smocking, was typical of the workman's costume of the past and distinguished by its patterns for various trades; woodcuts, used for the illustration of broadside song sheets and notices; and popular painting on wagons, inn signs, etc. The English countryside still has examples of the typical half-timbered and thatched cottage going back in style to the Elizabethan period and late Middle Ages.

In London, in addition to the British Museum, the Cuming, the Horniman, and the Geffrye Museums all have collections of folk material; the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich houses exhibits of ship figureheads and ship models; among the numerous municipal and local collections are the folk museums in Bristol, Gloucester, Cambridge, Halifax, etc.

Outstanding folk products of Scotland — hand-spun and woven or knitted goods — though now largely controlled by industry (as, for example, the tweeds of Harris and Lewis and the clan plaids), are also produced to some extent in the manner of the past. Shetland shawls knitted with the technique peculiar to this region, with the right needle anchored in a belt, are made in the natural colors of undyed wool — ranging from fawn to black. The sporran, still a

decorative feature of the national costume, was originally a combination purse, lunch kit, and ammunition pouch, with three or four compartments; it was made of deerskin and was closed with a mount and clasp of beaten iron. The typical crofter's cottage of the west and the islands is long and rectangular in plan, with a heavy chimney at either end, a pitched slate or stone-slab roof, and a yard fenced with stones.

Such local collections as that of the Angus Museum at Glamis display in appropriate settings the household objects and implements — distaffs, spinning wheels, looms, horn spoons, storage chests and other furniture — characteristic of Scottish folk life. Major collections may be seen in Aberdeen, Anthropological Museum of the University; Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum and National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland; Glasgow, old Glasgow Museum; etc.

Welsh folk art is also amply documented in museum collections at Cardiff, National Museum of Wales; Carmarthen, County Museum; St. Fagan's, Welsh Folk Museum. Among the objects included are the double harp and the crowd, both used for the accompaniment of folk music; the implements for sheep-raising, spinning, and weaving; and the tall-crowned hats once forming a part of the women's costume.

*Ireland.* A broad survey of the folk products of Ireland is given in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, and the Open-Air Museum, Belfast. There are numerous items relating to the various folk feasts and festivals. These include straw and rush crosses of different patterns made in connection with the feast of St. Brigid (Feb. 1) and put up in the houses until the recurrence of the feast the following year; small decorative ornaments, made of straw in harvesttime and formerly worn by men and women working in the fields; and a variety of masks connected with the feast of Halloween (Samhain), Oct. 31. Domestic articles include specimens for household activities: cooking, dairying, laundry, spinning and weaving of flax and wool, etc. Of particular interest are wrought-iron and wooden stands formerly used for baking oat cakes on the open hearth. Transport is represented by specimens of pannier baskets and straddles from various districts; by baskets used for carrying small quantities of goods on the human back; wheelless slide cars and sledges; and a number of primitive carts with solid wooden wheels turning in one piece with the axle. The fishing collection includes wrought-iron spears for the capture of salmon and eels, together with nets, baskets, and other gear. Agriculture is represented by wooden and iron ploughs, harrows, and implements connected with haymaking, harvesting, and threshing. Equipment for the trades practiced in the countryside comprises implements for blacksmithing, carpentry, coopering, wooden sieve-making, boring wooden water pumps, tin-smithing, and thatching.

Features of the Irish costume, some still in use, are the full, hooded cloak worn by women of Kinsale in County Cork; the red petticoat and knitted shawl of Connemara; and the Aran Islander's heavy sweater of cable and figural stitches, hand-spun and woven breeches, untanned calfskin slippers, and flat tam with pompon. Irish laces and embroideries include the coarse white embroidery of Mountmellick; crochet lace with motifs of roses, shamrocks, and leaves, still made at Clones; eyelet and cutwork embroidery; Limerick and Carrickmacross laces. Cottage-craft tweeds are still produced in some villages, such as Ardara, in Donegal.

Typical of Irish rural architecture in County Cavan, West Galway, Donegal, etc., is the low, whitewashed cottage with steep thatched roof and ample chimneys. The interior has a large fireplace for burning peat, with cooking equipment hung around it, and low stools and benches. The characteristic folk musical instruments are the small harp and the bagpipe.

*France.* Characterized by a strong regional diversity, the folk art of France survives most strongly in Brittany, which still maintains roots in a medieval past. The costume here is elaborate and each region is distinguished by its own traditions and coif (see COSTUME, IV, col. 49). France possesses one of the richest image-making repertoires (*imagerie*) in Europe, and in Brittany as in the other provinces, religious sculpture and ex-voto paintings constitute a principal domain of expression. The iconography of the magnificent rustic polychromed saints is analogous to that of medieval art. A marked predilection of the Breton craftsman — as also of the Auvergnat and the Basque — is for designs based on geometric and linear elements, some of which recall ancient Celtic work. Other designs, however, are astonishingly simple, direct, and pictorial. The *santons* (*crèche* figurines) of Provence present a fresh and colorful picture of peasant life and work, along with a naïve iconography of saints and sacred figures. In Auvergne, the most common pattern is the rosette, but much of the décor belongs to the same family as that of the Romanesque churches thereabouts. In the eastern regions bordering on the Rhine the folk arts are almost identical in style and content with those of the nearby cantons of Switzerland and lower

Germany, comprising carved and painted furniture, implements of the vintner and brewer, embroidery, pottery, festival costumes and masks, etc. (See IV, PL. 452.)

The art of lace survives in Lorraine, and ceramics flourish in Alsace and somewhat less in Auvergne and in Aquitaine. The last is the birthplace of French faience, created by Bernard Palissy in the 16th century (see CERAMICS, col. 290). The pastoral arts, particularly woodcarving (PL. 343), are prevalent in Auvergne and in Dauphine and Savoy. The finest ironwork is that of Lorraine, of which examples from the end of the 16th to the end of the 19th century are known. A harvest of pictorial prints (see GRAPHIC ARTS) in fine copper and wood engraving, and inspired by folklore, was produced chiefly in Brittany and Nantes. Rural architecture, varying widely from the Alps to the Atlantic and from the Mediterranean to the English Channel, is also of interest (PL. 354).

Great museum collections include those of the Musée de l'Homme and Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris; excellent regional exhibits such as the Musée Basque (Bayonne), Musée Départemental Breton (Quimper), Musée Alsacien (Strasbourg), and Musée d'Ethnographie et d'Histoire de la Normandie (Caen); and museums of specific arts and trades such as the Musée du Vin de Champagne (Epernay, Marne) and the Musée de l'Imagerie Populaire Française (Epinal).

*Belgium.* Folk art in Belgium encompasses a wide field, ranging through religious sculpture, metalwork, basketry, models set within glass flasks, woodcarving, gilded jewelry, and lace. Popular color woodcuts and handsome wood engravings stemmed from Turnhout near Antwerp, whence they spread to Holland and Wallonia. Old books vividly illustrate the objects associated with the religious and civil life of the Middle Ages and after. Triangular pilgrimage cloths, with lavish pictorial images, probably originated in Belgium. That Flemish art is characterized by a marked emphasis on subject matter is as apparent in the finely carved wood crèches, pietistic polychrome calvaries, and bizarre and archaic ex-votos in silver and wrought iron as in the Antwerp marionette theaters, the grossly carved actor-puppets, the giant floats parading through streets, and the under-glass paintings. The decorative sense manifests itself in arts as divergent as the small patterned earthenware medallions used to adorn New Year's pastry and the geometrically incised reliefs and architectural motifs found on the furniture of 17th-century Antwerp. The pottery, including ceramic tiles, is in certain respects related to that of Holland, but has characteristic imagery and forms of its own. Flemish lacework was already renowned in the late 16th century; it was produced in Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, Valenciennes — then a part of Flanders — and Malines. The superiority of the Brussels workers was later established, and today the art's renewed vitality is evident in the rich and elegant patterns of both bobbin and needle-point lace, which are embellished with graceful, minute ornament. Tulle, embroidery, and damask linen are other Belgian textile products.

Major museum collections are those of the Musée Gruuthuuse and Musée du Folklore, Bruges; Musée de la Vie Wallonne and Musée Curtius, Liège; Museum of Flemish Civilization and Musée du Folklore, Antwerp; Musée Luxembourgeois, Arlon; Musée du Folklore, Ghent; and Musée du Folklore, Louvain.

*Netherlands.* The folk art of the Netherlands is renowned in the areas of ceramics and costume. Delftware, technically comparable to Italian majolica and old French faience, originated in the mid-16th century, and was manufactured until the 19th. It is noteworthy for its blue color on a white ground, though later delft was often polychromed or purple. Delft tiles were especially popular: geometric figures predominate in glazed patterns which also include arabesque and rosette motifs. Delft's forerunner is the Old Dutch earthenware of the northern Netherlands. Traditional Dutch costumes, which offer considerable diversity, still survive in isolated fishing villages and farming communities, although they are fast disappearing. The dress in the West Frisian and Zaan regions is particularly rich, while that of Volendam is the most famous. Different regions and classes are distinguished by the headgear, and cloaks are often worn for work. The costume of Maarten displays the oldest elements, which include the laced bodice edged with rose-patterned embroidery. The only textile persisting in the folk-art category is Brabant cotton, a colored woven checked fabric. Mention should also be made of the peasant house with its pointed, thatched roof, the tall cabinets of Renaissance type, the ship ornaments of carved wood, and the painted décor of 19th-century farmers' carts. Much of Dutch folk art is marked by an atmosphere of puritan austerity.

Collections may be seen at the Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, Rijksmuseum voor Volkskunde in Arnhem, and the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam. Wagons, furniture, costumes, and household implements of the transplanted Dutch settlers in South Africa appear in the Voortrekker Museum, Pietermaritzburg.



**Norway.** The folk art of Norway is both plentiful and highly developed, attaining in at least four areas — carving in wood and other materials, painted decoration (*rosemaling*), metalwork, and textiles — high quality and marked individuality of character.

Woodcarving, many extant examples of which date from the Middle Ages, was widely used to decorate architectural members, furniture (PL. 341), and utensils (PL. 335). From the 14th century onward, it tends progressively to be dominated by an extensive vocabulary of abstract motifs, both freely curvilinear and geometric, though animal motifs persist in certain types of drinking vessels. Woodcarving was to some extent supplanted in the 18th century by *rosemaling*: polychrome painting which was used to decorate any smooth wooden surface, and especially for architectural paneling and vessels (PL. 342). As the name indicates, most of the designs are botanical in origin; both the designs and the powerful colors set *rosemaling* apart from other north European decorative painting. Metalworkers put the vocabulary of woodcarving to use in elaborate pins, clasps, buckles, and buttons; and the textile arts — weaving and embroidery — are still widely practiced, some of the most noteworthy results occurring in local costumes and in figured carpets. A type of cut- and drawnwork embroidery in squared patterns from Hardanger is characteristic. The *hardangerfele*, a fiddle with sympathetic strings, inlaid with ivory or mother of pearl or decorated with poker work, was used for festive occasions, weddings, and even funerals.

Museum collections are numerous and extensive; among them are: Oslo, Norrøke Folkemuseum; Bergen, Historisk Museum and Vestlandsk Kunsthåndverk Museum; Elverum, Glomdalsmuseet (outdoors); regional collections such as those at Drammen, Lillehammer, Stavanger, and Egersund.

**Sweden.** Swedish folk art is now organized under the auspices of a national association of handicraft societies; the products of its unorganized past are, however, plentifully preserved. Some of these date from as early as about 900. Woodcarvings and textiles were the dominant art forms. Woodcarving was the principal medium of adornment for architectural elements, household articles, and furniture of all kinds until painting supplemented (and sometimes replaced) it in the 18th century. Woven and embroidered textiles, besides their use in costumes, were also used for interior decoration in the form of cushions, coverlets, and, for festive occasions, wall hangings. (Swedish tapestries were exported to the other Scandinavian countries.) They too were progressively supplemented by paintings, sometimes on linen or paper hangings, sometimes on the walls themselves (PL. 336). The folk painting of Sweden generically resembles the *rosemaling* of Norway; it differs in its preference for a more discreet color scale and in its frequent expansion into quasi-realistic scenes. Also of interest is Swedish metalwork, which includes elaborately worked silver pins and clasps and the imaginative use of wrought iron in intricate candlesticks, door mounts, and grave crosses. Swedish lace includes examples of exceedingly high quality. The repertoire of forms in Swedish folk art has as a foundation the vigorous abstract or zoomorphous interlace of viking art, an element which never entirely disappears. This repertoire was, however, enriched and even transformed by successive adaptations from all the major decorative styles of Continental Europe, from Gothic through rococo.

One of the typical Nordic folk musical instruments, the *nyckelharpa*, was long retained in Sweden. Actually a bowed hurdy-gurdy, it was played on the lap.

The first open-air museum, the *Skansen Museum*, Stockholm, founded in 1890 by Artur Hazelius, displays rural architecture and furnishings, and houses an archive of Swedish folk culture. It paved the way for the broad and useful museum activity shown also at Halmstad, Hallands Museum; Karlstad, Värmlands Museum; Luleå, Norrbottens Museum; Umeå, Västerbottens Län Museum; and others at Växjö, Varberg, Visby, etc.

**Denmark.** The historical development of Danish folk art is very similar to that of Swedish and Norwegian folk art, except that in Denmark folk art died out almost completely during the 19th century, so that the practice of handicrafts today is based on a revival rather than a continuation of folk traditions. Danish folk art is like that of Norway and Sweden in character, too, with certain general differences. As in Norway and Sweden, the dominant modes of popular artistic expression were woodcarving and textiles (weaving, embroidery, lace), but in both media Danish artisans were much more prone to make human figures, animals, birds, or flowers the units of their designs. A style of openwork embroidery called "hedebo" was widely distributed. Wall paintings are less important in Denmark, but painted furniture was popular in the 18th and 19th centuries: its plant and flower motifs tend to be less exuberant, more carefully balanced, more sparsely applied than elsewhere in Scandinavia. Ceramics was an important branch of folk art in Denmark; German influences are often apparent in the slip-trailed designs (III, PL. 164).

The Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen has a division for Danish folk life and extensive archives on the subject are maintained at the Royal Library. At Sorgenfri there is a good open-air museum.

**Finland.** Finnish folk art is in almost every respect very closely akin to Swedish. It embraces the same genres — woodcarving (PL. 343), textiles, wall and furniture painting, metalwork; its repertoire of forms is similar; and it underwent roughly the same chronological evolution. Among its textile products, however, there are some that are not paralleled in Sweden. The most important of these purely Finnish types is the *ryijy*, a tufted and patterned textile used for coverlets, wall hangings, or rugs.

The typical folk musical instrument, of ancient origin, was the *kantele*, with five horsehair strings, played on the knee or on a table to accompany runic songs.

The Kansallismuseo at Helsinki, the open-air museum at Seurasaari, and many local museums offer documentation of Finnish arts.

**Lapland.** The folk art of Lapland, comprising the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia, must be considered as a separate entity. Of the Lapp arts, that which is most like its south Scandinavian counterparts is metalwork. Carving is done primarily in horn or bone and consists largely of delicately incised geometric patterns. Costumes are made of reindeer skin and for their ornament rely on patterns of metal beads and embroidery in metal thread; silver or silver-gilt clasps and brooches may be applied about the collar. The esthetic aims of Lapp art are quite distinct from those of Scandinavian folk art in general: its designs, abstract and intricate, are fastidiously balanced.

**Baltic region.** Folk arts and customs of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have attracted scholarly attention since the late 17th century because of the late survival in those areas of ancient motifs and folk practices. Textiles, woodcarving, architectural ornament, gravestones, painted Easter eggs, furniture and household implements, and the iron-tipped roofed poles that once numbered in the thousands in Lithuania — all these bear a repertoire of decorative designs closely resembling the elements of protohistoric Scandinavian and Near Eastern arts. Among the motifs are wheels, stars, rosettes, double axes, birds, snakes, paired animal heads, flowers, and trees. Linguistic studies have been adduced to link such motifs to solar mythology (e.g., that the word for rosette or daisy means "little sun"). Marriage, funeral, childbirth, harvest, and sowing customs persisting to recent times, as in southern Estonia, have been studied to show the retention of belief in the apotropaic, good-luck, or fertility significance of such motifs as the ax, the bird, the life tree. While overenthusiastic interpretation has sometimes made such associations suspect, more objective studies still tend to show the links of these Baltic traditional motifs with a very remote past. Typical of the products of the area are carved wooden distaffs, laundry beaters, towel holders, carved and painted dower chests, house posts and gables, religious figures (PL. 353), and the above-mentioned roofed poles, which were carved in the form of rayed wheels, crosses, and plant and animal forms and were erected at crossroads, on hills, in cemeteries, etc., in commemoration of the major events of human life. The museums in Kaunas, Vilnius, Tga, Tartu, and Shauliai offer displays of these arts.

**Portugal.** The folk art of Portugal has many affinities with that of Spain. Its formal repertoire includes various motifs of Islamic derivation, often simplified or naturalized. Folk woodcarving comprises two groups of objects: one consists of votive statuettes, crèche figures, puppets, prow figures carved for boats, etc.; the other, in which a largely abstract vocabulary is employed, includes furniture and utensils decorated in low relief and is importantly represented in elaborate openwork ox yokes (PL. 335). Peculiarly Portuguese folk-art products are the boxes and other articles made of cork which may be ornamented by incision and (often) painting. Portuguese weaving and embroidery are worthy of mention, and Portuguese lace has long been famous. The branch of folk art most highly developed in Portugal, however, is ceramics. Its range is considerable — taking in plates with spirited pictorial decoration, oil jars of many and often original forms, and figurines — and its quality is high. It is for the most part majolica. Ironwork and the *azulejos* (painted and glazed tiles) which are so important a decorative element in Portuguese architecture can also in part be considered a folk product.

Museums displaying these products include Lisbon, Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas and Museu de Arte Popular; Cascais, Museu de Arte Popular; Belem, Museu Etnológico Português; Faro, Museu Marítimo; and various regional museums.

**Spain.** Spanish folk art displays tremendous stylistic variation in which there are retained influences of Celtic, Moorish, Berber, Greek, and Roman origin. Its rural architecture, for example, ranges



from the gray stone villages of the Basque region to the white Mediterranean dwellings of Iviza (Balearic Is.), from the thatch-roofed *barracas* of Valencia to the *hórreos* (granaries) of Galicia. The furniture is generally solid and sturdy, with decoration of geometric motifs; sometimes benches are built directly into the house in stone or stucco. Architectural decoration features glazed and painted tiles (*azulejos*; PL. 351) and wrought iron in gates, balcony rails, door knockers, hinges, weather vanes, etc. The latter technique is also used conspicuously for crosses (PL. 350). Metalwork in copper, brass, and bronze produces household items such as fire tongs, braziers, and pitchers. Brilliantly colored pottery differs in form and decoration according to the region (see CERAMICS, III, col. 289). Glassware is also of interest, preserving ancient shapes such as that of the *porrón*, a drinking vessel somewhat resembling a wineskin. Costume (q.v., IV, col. 49) involving a wealth of decoration with figured weaving, lace, embroidery (PL. 347), brilliant facings, braids and tassels, jewelry, and carved combs, preserves ancient court fashions and Berber and Moorish styles, along with peasant garments comparable to other costumes of western Europe. Centers of needlework and lace since the 17th century have been Almagros, Manzanaros, Granatula, and a number of towns in Catalonia. Toys, crèche figures, fans, carved, painted, and modeled figurines (such as the Balearic bronzes and Andalusian ivories), ship models, and popular prints all have a particular flavor in Spanish folk art. Religious folk sculpture (IV, PL. 213) is often closely related to the style of the famous pilgrimage madonnas and shows long-retained Gothic influence.

Museums especially rich in these arts include the Pueblo Español, Madrid; Museo de Artes Populares, Barcelona; Museo del Cau Ferrat, Sitges, with an excellent collection of metalwork; Museo Municipal de San Telmo, San Sebastián; the Cau Mulet, Palma de Majorca; the ethnographical museum at Bilbao; etc.

*Italy.* A regional personality emerges in all branches of Italian folk art—architecture, pottery, textiles, costume, sculpture, and painting. The variety of building styles may be exemplified by the trulli of Apulia (PLs. 337, 354), the flat-roofed or shallow-vaulted houses of the south, the courtyard plan of Po Valley farms, and the porchlike *lolla* construction of Sardinia. The northern area comes close in style to the arts of Austria and Switzerland, with houses of Alpine construction (PL. 354); woodcarving of religious figures in emaciated Gothic linearity from the Alpine valleys and in sturdy, vigorous massiveness from the northeastern area; and ironwork in shop and inn signs, grills, and gates.

Of the wealth of folk products from Sicily many examples are described in the text above—the carved and painted carts (PL. 345); the puppets and posters (PL. 345) of the popular theater; woodcarving; the pottery in ancient forms; the Nativity figurines of a well-known individual folk artist, Giovanni Matera; ex-votos (IV, PL. 209); embroidery and costume (IV, PL. 32). In addition, the repertory of paintings on fishing boats might be mentioned, with depictions in bright, flat colors of saints, mermaids, open eyes, angels, and fantastic sea creatures, sometimes accompanied by prayers, mottoes, and decorative striping, dots, or other conventional elements. The traditional Sardinian arts of woodcarving (PL. 342) include incised decoration on horn, gourds, etc. (PLs. 341, 344); pottery (III, PL. 164); weaving of tapestries, carpets, bedspreads; masks of painted wood; gold jewelry; and costume (IV, PL. 32)—all distinguished by a homogeneous regional style. A very ancient folklike level of art is exhibited in the nuraghic votive bronzes (IV, PL. 207). The Abruzzi section is noted for its carved wooden implements (PL. 348), for its embroidery and bobbin lace, that of Pescocostanzo especially, and for its silver filigree jewelry in lacy patterns. Flowers, bouquets, sheaves of grain, etc., are fashioned with colored paper for processions (PL. 349) and festive occasions, an art which reaches its height in the Sulmona confections of almonds and sweets, silk-wrapped and assembled in elaborate shapes.

Other noteworthy regional products include the pillow laces and pottery of Calabria; the glass of Campania (PL. 351) and the Veneto; and the carved and painted fishing boats of the Adriatic coast, often with the figure of a ballerina painted on the prow. Widespread production of festival and processional equipment includes carnival floats; religious figures; constructions such as the Viterbo tower of St. Rose (IV, PL. 213); banners; masks, often of wood in the north and papier-mâché in the south; elaborate breads and cakes in hundreds of traditional shapes; as well as such ephemeral products as religious symbols depicted in flower petals spread along the path of a procession and intricately interwoven palm leaves with ribbons and colored paper for Palm Sunday. Ex-votos occur in all areas in various types of work—painting, carving, molded papier-mâché, clay, embroidery (see PLs. 322, 353; IV, PL. 209). See also CERAMICS, III, col. 289; COSTUME, IV, col. 48; for examples of jewelry, VI, PL. 277, and of Italian popular prints, IV, PL. 182 and VI, PL. 423.

Among the museums are the following: Museo delle Arti e Tra-

dizioni Popolari, Rome, and Museo Nazionale di S. Martino, Naples, for general Italian collections; Museo Internazionale della Ceramica, Faenza, for both Italian and other folk pottery; Museo Navale, La Spezia, for arts of sailors and fishermen. For northern and Alpine areas, Museo dell'Alto Adige, Bolzano; Museo Diocesano, Bressanone; Museo Civico, Trent; Museo Civico, Udine; Museo Carnico di Arte Paesana, Tolmezzo. Other regions: Museo Nazionale, Sassari; Museo Pittre, Palermo; Museo Pepoli, Trapani; Museo Etnografico Romagnolo, Forlì; Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa. The museums of Bari, Lecce, Taranto, etc., exhibit ancient folk arts.

*Germany.* German folk art is particularly rich in its historical development and visual documentation. In the 18th century, which marks the summit of the art, the peasant was idealized in the humorous figures and satirical groups of Meissen porcelain. Pottery making flourished and still produces colorful figurines (PL. 351), jugs, and painted plates (III, PL. 164), with subjects from the Bible, nature, folk life, and a broad repertory of geometric motifs. The German genius for woodcarving is expressed in countless forms—gingerbread molds (PL. 348), religious figures such as the *Palmesel* (a processional figure of Christ riding a donkey for Palm Sunday), spindles and distaffs, spoon racks, wine casks and barrel bungs, sleighs, milk pails, shop signs. Religious symbols appear on votive painting (IV, PL. 208), often done on glass; these are often found in Bavarian churches. In the painting of furniture and the carved exteriors of rustic houses, floral motifs dominate. Rural architecture, which ranged from the primitive straw-roofed hut to the 17th-century Lower Saxon timber-framed façade with its brick and painted decoration, is still of great interest, with its reminders of medieval buildings. The typical house of the Black Forest, with barns, storage, and woodshed all under one deep overhanging roof, its fancifully railed balconies, its occasional painted motifs and mottoes on the exterior, while similar to other Alpine and Jura houses, constitutes a unique style. In textile designs (PL. 347) pictorial and abstract geometric elements coexist; an embroidery stitch based on that in Renaissance pattern books in Augsburg spread throughout Europe. German toys are world-famous (see GAMES AND TOYS and VI, PL. 1). Although not usually remarkable for refinement and delicacy, German folk art excels in craftsmanship.

Throughout Germany the folk arts are amply displayed in local and regional collections. Aside from major museums such as the Berlin Museum für Volkskunde (Staatliche Museen), the Munich Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, the Karlsruhe Schlossmuseum, the Germanisches National-Museum in Nürnberg, the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart, and the Dresden Museum für Volkskunst, there are museums devoted to specific crafts, such as the Deutsches Ledermuseum of Offenbach and the Deutsches Brotmuseum of Ulm, and local exhibits in Kiel, Konstanz, Schleswig, Hannover, Hamburg, Freiburg im Breisgau, Essen, etc.

*Switzerland.* Almost every important branch of European folk art is represented in Switzerland, and the art has a somewhat international character, revealing a kinship in the various regions with that of the adjoining countries, for example in pottery (figurines and stove tiles as well as vessels) and in metalwork (wrought-iron signs, grave crosses, and candlesticks). The painted and engraved glassware originally introduced by German immigrants became a flourishing Swiss art. Woodcarving was the principal means of adornment for furniture (PLs. 339, 342) and interior paneling until the end of the 18th century, when it was in large part replaced by painting (floral motifs and rustic scenes); it continues to be of importance in the ornamentation of implements and utensils, in figurines and toys, and in the extraordinary grotesque masks used for festivals. The objects created for the spring and winter festivals are outstanding in Switzerland; they include, in addition to the masks, elaborate costumes and head-dresses, the special *Dreikönigsferd* (costume and crown with a hobbyhorse, for the Three Kings), *Palmesel*, and Easter processional altars; Easter eggs; pastries from carved molds (PL. 348), noisemakers, etc. Painting occurs in independent panels, as well as on furniture, inn signs, pails (PL. 343), etc.; and as mirror and glass painting. The cut-paper work (PL. 349) making use of silhouette and appliqué of colored paper is notable. Typical themes in these arts are the *Alpfahrt* (leading cattle to mountain pastures), scenes of farm life such as butchering, inn scenes, and rows of animals, often combined with stylized motifs such as the heart or vase-and-vine. Examples of ornamented calligraphy occur especially in the *Osterschriften*, for the Easter examination, and the *Neujahrswünsche*, or New Year's wishes, which may also be made of cutouts. Scenes with miniature figures are extremely popular among the Swiss, and they may be executed with wood, wax, paper, or in movable cardboard cutouts, often set up as *Kästchen* (in boxes) or inside bottles. Lenten scenes in wax are a specialty of nuns; there are various holy scenes such as the Last Supper and crucifixes with instruments of the Passion, as well as merry-go-rounds with dancing couples. Among Swiss

textiles lace and embroidery are of particular interest, and the jewelry is distinguished by the filigree work, especially in clasps and pendants.

The Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde, Basel, is analytically organized and very active in special exhibitions. Other good collections include the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum and the Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich, both in Zürich; the Heimatmuseum, Appenzell; and the Schweizerisches Bauernmuseum, Wohlenachwil.

**Austria.** The folk art of Austria is exceedingly rich, though it is now concentrated in Upper Austria and, above all, in the Tirol. The rural architecture of the Alpine regions, with its characteristic overhanging balconies and eaves, its carved and painted beams and other elements, is well known. Woodcarving (including chip carving, relief carving, and inlay) and painting are also used to adorn furniture and domestic articles (IV, PL. 452). Carved and painted votive statuettes and groups should be mentioned, as should wooden demon masks (PL. 350) and toys. In the realm of pure painting, votive and memorial paintings on panel and glass are important, and fresco paintings, often of a purely decorative nature, are to be found on the walls of many houses. Austrian folk pottery, very abundant, is of two types: colored-glaze ware (often painted) and majolica. The pictorial decoration of dishes and vessels, which became general in the 16th century, shows Italian and German influences. Ceramics are also used for votive statuettes and plaques, and for the tiled stoves which are a characteristic feature of rural living rooms. Stove tiles are colored with glazes and may in addition bear figures or scenes molded in relief. Of the Austrian folk textile arts, lacemaking is the most highly developed. Wrought ironwork, used in elaborate signs, fire irons, window grilles, etc., is a specialty of Styria.

In addition to the extensive collections of the Museum für Volkskunde in Vienna, there are excellent displays in Graz, Steirisches Volkskundemuseum; Imst, Heimatmuseum; Innsbruck, Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum; Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum; Ried im Innkreis, Innviertler Volkskundehaus; Salzburg, Volkskundemuseum.

**Hungary.** Hungarian folk art of the past is abundantly preserved. Since the end of World War II a government program has been established to revive and promote the traditional arts, commissioning works and offering honorary titles to artists. Traditional designs are generally floral—roses, tulips, petals—or conventionalized floral motifs, but birds also appear commonly, and on the carvings of herdsmen whole scenes are shown. A recurrent representation is that of a highwayman (*betyár*). Red in various tints and shades is perhaps the favorite color.

Hungarian folk pottery was produced in large quantities from the 16th through the 19th centuries, in all parts of the country, though certain centers of the Great Plain region—Hódmezővásárhely, Debrecen, Mezőcsát—were especially known for their communities of potters. It achieved an impressive mastery of form and decoration in water jugs, brandy flasks, "Miaks" jugs, etc. Ornamental designs, not always employed, were applied either by the slip-trailing technique (PL. 351) or, less often, by incision, and usually consist of plant and animal forms, often literally rendered (III, PL. 164), though verses and inscriptions also appear. The rural costumes of Hungary are sumptuous, and vary not only with locality but also with the occupation of the wearer (herdsmen, for instance, have a separate group of costumes). Leather appliqué on sheepskin coats was a special technique of furriers. Costumes may involve several techniques—embroidery, weaving, appliqué—and materials—linen, leather, lace. Woven figured bands of color and Cumanian embroidery in wool appear on household linens. Men's betrothal shirts were embroidered in white, and black-on-white or white-on-black embroidery is characteristic of some areas.

Hungarian furniture—dower chests, chairs, etc.—is often ornamented by carving, painting, or incision, or a combination. Incised ornament (PL. 344) is largely geometric, as are some textile designs; these form exceptions to a prevailing naturalistic orientation in Hungarian folk art. The objects carved, sculptured, and painted by the shepherds include little masterpieces—for example, the representation of a shepherd watching his flock carved on a razor box. The technique is varied from simple incision, sometimes filled with soot, tallow, or colored sealing wax, to embossed and inlaid work.

Among the folk-art collections are those at Balassagyarmat, Polóc Múzeum; Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum; Mezőkövesd, Matyó Múzeum; Mohács, Kanizsai Dorottya Múzeum; Pécs, János Pannonius Múzeum; Szekszárd, Balogh Adám Múzeum; Szombathely, Sabaria Múzeum; Veszprém, Bakonyi Múzeum; Zalaegerszeg, Gőcseji Múzeum.

**Czechoslovakia.** Czechoslovak folk art ranges through most genres and media, and is of outstanding interest in several. It is now produced chiefly in Slovakia and eastern Moravia. The textile arts are represented by an exceptional wealth of costumes, mostly embroidered

and in many cases of a magnificence unsurpassed in eastern Europe. The folk pottery introduced by German and Italian Anabaptist immigrants in the 16th century soon took on a distinctive local character, spreading to other segments of the population. It is predominantly of the majolica type and portrays plants, animals, and people, sometimes integrated into pictures, sometimes highly stylized, with a free and scratchy line much in evidence. It includes figurines as well as dishes and vessels, and makes a specialty of ornamented Easter eggs. Akin to the ceramic designs in their decorative linear quality are the interior paintings which are such a striking feature of Slovak rural architecture. They tend, however, to be much more formally framed and composed, typically applying a patterned proliferation of stylized botanical detail to such elements as fireplaces and cupboards or to whitened clay walls. Painting on glass has also been an important folk art in Czechoslovakia since about 1800; it is usually religious or narrative in intent, and its color schemes depend heavily on the contrast between vermillion and blue (see IV, col. 378). Czechoslovak woodcarving includes, besides household utensils (PL. 343) such as pails with incised human figures and door details representing human heads, numerous polychromed votive statuettes, satirical groups of the arts and trades, and devotional subjects. Throughout its range, Czechoslovak folk art retains a strongly individual character; among its distinguishing marks are great freedom and fantasy in invention and an unconventional gaiety of effect (PL. 348).

The outstanding museums for Czechoslovak folk art include: Prague, Středisko Vlastivědné Práce; Brno, Moravské Museum v Brně; Bratislava, Slovenske Museum.

**Bulgaria.** The art of Bulgaria is naturally not dissimilar to that of Yugoslavia and Romania, though here there were inherited somewhat closer ties with Constantinople and the East. Embroidery is done typically in red on white, often with contrasting accents in one or two other colors, and in minutely detailed geometric patterns; often it shows affinities with the embroidery of western Russia. Related rather to Greek art are Bulgarian woodcarving and metalwork, the latter centered in Vidin and other towns of the Danube region. Both genres are characterized by an extensive use of intricately interlaced arabesque in low relief. Glazed earthenware, unsophisticated but attractive, is also produced. Folk icons in the Byzantine tradition are also of interest.

The Ethnographical Museum in Sofia has important displays.

**Yugoslavia.** The folk arts here preserve Slavic, Germanic, Magyar, Turkish, Byzantine, and Roman styles and present similarities to ornament and pottery forms of local finds from the Stone and Bronze Ages. Six major cultural areas may be distinguished. In the north-eastern Alpine region (Slovenia and part of Croatia) the houses and granaries resemble those of nearby Austrian provinces. Painting on glass (PL. 353), painted beehive panels (PL. 336), festival masks, painted or reserve-dyed Easter eggs in geometric and floral designs, and incised gourds are characteristic products. The Mediterranean area (Istria and Dalmatia) manifests its Roman and Italian heritage in stone buildings roofed with tiles or slate. Other arts include silk and silk embroidery of Venetian type, lace, huge stone storage jars, and straw work in woven and braided objects. The Dinaric mountain region (Bosnia to Montenegro) still preserves the ancient herdsmen's craft of woodcarving (PL. 339), as well as some wheel-turned pottery, figured knit goods, and braided leatherwork. The architecture includes log cabins with inner walls of wicker as well as buildings of ancient circular plan. Geometric decoration prevails in carving, textiles, and on Easter eggs. Still occasionally to be found is the traditional single-stringed fiddle, the *gusle*, often bearing a horse's head or horseman as a scroll ornament. In the Pannonian agricultural plains area (Slavonia), a high level of craftsmanship is found in woodcarving, lavishly decorated textiles (PL. 347), and wheel-made glazed pottery. Rural houses are frequently low, three-room structures with thatched roofs. The Morava Valley region of Old Serbia and Koemet has a typical farmhouse style—square in plan with an open area at one corner and a shingled roof. Pottery formerly was made by women only and without the wheel. Straw work includes objects associated with the customs (II, PL. 234). The most strongly Orientalized of all the regions, Macedonia, has houses of field stones or bricks with logs between courses. Weaving and embroidery with gold, heavy carpets and covers of Byzantine influence, and work in leather and metals (see PL. 350) are the major crafts. (See also COSTUME, IV, col. 51.)

Good representative collections are to be found in the ethnographic museums of Split, Zadar, Zagreb, and Belgrade; the Slavonian Museum, Osijek; the Macedonian Folk Museum, Skopje; and the Zemaljski Museum, Rijeka.

**Romania.** Besides an extraordinary diversity of elaborate costumes and textiles (see PL. 347, and COSTUME, IV, col. 51), Romanian folk art includes several strikingly individual types of rural architecture and

sculpture. Especially noteworthy among the former are the churches of Bukovina and northern Moldavia, of plastered masonry with overhanging eaves to protect exterior frescoing, and the wooden churches of Transylvania, which are dominated by extremely tall, steep shingle roofs (often multiple) that give them a somewhat pagoda-like appearance. Architectural elements are often carved or incised, as are household furnishings and implements of all kinds (PL. 343). Romanian woodcarving — and Romanian folk art in general — shows a predilection for patterns composed of small-scale geometric units intricately interwoven and tirelessly repeated. It tends to be markedly primitive in appearance, and some motifs bear a strong similarity to ancient Scythian ones. Among its most unique manifestations are outdoor votive crosses, often multiple and roofed, which may be painted as well as carved and incised. Icon painting on glass (see IV, col. 378) and wood engraving should be mentioned, as should pottery (see CERAMICS, III, col. 291), which is still an active art.

The outstanding collection of these arts is in the Folk Museum of the Romanian People's Republic, Bucharest.

**Albania.** The folk art of Albania includes many of the genres practiced among its Balkan neighbors, giving them its own particular variations and emphases. The carved wooden icon screens executed in southeastern Albania, for instance, resemble those carved across the border in Greece, while Albanian textiles have more in common with those of southern Yugoslavia. Textiles are particularly striking; they are for the most part woven, using vivid colors and complicated geometric designs that eschew curved lines and forms derived from nature. Embroidery is also used in the varied costumes of Albania (see COSTUME, IV, col. 52). In metalwork and woodcarving curvilinear arabesque is important, and plant and animal forms appear freely in the latter, especially in architectural decoration. The gold and silver filigree of Shkodër is well known. Albanian folk art remains active in all its branches (see ALBANIA, I, col. 184). Examples may be seen in the museum of ethnography and archaeology in Tirane.

**Greece.** Greece represents perhaps an extreme in the regional diversity which characterizes most national folk arts, for it comprises not only such distinctive continental areas as the Peloponnesos, Macedonia, and Epiros, but unique island styles as well. The folk heritage reflects an era when Greece was the hub of various cultural manifestations; the influence of its geographical position at the meeting place of east and west may be detected in the style of folk icons, which show a more Oriental and Byzantine trend in some examples and a more Hellenistic derivation in others. The architecture defies general statements except for the prominence in coastal areas of whitewashed stone, which characterizes these as it does various Mediterranean shores. There are the unique clustered towers of the Mani at the southern tip of the peninsula, enclosed compounds of straw huts in the grazing areas, a variety of stone dwellings along the mountainsides, characteristic dovecotes, windmills, etc. Greek building can be highly spontaneous, and the assembly of architectural shapes into an almost abstract whole, as on the island of Mykonos (PL. 354), is of great interest to modern architects.

On the continent Greek folk art is now produced most importantly in Epiros and the Pindos mountains, with the city of Yannina a long-renowned center for its making and marketing. The textile arts, currently the most widely practiced in Greece, find their most elaborate expression in the diverse costumes (see III, col. 52), which may simultaneously employ woven ornament, embroidery (PL. 346), tooled leather, and lace. Carpets display notable quality, in which Near Eastern influence is apparent, along with rougher examples in which vivid and subtle hues are mingled in random areas with striking effect. Heavy fabrics, used for hangings, saddlery, carrying bags, etc., are strongly localized, for example in the bold geometrized designs against white in Macedonia, the soft intricate patterns of Corfu, or the weaving-embroidery combinations of Epiros. A high standard of craftsmanship appears in Greek metalwork, used extensively for personal ornaments (VI, PL. 277), household vessels, lamps, etc.; Yannina silver is well known. Other household implements and furnishings may be decorated with elaborate woodcarving in low relief, a genre which reaches its height in icon screens and in the interior paneling of houses (especially in the north); among homelier objects the carved distaffs (PL. 344) are notable. Ceramics include both the relatively primitive vessels of continental Greece, with crude but distinctive slip patterns, and the more sophisticated ware produced in Rhodes and other island centers, in which foreign influences — notably Italian or Near Eastern — are apparent (see CERAMICS, III, col. 291).

Of particular interest is the persistence of these lively arts in modern times; rural hand-spinning is almost universal, and the traditional costume is worn in daily life, not merely for festivals. Thus much of the material is still to be found in local fairs or antique shops. The general collections are to be sought primarily in Athens.

The Museum of Decorative Arts exhibits especially embroidery, distaffs, and religious objects exemplifying fine woodcarving and incised mother-of-pearl insets in Byzantine style. The Benaki Museum has a section on popular arts particularly rich in costumes, and the Byzantine Museum has a well-analyzed collection of popular icons. An interesting regional museum is that at Metsovon in Epiros, where characteristic furnishings and utensils (notably in wood) are assembled in a dwelling, along with a collection of local fabrics.

**Poland.** Woodcarving is among the most widespread manifestations of Polish folk art. It includes votive statues and adornment of domestic implements (PL. 339) and furnishings of all kinds. Polish rural architecture, which comprises many regional types, often has carved gables, eaves, shutters, doors, rafters, and other elements. In the region of Kraków, carving is replaced by or combined with painting, and many houses have painted walls and fireplaces like those of Slovakia, though the paintings, which use mostly plant motifs, tend to be more naturalistically conceived. Painted furniture is also common in this area. Elsewhere interiors are decorated with one of the most characteristic products of Polish folk art, elaborately patterned cutouts of colored paper (PL. 349), which are pasted to the walls or mounted in complex structures and hung from the ceiling. Polish folk pottery varies widely in form and technique; vessels may be given monochrome glazes or may be painted with plant and animal forms and then glazed. Ceramic figurines and toys are produced in some volume. Painting on glass is another popular art form; it usually portrays religious, historical, or genre scenes. Costume is perhaps the best known of Poland's folk arts and is richly decorated with lace and embroidery. Needlework on tulle is especially remarkable. Festival costume presents fantastic beast forms, one the *twon* representing the ancient god Radegast. Festival foods have developed a variety of forms, notably painted and dyed Easter eggs and elaborate gingerbread figures (PL. 348). Polish folk art as a whole utilizes mainly forms taken from nature, sometimes stylized, but more often literal.

Museum displays may be found in the following: Chorzów, Muzeum w Chorzowie; Częstochowa, Muzeum Regionalne w Częstochowie; Kraków, Ethnographic Museum and Muzeum Historyczne; Łódź, Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum; Lublin, Muzeum Lubelskie; Poznań, Muzeum Narodowe; Przemysł, Museum in Przemysł; Warsaw, Ethnographical Museum.

**Russia.** Perpetuating ancient traditions while reflecting the immenseness of the country and the divergent origins of its inhabitants, Russian folk art today appears to be in the midst of a resurgence. The mingling of Slavic and Asiatic currents results in an extremely heterogeneous art. Though now fast declining as a stronghold of folk tradition, the Ukraine is particularly noted for the excellent workmanship of its embroidery, which is found on a great variety of objects — towels, bedcurtains, icons. Together with jewelry and splendid cloths, this embroidery made a veritable crown of the headgear of peasant women. Closely allied to the folk art of central and northern Europe, Ukrainian ornament shows a marked preference for floral patterns rather than the geometric forms favored by the Muscovites. Also produced within this area are tapestries, carpets, lace, and *naboiha* (dyed linen cloth, hand-printed by wooden blocks). In the northern regions, woodcarving is used in furniture, in decorative objects, and in the *matrioshka*, a unique type of doll; incised cornices still survive in the low peasant houses known as *izbas*. Whereas scenes of daily life are portrayed in the beautiful and delicate Siberian ivory carvings, weapons and armor constitute the work of the Caucasian mountain dwellers. Among the different forms of painting popular in Russian folk art are the *lubok*, which while charmingly depicting fairy tales and folklore are often saturated with unobtrusive satirical comments. Mostly dating from the 19th and early 20th centuries, the *lubok* include wallpaper patterns recalling Persian miniatures as well as religious paintings which are often used by the peasant as a substitute for the more expensive icons. Highly colored lacquered wood, *khokhlomsky*, painted in bright, iridescent tones is, unlike much of Russian art, entirely free of thematic or literary significance. Prominent in the Moscow region are lacquered papier-mâché boxes and painted metal trays, while inlaid black enamels are a specialty of the Tatar Republic. Generally somewhat restrained in design, the folk art of Russia is nevertheless characterized by joyous color and a vivacious spirit. See PL. 347.

Moscow's Folk Art Museum and National Museum of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R. have extensive exhibits, and many regional museums document the arts and crafts of the various populations.

**Jewish art.** The circumstances of the Jewish people, varying with the countries where they have lived, have in some cases led to the production of a folk art consistent in style with that of the region but adapted to Jewish custom and belief; however, in some of the areas where the folk objects were numerous, they have been systemati-

cally destroyed. A small but significant collection of Jewish folk art in the Musée Alsacien, Strasbourg, includes such objects as crowns of paper flowers and leaves for the Pentateuch rolls; prayers for women in childbirth, with cut-paper and painted ornament; stencils for printing homely mottoes and Misrach pictures; pewter and pottery plates for the Passover supper, engraved or painted with Hebrew characters; pointers in the form of a hand carved of wood with a variety of ornamental detail, used for the reading of sacred texts at religious ceremonies; candlesticks for the eve of Sabbath observance; Hanukkah lights; wall mottoes of cut-paper silhouette or paper appliqué. Other collections may be found in Prague, in New York (Jewish Mus.), Haifa (Israel Ethnological Mus. and Folklore Archives), Tel Aviv (Municipal Mus. of Archaeology and Folklore), Jerusalem ("Bezalel" Nat. Mus.), etc.

*The Americas.* The discovery and colonization of the American continents provided certain of the conditions under which folk arts (along with other manifestations of folklore) develop or survive. Groups of peoples who, for religious, political, or economic reasons, found the social climate of their homelands inhospitable were able to move for about two centuries into a vast, unoccupied territory where, in geographical isolation from other pioneer settlements and remote from subsequent cultural developments in the mother country, they pursued their traditional modes of life and accustomed trades. The raw wilderness into which the early settlers penetrated imposed upon them the necessity for making by hand nearly all the equipment for daily life. English, Dutch, German, Scandinavian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and various other peoples, among whom were a scattering of skilled craftsmen and artisans, transplanted to the Western Hemisphere their methods and techniques, some to remain nearly identical with their prototypes in Europe, others to be strongly modified by the use of local facilities, materials, and coloring matter until they assumed a clearly American character.

The arts of the indigenous American races affected very little those of the North American white settlers, but in the Caribbean and Latin America both the native Indian arts and those of the imported Negro slave population (see *AFRO-AMERICAN ART*) became deeply interwoven with the Spanish- and Portuguese-derived folk products.

The American folk arts offer the scholar a peculiar advantage in that provenance of forms and dating are more readily determined than in many other parts of the world.

*United States.* The rapid industrialization in the United States, which was colonized on the threshold of the Industrial Revolution, tended to operate against the retention of crafts at the folk level, but simultaneously other factors, such as the determined and nostalgic preservation of language and religious practices in certain settlements and the continuation of a frontier status throughout the westward expansion, perpetuated folk-art activity.

Predominantly British colonists along the Atlantic coast brought with them their trades of pottery, weaving, ironwork, glassmaking, carpentry, their domestic embroidery designs and stitches. They produced salt-glaze stoneware crocks, jars, and bowls decorated with flowers or birds in blue under the glaze. Woven bedcovers were made of linen and wool or cotton in figural and geometric patterns, dyed with imported indigo and native hickory brown and sumac red. Patch and appliqué quilts in countless designs displayed the frugality of the housewife in salvaging scraps of material. Patchwork is mainly of two types — pieces of random size and shape may be stitched together, the seams often covered with embroidery; or the scraps of cloth may be cut to uniform square, diamond, or triangular pieces and joined to form geometrical or conventional patterns of color. Appliqué quilts generally have colored pieces of fanciful shape hemmed to a plain background. The quilting stitches may follow the edges of the pieces or constitute an additional decorative motif. Other products of women's industry include rag rugs, hooked or braided, and samplers, often bearing the name and date. Wrought-iron work includes weathervanes, hinges, fireplace cranes, fire irons, trivets. Japanned tinware (tole) was used for trays, canisters, and coffeepots, with stenciled or freehand designs and motifs ranging from simple striping to intricate flower and figure representations.

Stiegel glass and south Jersey glass; carved wooden figureheads (PL. 352) and ships' stern-pieces; circus-wagon figures, hitching posts, merry-go-round animals, and cigar-store Indians (see *AMERICAS*, I, col. 324); popular prints and woodcuts; wall decoration of painted or stenciled design; the scrimshaw carving and engraving on whale ivory and bone characteristic of whaling men — these are some of the many typical products. Stone carvers, whose work is still extant in countless early graveyards, adopted a number of ancient symbols, notably that of the death's head with wings or the rising sun, filling the oval at the top of the tombstone.

A rich and homogeneous vein of folk art is that of the Pennsylvania Dutch, who brought to the fertile agricultural lands of southeastern

Pennsylvania the south German and Swiss arts of the lower Rhine region. Their traditional decorative motifs of tulip, rose, pomegranate, birds, animals, hearts, and geometric figures appear on pottery, furniture, glass- and metalwork, boxes, painted and embroidered textiles in bright reds, greens, yellows, and blues. The soldier figure, so common on folk products of Germany and Alsace, appears in Pennsylvania, though in a Revolutionary uniform. Wooden dower chests and wardrobes, sometimes simpler in carving than their German prototypes, are ornamented with painting often including the owner's or maker's name and the date. The still-living south German dialect of the 17th century appears in mottoes, rhymes, and elaborate calligraphic inscriptions (*fraktur*) on documents such as baptismal records. Cut- and folded paper work and paper montage are almost indistinguishable from those from the Rhinelands. Pottery is decorated with colored slip or with scratched drawing in the slip.

The decoration of Pennsylvania Dutch barns with wheels, rosettes, and figural representations is a peculiarity of the region still existing, though the apotropaic significance ascribed to such painting has no longer any credence. Decoration of Easter eggs is carried on today as it was in Europe, and a tree trimmed with such eggs may still be found outside country houses, though its efficacy in bringing children to childless couples may be forgotten. One way of decorating is dyeing the eggs red-brown with onion skin and scratching the motif through the dye. Among the Amish the somber, undecorated costume prescribed by religious observance is still worn in country districts.

Another religious influence, that of the Shaker sect in the East and Middle West, with strong rejection of ornament and imagery, was responsible for a severe and simple but expertly crafted furniture, as well as utensils, stoves, rugs, and coverlets.

The Spanish influence produced in the Southwest (New Mexico and Arizona, for example) a style of religious painting and wood sculpture (*santos*). Images of saints and sacred events, they were produced by local craftsmen, including Indians, under the tutelage of Franciscan missionaries. Their forms are simple, almost abstract, freely adapting the Spanish originals on which they were modeled. (See *AMERICAS*, I, col. 277.)

Of the 17th-century buildings of log or wood frame, existing remnants are few (see *AMERICAS*, I, col. 246). Notable are certain frame houses in Salem, Mass., and the Cloisters at Ephrata, Pa. Primitive shelters such as the log cabin and the sod house along with faithful reconstructions of houses, shops, and farm buildings, may be seen in living museums such as those at Plymouth and Old Sturbridge Village, both in Massachusetts; Colonial Williamsburg, Va.; Henry Ford's Greenfield Village, Dearborn, Mich.; etc. (see *UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*).

Folk-craft revivals promoted in the southern highlands today reproduce traditional products and patterns by the old techniques, but, guided by merchandising experts, they do not produce true folk art. However, the arts of even recent immigrants occasionally preserve a folk quality in the multilingual foreign neighborhoods of such a city as New York.

In addition to reconstructed settlements such as those mentioned above, which have had greater development than folk-art museums in the ordinary sense, extensive collections are on view at the Farmer's Museum, Cooperstown, N.Y.; in California, the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles; the College Museum, Claremont; the San Joaquin Pioneer Historical Museum, Stockton; in Colorado, the Colorado State Museum and the State Historical Society Museum, Denver; in Connecticut, Mystic Seaport (Marine Hist. Assoc.); in Washington, D.C., the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress — Folklore Section; in Indiana, the Wayne Co. Historical Association and the Tippecanoe Co. Historical Association, Richmond; in Iowa, the Luther College and the Norwegian-American Historical Museum, Decorah; in Kansas, the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka; in Massachusetts, the Peabody Museum, Salem; the Whaling Museum, New Bedford; in Michigan, the Michigan Pioneer Museum, Lansing; in New Hampshire, the New Hampshire Historical Society Museum, Concord; in New York, the Jewish Museum, the Metropolitan Museum — American Wing, and the New-York Historical Society Museum, New York City; the Brooklyn Museum; the Museum of Folk and Peasant Arts, Riverdale-on-Hudson; the Shaker Museum, Old Chatham; in Pennsylvania, the Landis Valley Museum, near Lancaster; the Moravian Museum, Nazareth; the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Lancaster; the Bucks Co. Historical Society, Doylestown; in Utah, the Latter-Day Saints Church Museum, Salt Lake City; in Vermont, the Shelburne Museum; in Washington, the Washington State Museum of the University of Washington, Seattle.

*Canada.* Canadian folk arts derive principally from English and French traditions. The major permanent settlements of the English occurred at the time of the American Revolution, when loyalists to the British crown emigrated from the revolting American colonies. Thus the crafts they had followed in New England were transplanted

to Canada and had much the same subsequent development. Other settlers included Mennonites from Pennsylvania and, later, there arrived Irish and Scottish immigrants. Outstanding among their products are woven linens, coverlets, carpeting, and blankets. The French communities along the St. Lawrence from the second half of the 17th century set up guilds of joiners and woodcarvers similar to those in France and produced a characteristic architecture (the *habitant* house) and a broad range of carvings in wood, developing both religious and genre sculptures. Ursuline nuns established as early as 1637 a teaching program for numerous crafts — especially sewing and embroidery. Indian girls proved apt pupils, as a collection of Indian garments (Musée de l'Homme, Paris) proves: French styles of floral and geometric motifs dominate the decoration. Other products included dishes, leatherwork and bookbinding, birchbark boxes stitched together with spruce root and adorned with dyed moose hair or porcupine quills. (See also *AMERICAS*, I, col. 331.)

Interesting survivals of old crafts may be seen in Nova Scotia and in the Gaspé peninsula, where villages a mile or so apart preserve characteristically archaic English or French traits of language and ways of life. The tiny, white Protestant chapels are in strong contrast with the towering wooden cathedrals of the French. Wayside shrines, outdoor bake ovens, and dog-drawn carts are common on the Gaspé. Lobstermen, fishermen, and hunters of Nova Scotia have their own local boat construction, carve and paint their own decoy birds, and each man's lobster buoys have an identifying shape, color, and painted design (as they still do on the coast of Maine in the United States). Hand-spun and woven coverlets, homespun textiles, bright embroidered belting and toweling are also still produced, though in certain areas the colors and designs are being standardized or modified to sophisticated taste in a controlled marketing program.

Among Canadian collections of folk art may be cited those in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum; Halifax, Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia; L'Assomption, Collège de l'Assomption Museum; and Grand Pré, Grand Pré Museum.

*Latin America.* During the colonial period the introduction of Christianity to the Indians gave rise to a bold and emotional expression in popular religious sculpture — notably in agonized figures of the Christ portrayed in the likeness of an Indian. In Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador many figures were made for export to Spain, constructed with hollow sections of wood, paper, or vegetable fibers, assembled with light sticks, and finished with extremities of balsa wood. Pairs of angels and saints were common. A rich development over the centuries has occurred in festival costumes, masks, and apertenances combining Christian elements with those of the pre-Columbian religions. Leatherwork, pottery, textiles, silverwork, and musical instruments — all display the mingled characteristics of pre-Columbian indigenous arts with genres and techniques introduced by the Spaniards. In Mexico weaving is one of the oldest indigenous arts and continues to be practiced everywhere. Its most important products are serapes (men's cloaks woven of wool in bold colors and large-scale geometric patterns), *rebozos* (women's shawls, of cotton, in sober colors with minute geometric patterns in white), and sashes. Of equal importance is the weaving of reeds and palm strips (often dyed different colors to produce geometric patterns) into mats (*petates*), baskets, hats (*sombreros*), and toys. Mexican pottery may be glazed or unglazed; it is used extensively for animal statuettes and other toys as well as for vessels of all kinds. Unglazed pottery is a survival from pre-Conquest art and is made only in certain localities, often remote. Glazing techniques were introduced by the Spaniards, and glazed pottery is now ubiquitous in Mexico, exhibiting an infinity of local variations in design. The Spaniards also reproduced wares of their own: the most famous of these transplanted types is the Talavera of Puebla. Glassmaking, also centered in Puebla, is a purely Spanish art. Entirely indigenous, on the other hand, is Mexican lacquerware, which is made only in a few villages in the states of Michoacán and Guerrero. It uses wood and gourds as a basic material for trays, chests, and vessels, and decorates them with floral and other natural motifs. Featherwork, which before the Spanish conquest was one of the primary arts, has survived only vestigially in small and relatively crude feather paintings executed mostly in Michoacán. Religion has furnished subject matter and occasion for a wide range of Mexican folk-art products. Among these are silver effigies (*milagros*), papier-mâché processional figures, wax figures and decorated candles, fireworks castles, and masks. More permanent, and at their best of exceedingly high artistic quality, are the *santos*, carved wooden religious images, and the *retablos* (I, PL. 144), folk paintings which commemorate favors received from Heaven. (See also *AMERICAS*, I, col. 344; *CERAMICS*, III, col. 291.)

Good collections of Mexican folk art may be seen in Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Artes e Industrias Populares; and in Toluca, Museo de Arte Popular. In Argentina: the Museo Argentino de Ciencias Naturales, the Museo de Lujan, and the Museo José Fernández,

all in Buenos Aires; the Museo de La Plata, in La Plata; and the museum of the Institute of Archeology, Linguistics, and Folklore, in Córdoba. In Chile: the Museo de Arte Americano Popular and the Museo Histórico Nacional, both Santiago; in Peru, the Museo de la Cultura Peruana, Lima; in Uruguay, the Museo de Historia Natural and the Museo Histórico Nacional (the latter with exhibits on the gaucho, the South American cowboy), both Montevideo.

*The Orient and Near East.* It is as yet premature to offer a summary pretending to cover all the folk arts of the Orient or to define the regions in which an over-all folk character may be found. Nevertheless, a growing literature, the establishment of museum collections of folk art, and the inclusion of folk products in exhibitions of Oriental art have begun to define levels of production analogous to those recognized as folk in European countries. In the sections above numerous Oriental examples have been cited.

There is a widespread religious art that may be singled out as folk on the same grounds as in the West, exemplified by the innumerable household divinity images of India, the paper images placed above the kitchen stove in China in honor of the god of the hearth, and religious popular prints from various countries. An exhibition of such wood-block prints of the Far East (Fogg Mus. of Art, Cambridge, Mass., 1948) included votive offerings, pilgrimage mementos, and images for household shrines — all clearly distinct in technique and concept from the contemporary fine-arts prints of the 18th and 19th centuries. (See also *DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS AND IMAGES*, IV, cols. 369-73). A similar type of pilgrimage souvenir picture representing the Juggernaut was sold in great numbers at the temple at Puri, Orissa, in India in the 19th century. Religious subjects also appear in a genre of Japanese peasant painting. In 1950 the Fogg Museum held a loan exhibition of such paintings produced from the 17th century on at the barrier town of Otsu, near Kyoto, and sold to travelers as souvenirs. At first limited to religious themes, these paintings later came to illustrate proverbs and traditional story subjects. The Orient is rich in festivals, often dedicated to special subjects requiring distinctive objects such as the dragon and the lanterns that are set afloat on the river in China, or the dolls and the carp for the girls' and boys' festivals in Japan; and festival objects, as in the West, are for the most part folkloristic.

The Chinese dragon kite may be constructed of as many as a hundred separate, beautifully painted segments and requires the efforts of an entire village for its successful launching. Another huge dragon form is constructed of papier-mâché and silk and carried by as many as thirty dancing men for the New Year's feast in both China and Taiwan. For the lantern festival fanciful shapes are constructed of mulberry paper, fine muslin or gauze, silk, bamboo strips, sheepskin, etc. A feature of many village holidays is the peep show or the puppet show set up by itinerant showmen.

Aspects of Japanese peasant arts have been exhibited for many years at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, where objects from the Frank W. Gunsaulus collections have been shown along with fine-arts wood blocks illustrating the objects in use. Festival equipment, frequently made of paper or straw, is a feature of these collections. Fantastic paper kites in the shapes of birds, butterflies, fish, fans, etc.; folded paper gift containers (*noshi*); a house decoration of twisted straw (*shime-nawao*), intertwined with leaves or cut-paper ornaments and pendants; and a straw treasure boat to invite the seven gods of good luck are among the items included in the New Year's festival collection (H. C. Gunsaulus, *Japanese New Year's Festival, Games and Pastimes*, Chicago 1923). Peasant costume is represented by many articles fashioned of straw — hats, skirts, raincoats — and of cotton fabrics printed from wood blocks.

A significant exhibition of the art of India, held in 1960 in Essen and later in Vienna and other major cities, included a section on folk art, with pieces furnished by most of the participating Indian museums. Many of the items shown dated from about the last century and a half, though some were contemporary with the great art periods of the past. Among them were terra-cotta figurines of the most popular deities or household gods; items of costume and embroidery; a type of blanket (*hantha*) made by Bengalese women from cotton scraps; a wooden coconut scraper; and clay and wooden dolls and toys (*Kunst aus Indien*, cat., Vienna, 1960).

The folk art of Indonesia sometimes displays strong Western influences, but it also manifests a popularization of ancient religious and courtly art styles. Miguel Covarrubias (1936) described, among many Balinese folk products, fishing boats in half-elephant and half-fish form with painted eyes to see at night; elaborate decorations for oxen in the ploughing season; religious offerings and temple decorations of palm leaf formed in the shape of sails, long banners, towers, etc.; costumes and figures for the shadow plays; and extravagant funeral apparatus.

Examples of Central Asian and Near Eastern folk art are not lacking; they include carpets and other woven goods (see above



under *Investigation of Historical Connections*); woodcarving (e.g., the Kafir work, pls. 339, 352); 17th- and 18th-century Turkish objects such as tooled-leather powder flasks, saddlebags for donkeys, textile stamps, and camel bells (Linden Mus., Stuttgart); and Armenian embroidery, silk weaving, lace, and carvings of wood, bone, and ivory for such objects as pipes, combs, and religious figures. (See also EXOTICISM, V, col. 302.)

Museums in which Far Eastern folk arts are displayed include the Central Handicrafts Museum, New Delhi; the Folkcraft Art Museum, Tokyo; the Kurashiki Folk Art and Craft Museum, Kurashiki, Okayama; the Peasants' Institute, Canton; and various provincial museums. In the Near East: Musée National, Alep, Syria; Musée Folklorique, Damascus; Ethnological Museum of Archaeology and Folklore, Tel Aviv.

**Antiquity.** In the ancient world the whole area of crafts production, which covers almost completely the innumerable products necessary to daily life (see HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS), to religion (see LITURGICAL OBJECTS), and to funeral rites (see ESCHATOLOGY), can in a certain sense be defined as folk art when the forms are simple and follow a traditional pattern (even by mechanical means) and when the symbolism is immediately comprehensible to the least sophisticated and the most numerous classes of the society. These arts have not been widely studied in terms of a folk category distinct from other aspects of the art, though a conspicuous exception exists in the field of Italo-Roman folk art (q.v.). Nonetheless, manifestations of folk art may readily be observed in painting, sculpture, and mosaic intended for political or advertising purposes (see PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING), for example as proclamations on the walls of houses, shop and business signs, caricatures, and invective. Games and toys (q.v.), which frequently fall in the folk-art category, are exemplified by earthenware dolls, animals, and carts, some as old as the 3d millennium B.C.

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**FONTANA, CARLO.** Roman architect of the late baroque (b. Bruciate, near Como, 1634; d. Rome, 1714). He may have had some training in Milan, but was in Rome by 1656 and became one of Bernini's pupils and assistants. In 1661-62 he was working for Carlo Rainaldi and may have influenced him toward the Bernini style; in 1662 Rainaldi began S. Maria de' Miracoli in the Piazza del Popolo, eventually completed by Fontana under Bernini's direction in 1679. Fontana also completed Bernini's Palazzo di Montecitorio (1694). Fontana's main works date from the 1680s, the first being the design (1681) for the Jesuit church and college of Loyola, St. Ignatius' birthplace in Spain. The contract stipulated that his designs be sent to Spain and executed without variations, but the buildings show a markedly Spanish element in the decoration; the foundation stone was laid in 1689, and the buildings were partially consecrated only in 1738. In Rome he built the Cappella Cibò in S. Maria del Popolo (1683-87) and his most famous work, the curved façade of S. Marcello al Corso (1682-83), reminiscent of Borromini.

In the 1690s he was appointed surveyor of St. Peter's and built the Baptismal Chapel as well as planning an extension of Bernini's Piazza. His numerous books, particularly the *Templum Vaticanum* (1694), with many splendid engravings, and his designs for Spain and other countries spread his fame. His influence is strikingly attested by the fact that three of the greatest architects of the next generation — Juvara, Hildebrandt, and Gibbs — were his pupils. He became a member of the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome in 1667 and director in 1685 and 1692-1700. Pascoli, his first biographer, said that he was a good talker but would have been a better one had he spoken less of himself and his works. There is a large collection of his drawings in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, England. (See also BAROQUE ART.)

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**FONTANA, DOMENICO.** Italian architect (b. Melide, on Lake Lugano, 1543; d. Naples, 1607). He went to Rome, probably with his elder brother Giovanni, about 1563 and soon found employment under Cardinal Felice Peretti, for whom he began the Cappella Sistina in S. Maria Maggiore in 1585. Cardinal Peretti became Pope Sixtus V on Apr. 24 of that year. During his five-year papacy (1585-90) Sixtus, aided by Fontana, radically transformed the city, laying the foundations of that baroque Rome which still endures. Fontana's importance lies more in his urbanistic ideas than in his contributions to buildings, such as the palaces of the Quirinal, Lateran, and Vatican, which are architecturally undistinguished. To contemporaries his greatest achievement seemed to be his removal of the Vatican obelisk from the side of the basilica to its present position in front of the church, where it forms the central point of Bernini's colonnades. The plans were made in 1585 and the operation was triumphantly concluded, before a great crowd, on Sept. 10, 1586. Fontana was ennobled, made a fortune, and wrote a book describing this and other works he had undertaken for the Pope. Some of these were admirable, such as the laying out of four great streets from S. Maria Maggiore (1587), including the Strada Felice (now Via Quattro Fontane and continuations), intended to run across Rome from Sta Croce in Gerusalemme to the Piazza del Popolo. Between 1588 and 1590 he collaborated with Giacomo della Porta on completing the dome of St. Peter's. Some less admirable works of the Pope and his architect were the new wing of the Vatican Library (built 1587-90), which ruins Bramante's Belvedere Court; the destruction of the Septizodium Severi (1589); and the project to turn the Colosseum into a wool factory. After Sixtus died, Fontana was removed as papal architect and in 1592 went to

Naples, where he worked for the Spanish viceroys and designed the Palazzo Reale. Carlo Maderno (q.v.) was his nephew and pupil. (See BAROQUE ART.)

Giovanni Fontana, Domenico's elder brother and assistant (b. Melide, 1540; d. Rome, 1614), worked as an architect and engineer for Domenico on the Acqua Felice aqueduct (1587) and worked with Maderno on the Acqua Paola (1612).

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**FOPPA, VINCENZO.** Lombard painter (b. Brescia, Italy, ca. 1428; d. ca. 1515). His first known work, the signed and dated *Crucifixion* (1456; PLS. 356, 357), is characterized by a chiaroscuro and a color scale quite unlike anything found in Venetian, Paduan, or Tuscan painting of the period. The colors are attenuated by light to form a gray-dominated tone scale that establishes a smoothly and naturally graduated atmospheric perspective. This picture thus represents the point of departure for the peculiarly Lombard approach to reality in painting and is — despite certain reflections of Venetian (and, indirectly, Tuscan) precedents in its composition — the first important pictorial document of the Lombard Renaissance.

In 1456, Foppa may already have been in Pavia, where he is known to have been in 1458. His activity prior to 1456 is not completely documented. If the so-called *Madonna della Siepe* (Florence, Berenson Coll.), with its late Gothic elements, is taken as typical of Foppa's earliest work, it becomes difficult to ascribe to this phase — as Fernanda Wittgens has done — the fifth window on the right in the Cathedral of Milan, which portrays scenes from the New Testament with a plastic and spatial amplitude already almost Bramantesque. The signed *St. Jerome* (Bergamo, Gall. Acc. Carrara), which is nervous, vibrantly alive, and quasi-experimental, must be roughly contemporary with the 1456 *Crucifixion*. The *Christ* (formerly in Allington Castle, near Maidstone, Eng.), also dating from about this time, is less advanced.

Although Foppa is known to have frescoed the Chapel of S. Giovanni Battista in the Cathedral of Genoa in 1461, these works no longer exist. The *St. Theodore* and *St. Augustine* (Milan, Mus. Civ.) may come from the polyptych painted in 1462 for S. Maria del Carmine in Pavia (according to Salmi); they are important in documenting the artist's gradual development away from his early harshness. That Foppa was already in command of a highly monumental style in the early 1460s seems proved by the remains of his work for the Medici bank in Milan (1462-67): the *Boy Reading* (PL. 357), and the preliminary drawing for *The Judgment of Trajan* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.), both works of the greatest breadth. Such works as the two *Saints* (formerly London, Zawodaki Coll.) or the *St. Christopher* (Denver, Art Mus.), may therefore be ascribed to the years 1457-60, since these paintings still show traces of the earlier, harsher manner.

The frescoes (ca. 1467-68) of the Cappella Portinari in S. Eustorgio, Milan, include a cycle depicting scenes from the life of St. Peter Martyr (PL. 358), an *Annunciation*, an *Assumption*, and *The Fathers of the Church*. Together with the works of Cristoforo Mantegazza and Amadeo in the Certosa of Pavia, these frescoes demonstrate the radical repudiation of the Gothic style by progressive artists of the Lombard school during this first decisive decade of the north Italian Renaissance. With unremitting attention to perspective, Foppa here expressed a new reality, completely different from that conceived by Mantegna or the Tuscan school. This discovery (visible in the placing of a pulpit, a staircase, or the figures themselves) produces an atmospheric vision both limpid and humanly plausible — as coherent visually as the paintings of 17th-century Holland. Strikingly plain in contrast to the fantastic decorative exaggerations of the late Gothic style, Foppa's well-articulated fig-

ures, their sober attitudes and gestures, and their carefully calculated spacing produce an effect of great, if understated, eloquence. This style of simple grandeur is reflected in his lesser works, for example, the *Madonna della Tenda* (Florence, Berenson Coll.) and the *Madonna* of the Musei Civici in Milan (in which the Child embraces the Virgin). These are certainly contemporary with the Portinari frescoes, for the female on-lookers are repetitions of the types in *St. Peter Martyr's Miracle at Narni* (PL. 358). The *Madonna* of the National Gallery (Washington, D.C.), however, must be dated somewhat later because of its reference (in the figure of the Child) to Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna* (Venice, Mus. Correr) of 1470-75.

The *Madonna and Child* (PL. 355) appears to be somewhat earlier than the Portinari frescoes, the simple and powerful rhythm of which Foppa rarely recaptured in later works, leaving us with the impression that he was at his best in large frescoes where he could work in a congenial medium and have ample room to expand.

Foppa's work of the 1470s cannot be clearly defined, because most of the key pieces have disappeared. In 1469, he offered to do frescoes for the Camposanto in Pisa, and he was in Genoa between 1469 and 1471. Foppa submitted designs of frescoes for the Chapel of the Castello in Pavia in 1474-76, but this commission was given to other painters. He also designed a reliquary altar and a window for the Castello chapel, and painted, in collaboration with other artists, frescoes representing the Passion of Christ in the Church of S. Giacomo (Pavia) in 1476. None of these works have come down to us. Still extant, however, are the *Evangelists* (ca. 1475) of the Averoldi Chapel (Brescia, S. Maria del Carmine), which were executed in the grand manner of the Portinari frescoes and certainly represent one of Foppa's most notable achievements.

In 1478-81, Foppa painted a polyptych (now lost) for the Church of S. Domenico in Genoa. The large polyptych in the Brera (see PL. 359) — usually thought to have been painted at about the same time — may be a later work, despite the fact that it is reminiscent of Foppa's pre-Portinari style. The thoughtful and carefully worked out realism of this work gives way in certain passages (e.g., the Virgin, or St. Clare) to a solemn, hieratic style. (The predella of the polyptych is certainly a product of the workshop.) The Negroid features of the Child as well as the archaic, prismlike drapery folds in this picture call to mind the exquisite *Madonna* of the Contini Bonacossi Collection (Florence). In the latter painting, the perspective framework and the coffering of the niche are reminiscent of the Brera polyptych. The Contini Bonacossi *Madonna* is also related to a *Madonna* in the Metropolitan Museum (New York), which is, however, probably of a somewhat later date. The *Nativity* in the parish church of Chiesanuova (province of Brescia) and its two lateral wings (Geneva, D. Mathiesen Coll.) can be dated in the 1470s, as can the partially ruined *Madonna* in the Crespi Collection (Milan).

As he grew older, Foppa recaptured a breadth worthy of Bramante or Melozzo in the fresco (1485; Milan, Brera) that was formerly above a door in the sacristy of S. Maria di Brera in Milan. This novel composition presents the Virgin leaning on the railing of a balcony and flanked by the two St. Johns beneath a deep, coffered arch. The scene is presented from an angle that gives the spectator the illusion of being stationed below the floor level of the picture — a perspective device that recalls works by Mantegna. The rhythm of the composition, however, is already strongly suggestive of paintings of the 16th century. The *St. Sebastian* (PL. 357) comes from the same church as the above-mentioned picture, and here again the grandiose scale of the architecture conditions the human event.

The later *St. Sebastian* (Milan, Mus. Civ.) gives evidence of a greatly increased concern with symmetry and also shows a certain elaboration and particularization of detail. The window that Foppa designed for the Church of S. Maria del Carmine in Pavia dates from 1484. In the famous Bottigella Altarpiece (PL. 360) — done before 1486 — Foppa abandoned the polyptych form (as Giovanni Bellini did during the same period). Here the figures are disposed — rather densely — within a single frame to form a *sacra conversazione*. Most of the painting

in this work is by the master's own hand, but that of an assistant is recognizable in the head of St. Stephen, while the Dominic and the Sibyllina were possibly added later.

The three frescoes (now in Milan, Mus. Civ.) from the Church of S. Maria del Giardino and the two *Saints* (Basel, Sarasin Warney Coll.) should be dated before 1487. Payment was recorded in 1489 for an altarpiece (now lost) for the Certosa of Rivarolo, near Genoa. In the Fornari altar (1489; Savona, Mus. Civ.), Foppa returned to the old polyptych form, but many passages (e.g., the St. Jerome) were executed in his most broadly monumental style. The little saints on either side and the predellas, however, are clearly by a different hand. The often-repainted polyptych (1489-90) of the Church of S. Maria di Castello (Savona), executed with the assistance of Ludovico Beza, adheres still more closely to the canonical polyptych type prevalent at the close of the century and thereafter. (This type is also exemplified by Giovanni Bellini's earlier polyptych in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice; the Borgognone polyptych in Sto Spirito, Bergamo; the Costa polyptych in the Nat. Gall., London; and others.) The carved wooden statues that form part of the elaborate frame of the polyptych of S. Maria di Castello may also be by Foppa. The lively *Portrait of a Woman* (Amsterdam, Rijksmus.) also dates from the late 1480s.

Foppa returned to Brescia in 1489, where he continued to work intensively. The quality of his work, however, tended to decline from this time forward, with the exception of such works as the *Altar of the Merchants of Brescia* (Brescia, Pin. Civ. Tosio Martinengo), and the *Adoration of the Magi* (London, Nat. Gall.). The elaboration of detail in the faces and costumes of the last work is reminiscent of Pinturicchio. The fine *Portrait of Francesco Brivio* (Milan, Mus. Poldi Pezzoli) — which must, by the subject's birth date (1457), be attributed to this period — marks an extraordinary resurgence of Foppa's creative energies. His last Pavian work (now lost) was done for the Church of S. Maria Gualtieri (1497-1501). Among the less distinguished works of this period are: the *St. Paul* (ca. 1510, New Orleans, Isaac Delgado Mus. of Art); the *Banner of Orsinuovi* (1514; Brescia, Pin. Civ. Tosio Martinengo); *St. Anthony and St. Bernard* (formerly in the Cook Coll., Richmond, Eng.); the *Descent from the Cross* (Berlin, Staat. Mus.); and the Borromeo *Annunciation* (Isola Bella, Lake Maggiore, Coll. Borromeo). The elaborate setting of the latter work — against a background of late Bramantesque architecture — recalls the Brera fresco of the *Madonna* and saints.

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Illustrations: PLs. 355-360.

FORGERIES. See FALSIFICATION AND FORGERY.



**FOUQUET, JEAN.** French 15th-century painter, forgotten until about 1830, when his name was first rediscovered in the richly illustrated volumes of Flavius Josephus, *Antiquités Judaiques*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Ms. fr. 247 and Nouv. acq. fr. 21013). At the end of the second volume, an almost contemporaneous writer and scholar, François Robertet, secretary to Pierre, Duc de Bourbon, stated that the first three miniatures were done by the miniaturist of Jean, Duc de Berry, the others by Jean Fouquet, native of Tours. Filarete (q.v.) mentioned Fouquet ("Giachetto francoso") as one of the best living masters, in his treatise on architecture in 1461; he furthermore confirmed that Fouquet had been to Italy, as he saw, in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, his portrait of Pope Eugenius IV with two of his nephews. This fact was also confirmed by Francesco Florio, a Florentine traveler who visited Tours about 1476 as a guest of the secretary to Archbishop Jean Bernard, one of Fouquet's patrons: he mentions paintings that Fouquet did for the Church of Notre-Dame-la-Riche in Tours. Jean Le Maire, panegyrist in the service of Anne of Brittany and later of Margaret of Austria, writing about the famous masters of the past century, still knew of Fouquet's fame, as did Vasari in his *Lives* (1550).

With the help of these and other sources, we can trace a fragmentary biography of Fouquet. He was born about 1420, the illegitimate child of a priest (if a document published by Yves de Raulin is rightly interpreted), for in 1449 Jean Fouquet, a clerk of the diocese of Tours, applied to have his birth legitimized by a papal decree. In the enamel medallion inscribed with his name, in the Louvre, Fouquet has left us his self-portrait as a stern-looking young man in his late twenties; if this portrait once belonged to the altar of Melun, thought to date from about 1450, we come by a different route to about the same date of his birth.

Fouquet must have been in Rome before 1447, since Eugenius IV, whose portrait he made, died in that year. To obtain permission to portray the Pope, Fouquet must already have been well known; he may even have been sent by the king with the embassy that arrived in Rome in the summer of 1446 seeking to end the existing schism and to lift the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438. When in 1453-55 Piero della Francesca painted Charles VII, among other figures, in the Vatican frescoes now lost, he may have used Fouquet's portrait of the king.

Fouquet's knowledge of the monuments of Italian art clearly supports the documentary evidence of his stay in Rome. For example, as P. Durrieu was the first to point out, in *The Coronation of Charlemagne*, one of the miniatures of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 6465), Fouquet depicted the interior of St. Peter's (*Mél. G. B. de Rossi*, 1892).

Immediately after his return from Italy Fouquet must have set up his own studio in Tours, as some of his most important works are to be dated to the period about 1450. The decade between 1450 and 1460, the first decade of peace after the long war, was a period of amazing recovery and activity in every field. The cathedral of St. Martin in Tours was completed and richly endowed with works of art; other churches and palaces, such as those for Jean Briçonnet and Jacques Cœur, were constructed. It was also in this decade that Fouquet executed the series of paintings, perhaps frescoes, which Florio saw in the Church of Notre-Dame-la-Riche in Tours.

When Charles VII died in July, 1461, Fouquet was in Paris and was called upon to paint the leather effigy of the dead king which served for the funeral ceremonies. For the *joyeuse entrée* of the new king, Louis XI, Fouquet was commissioned by the city council of Tours to design the decorations, but they were never executed. In his testament of 1463 Archbishop Jean Bernard provided that Fouquet should paint an altarpiece for the church of Candes, the summer residence of the archbishops of Tours, for which he was to be paid the sum of 70 écus and that he was to take back a *Madonna* valued at 25 écus. The documents thus prove, as do the works, that Fouquet, like the Van Eycks, Lorenzo Monaco, Cosmè Tura, and others, was both panel and miniature painter.

When in 1469 Louis XI founded the Order of St. Michael in Tours, Fouquet was paid by Jean Robertet, secretary of the Order, for the making of certain pictures which Louis XI had commissioned for the knights of the Order. It was Durrieu who first connected this notice with the title miniature of the Statutes of the Order of St. Michael in Ms. fr. 19819 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which indeed shows Fouquet's personal style and quality. After Fouquet had designed the tomb of the king, in collaboration with the well-known sculptor Michel Colombe, in 1474, he was appointed "Peintre du Roi," and in 1476 he was called upon to decorate the canopy used on the visit of the king of Portugal to Tours.

In 1472 he was called to Blois to illuminate a prayer book for Marie of Cleves, widow of Charles of Orleans; in 1476 he illuminated one for Cardinal Charles de Bourbon; and in 1477 he had to sue Philippe de Comines, the famous chronicler and favorite of King Louis XI, for the balance of the payment due for two prayer books.

The date of Fouquet's death is unknown, but it must have occurred before Nov. 8, 1481, when a record in his parish church, St. Martin in Tours, mentions his widow and heirs.

The developments in Italian and Flemish art after Masaccio and the Van Eycks had not yet affected French art when Fouquet entered upon the scene about 1440-45. Paris, occupied by the English since their victory at Agincourt in 1415, was still dominated by masters who worked in the Gothic tradition under English patronage, such as Haincelin de Haguenot and the Master of the Bedford Hours, and by Flemish masters such as Malouel, Jacquemart de Heudin, Bellechose, and Pol de Limbourg, who had worked for the great French art patron Jean, Duc de Berry. Renaissance ideas entered French art only with Fouquet.

It is probable that Fouquet received his early training in Paris; views of Paris appear with topographical accuracy in many of his miniatures in the Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier (PLS. 366, 367). No work of his produced before he went to Italy has been identified with certainty, but recently Lemoine and Charles Sterling have attributed the Louvre portrait of Charles VII to this period, arguing that the inscription on the frame, "Très Victorieux," could have been applied to Charles after the peace treaty of Arras in 1444 as well as after the Battle of Formigny, which ended the Hundred Years War in 1450. Yet in the portrait of Charles as one of the Three Magi in the *Adoration* in the Chevalier Hours he does not appear older than in the Louvre portrait, and the Chevalier Hours are generally attributed to 1450-55 at the earliest.

The miniatures painted for Chevalier provide conclusive evidence of Fouquet's knowledge of Italian art and especially of the influence of Fra Angelico, who was then working on the frescoes of the Passion (later destroyed) for the Cappella del Sacramento in the Vatican. In the miniatures are frequent reminiscences of Rome, especially its medieval or antique monuments such as Castel Sant'Angelo, Old St. Peter's, Trajan's Column, and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. Gothic and Renaissance forms often mix, as in the *Fountain of the Apostles*.

Of the estimated 60 miniatures that originally adorned the Chevalier Hours, 47 survive as separate sheets (Mus. Condé, Chantilly, 40; Louvre, 2; 1 each: Paris, Bib. Nat., Br. Mus., Beasted Coll., London; Robert Lehman Coll., New York; and George Wildenstein Coll., Paris). Unfortunately all the calendar pictures, which would have given us a unique view of secular life and of Fouquet's gift as a landscape painter, are lost. A number of the lost Chevalier miniatures can be reconstructed, however, from other Books of Hours by Fouquet and his pupils Bourdichon and Colombe, since apparently the compositions of the Chevalier Hours served as models for many later prayer books. Some of the miniatures show an unusual division into two scenes, with secular themes below and sacred ones above; this has been explained by the influence of the miracle plays, and the *Martyrdom of St. Apollonia*, in fact, represents the setting of a miracle play complete with its scaffolding and living pictures surrounding the central scene.

The diptych of Melun, its two panels now divided between Berlin and Antwerp, was painted for the same Etienne Che-



valier (Waagen, 1839). If Agnes Sorel, the king's mistress, is represented here in the guise of the Madonna nursing her Child (Antwerp, Mus. Royal B.-A.; PL. 361), as has been assumed, then the date of these pictures is set by the fact that she died in 1450 and Chevalier, together with Jacques Cœur, acted as executor of her will. Thus Chevalier probably commissioned the altar in her memory for the church of his birthplace, Melun, where it was seen and described in the 17th century by Denys Godefroy. The portrait of Chevalier as donor with his patron St. Stephen beside him (Berlin, Staatsmus.; PL. 365) surpasses even the portrait of Charles VII in its lifelike immediacy.

The monumental qualities so typical of all Fouquet's earlier work are nowhere more striking than in his only large altarpiece, that in the church of Nouans (PLs. 364, 365), which P. Vitry first had the eye and sagacity to claim as Fouquet's work in 1931 (GBA, 1932, p. 254). The religious donor of the altar, kneeling at the right, has been thought to be Jean Bernard on account of the document mentioned above, but as the patron saint beside him in St. James of Compostela, his first name would have been Jacques, not Jean. During the same period Fouquet executed the portrait of Chancellor Guillaume Juvénal des Ursins (Louvre; PL. 362; preparatory sketch in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) with a golden background bearing his coat of arms, similar in size and color scheme to that of Charles VII (also in the Louvre). For Laurens Gyrard he made many small miniatures and illuminated a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Les cas des nobles hommes et femmes malheureuses*, now in Munich (Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 369), whose frontispiece is a large miniature of the trial of the duke of Alençon at Vendôme. The trial took place in the presence of the king in 1458, and the book was finished, according to the scribe's "Explicit," in November of the same year. In the same year also Fouquet received a royal commission to illuminate for the king a copy of *Les grandes chroniques des rois de France*, a sort of official history of France begun in the 13th century and brought up to date by the king's secretary, Noel Frebois. In these illuminations, as in the Munich Boccaccio, a remarkable change has taken place in Fouquet's style by comparison with the Chevalier miniatures. The new tendency is away from that monumental simplicity in which the single figure plays a preeminent part and toward narrative scenes, action, and mass movement.

This becomes most evident in the many miniatures by Fouquet in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquités Judæiques* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (PL. 363), commissioned between 1470 and 1476 by Jacques, Duc d'Armagnac, who had inherited the two volumes from his grandfather, Jean, Duc de Berry. Only three miniatures from the workshop of Pol de Limbourg had been finished; in the spaces left for additional illustration Fouquet and his workshop added 11 large miniatures in the first volume and 10 in the second, mostly mass scenes of battle and destruction set against extensive backgrounds, as in *David Lamenting the Death of Saul*, *Ptolemy's Entry into Jerusalem*, and *The Destruction of the Temple under Vespasian*. The *Entry of King Herod into Jerusalem* is of special interest because it shows in the background the twisted columns of St. Peter's. Though Jacques d'Armagnac, who in 1476 was executed in Paris for plotting against the king, employed several miniaturists of his own, he considered Fouquet alone worthy to complete the illumination begun in the workshop of the Limbourg masters.

Closely related to the Chevalier miniatures in subject matter as well as in composition and style are the five detached pages of a manuscript of a history of antiquity up to Julius Caesar, now divided between the Louvre and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. More in the character of the *Grandes chroniques de France* is a late work of similar historical content which Fouquet must have painted shortly before his death. This is Livy's *Roman History* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr. 2731), translated by Pierre Bersuire (Berceure) and commissioned after 1477 by Guillaume d'Harcourt, Comte de Tancarville, brother-in-law of the famous Dunois. The title miniature representing an assembly in the Roman Forum is only partly by Fouquet's hand, several foreground figures having been added by a later master, apparently by order of the new owner

of the book, François de Rochechouart, whose coat of arms is also included in the marginal frame.

The works executed for the Order of St. Michael probably included the large painting of St. Michael killing the dragon, visible in the background of a miniature of the assembly room in the copy of the Statutes of the Order preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Ms. fr. 19819). King Louis XII — not very lifelike — is represented in the center surrounded by the Knights, and below two archangels hold the emblem of the Order in attitudes similar to those in the Chevalier Hours.

The three miniatures of the Jouvencel manuscript which F. Winkler (1928) discovered in the old library of Brunswick may be dated to about the same time as the work for the Order of St. Michael, while the one large miniature of the manuscript of Martin de France's *L'Estrif de Vertue et de Fortune* (Leninograd Library) seems to be of later date, to judge by a comparison with the analogous composition of the Three Marys in the Chevalier Hours. Most of the smaller prayer books of this later period were executed with the help of workshop assistants, and many of the miniatures were borrowed from the prototypes in the Chevalier Hours. To this group belongs the small prayer book recently acquired by the Morgan Library in New York from the Sir Chester Beatty Collection, which bears the initials A.R., for the patron who originally ordered it. To this may be added the prayer books executed for Charles, Duc de Guyenne (Bibliothèque Mazarin, Paris, Ms. 473), Cardinal Charles de Bourbon (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74G28), Anne de France, and Diane de Croy (Ruksin Mus., Sheffield, and Coll. Countess P. Durrieu, Paris).

Fouquet's influence on French painting has been as far-reaching as that of the Van Eycks in Flanders or Masaccio in Italy. Not only did known masters, such as Jean Bourdichon and Michel Colombe, follow his precepts, but all miniature painting up to the time of Louis XII was more or less dominated by his art.

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Illustrations: PLs. 361-367.

**FRAGONARD, JEAN-HONORÉ.** Fragonard, the last of the great French painters of the 18th century, was born of a family of Italian origin in Grasse on Apr. 5, 1732, and died in Paris on Aug. 22, 1806. His youth in Provence has often been said to explain the impetuosity of his temperament, which was marked by a *joie de vivre* strikingly in contrast to the characteristic melancholy of Watteau (q.v.). Fragonard was taken to Paris when still extremely young, at the latest in 1742. In Paris his real development began, first in the atelier of Chardin (q.v.), where he spent only six months, and later in that of Boucher (q.v.), with whom he had much greater affinities and who, in effect, was his first master. Fragonard began by copying Boucher's canvases and did so with such skill that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish his youthful works from paintings by his master. Admitted in 1755 to the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés, he worked there under the fatherly direction of Charles André (Carle) Van Loo until 1756, when he left for the French Academy in Rome, whose director at the time was Charles Joseph Natoire.

This background was enriched by stimulating influences from two great schools of painting, first the Italian and later that of the Low Countries. Little affected by the masterpieces of Raphael and Michelangelo, before which he felt intimidated, he was more attracted to the works of such decorative painters of the baroque style as Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Solimena, and, above all, Tiepolo. A sojourn at the Villa d'Este — where he and his companion, the painter Hubert Robert, made some admirable sanguine drawings — awakened in him a taste for landscape. This new interest is revealed in a large canvas with an operatic décor called *Coréus Sacrificing Himself to Save Callirrhoe* (Louvre), which Fragonard presented to gain admission to the Academy upon returning to Paris. A second trip to Italy in 1773, when the artist traveled as companion to the financier Bergeret de Grandcourt, revived the youthful impressions reflected in his early work.

During the period of his apprenticeship, Fragonard also drew inspiration — through his prodigious faculty of assimilation — from the masters and the "little masters" of the Low Countries. Like most French 18th-century painters, he learned much from the three great Flemish painters, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Jordaens, but perhaps the influence of the Dutch was even stronger. In his own manner — since he never stooped to slavish imitation — Fragonard copied several religious pictures by Rembrandt; in portraiture he imitated the broad, improvisatory touch of Frans Hals. Toward the end of his life, Fragonard appropriated with the same facility the highly finished and meticulous technique shared by Gerard Dou, Gerard Terborch, and Gabriel Metsu — a technique he later transmitted to his sister-in-law and pupil, Marguerite Gérard, and to Louis-Léopold Boilly. In addition to the sunlit landscapes in the Italian manner, his many-faceted *œuvre* includes studies of stormy skies and moving clouds that recall the landscapes of Jacob van Ruisdael. Fragonard's astonishing versatility allowed him to draw inspiration from many sources without loss of identity.

The painting that Fragonard presented to the Academy about 1765 (*Coréus Sacrificing Himself to Save Callirrhoe*) gave him a false start. On the basis of this work, the critics ascribed to the artist the talents of a history painter and thought of him as the possible successor of Carle Van Loo. His true vocation was revealed, however, by an unexpected commission. At the risk of being classified as a bedroom painter, he accepted the proposal of a financier and *bon-vivant* who asked him to paint *Les hasards heureux de l'escarpolette* (commonly known in English as *The Swing*; PL. 372). This *scène galante* was popularized by an engraving of it by Nicolas Delaunay; his success with this work encouraged Fragonard to continue in the same manner — a course which promised to be more lucrative than an academic career. From this time forward, he produced a veritable stream of paintings that, although often very daring, are saved from vulgarity by the lightness of the artist's hand, which was able to hint at a meaning without overstressing it. *La gimblette* (private coll.), *La chemise enlevée* (PL. 370), *Le feu aux poudres* (Louvre), *Le début du modèle*

(Paris, Mus. Jacquemart-André), and *The Bathers* (PL. 371) are a few examples among many of this polished style.

After his marriage in 1769 to a fellow townswoman from Grasse, Marie-Anne Gérard, Fragonard's paintings seem to have become more decorous. In the celebrated set of decorative panels that Madame du Barry commissioned in 1771 for her pavilion at Louveciennes (PL. 372), his work is already perfectly proper, with a tone that is sentimental rather than sensual. This tendency was to become more pronounced in the paintings that have rightly been called preromantic: *Le vau à l'Amour* (PL. 368), *The Souvenir* (London, Wallace Coll.), *The Invocation to Love* (New York, John M. Schiff Coll.), *The Stolen Kiss* (PL. 373), and *The Fountain of Love* (1785; London, Wallace Coll.). These paintings were inspired by Fragonard's passion for his much younger sister-in-law, Marguerite Gérard, whom he wanted for a mistress but who was willing to become only his pupil. In these works passionate love takes the place of caprice.

At this time, under the influence of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* of Jean Jacques Rousseau (who advocated — among other things — a return to nature, the rustic life, and maternal breast-feeding), Fragonard began to moralize in his paintings. Like Jean Baptiste Greuze (q.v.), he preached domestic virtue, but he did so with more talent and less hypocrisy, making it the subject of a whole series of rustic idylls. Among these are *La bonne mère* (Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts), *L'heureuse famille* (Paris, private coll.), *La visite à la nourrice* (Washington, Nat. Gall.), *L'heureuse fécondité* (formerly New York, Mrs. W. R. Timken Coll.).

Although Fragonard did not specialize in portraiture or in landscape painting, he produced some of the most scintillating portraits and the most beautiful landscapes of French 18th-century painting. No work by Nattier can equal the vivacity of such portraits in costume as the *Abbé Jean-Claude de Saint-Non* (Barcelona, Mus. de Arte Mod.), whose subject introduced the artist to the Villa d'Este, or his portraits of actresses and dancers such as La Guimard (with whom he had a youthful affair), Adeline Colombe, or La Duthé. No landscape by Hubert Robert or Joseph Vernet can surpass *L'allée ombreuse* (New York, Met. Mus.), or *La fête de Saint-Cloud* (Paris, Banque de France).

Fragonard was an admirable draftsman (see PL. 374). His technique was more varied than that of Watteau, who usually used only sanguine or chalks of three colors. Fragonard preferred to put transparent washes of bistre over pen or crayon strokes, handling both media with a virtuosity that permitted him to emulate the vigor of Rembrandt or the lightness of Tiepolo. His drawings illustrating La Fontaine's *Fables*, *Don Quixote*, and Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* are of the highest quality.

Some critics who do not respond to the charm of his works have called Fragonard a superficial improviser, but his *fa presto* facility was actually the reward of hard labor. Although his paintings are undeniably less intellectual than those of Nicolas Poussin and less poetic and musical than those of Watteau, Fragonard's work nevertheless commands attention not only for its own merits but also because it summarizes the character of an entire epoch. In an age when painting was considered above all "a delight to the eye," Fragonard was second to none in the art that he conceived of as a source of delectation.

SOURCES: D. Diderot, *Salons*, ed. J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, Oxford, 1957 ff.; *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, ed. A. de Montaigon, XI, Paris, 1887; P. J. Bergeret de Grandcourt, *Voyage en Italie, 1773-1774, avec les dessins de Fragonard*, ed. J. Wilhelm, Paris, 1948.

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LOUIS RÉAU

Illustrations: PLX, 368-374.

**FRANCE.** The territory of France forms a compact block in western Europe, delimited by bodies of water and mountain ranges, except in the northeast, where conventional political boundaries, not coinciding with the linguistic ones, separate it from Belgium and Germany. The area corresponds in large part to that of ancient Gaul, whether independent or Roman. Its intermediate position between the Nordic and Mediterranean worlds, already recognizable in its prehistory, was to receive historical sanction: Roman culture reacted against Frankish domination and survived it.

Geographic conditions — territorial unity without significant internal barriers, abundance of rivers, a rich soil and moderate climate — as well as historical factors — the rapid triumph of Christianity, political unification methodically pursued from medieval times — have favored the development of an unusually well defined national culture and partly account for the character of French art. With the centralization imposed first by the monarchy and then by the republic, all artistic production became centered in Paris, and provincial diversity waned.

French art led Europe in the Middle Ages, especially during the period of dissemination of the Gothic style; though in the 15th and 16th centuries primacy shifted to Italy, it recovered its full originality in the 17th and 18th centuries and attained worldwide preeminence in the 19th and 20th centuries with the school of Paris.

**SUMMARY.** Cultural and artistic periods (col. 517): *Prehistory and protohistory; Greek and Celtic periods; Gallo-Roman period; Middle Ages: a. Pre-Romanesque period; b. Romanesque period; c. Gothic period; Renaissance; The 17th and 18th centuries; The 19th and 20th centuries.* Art centers (col. 534): *Paris; Environs of Paris; Ile-de-France: a. West; b. East; c. Chartrous region; Picardy; Artois; Flanders; Normandy; Brittany; Maine; Anjou; Touraine; Orléanais; Berry; Bourbonnais; Auvergne; Poitou; Limousin and Marche; Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois; Périgord; Rouergue and Quercy; Guyenne; Gascony; Languedoc: a. Upper Languedoc; b. Lower Languedoc; Provence; Comtat Venaissin; County of Nice; Savoy; Dauphiné; Gévaudan, Vivarais, and Velay; Lyonnais and Forez; Burgundy; Nivernais; Franche-Comté; Champagne; Lorraine; Alsace; Corsica; Principality of Monaco.*

**CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC PERIODS.** *Prehistory and protohistory.* France occupies a unique position in the field of prehistoric, and particularly of paleolithic, art. Such is the quantity and quality of the monuments discovered on French soil, such has been the diligence with which investigations and related studies have been pursued, that the history of the most ancient European, not to say world, art may be said to be identifiable with that of prehistoric

French art. Hence, for an exhaustive treatment of the characteristics, development, and various manifestations of paleolithic art in France, the reader is referred to the article **PREHISTORY**.

It was about 1840 that the notary Brouillet found the first engraved object, one with figures of young hinds, in a cave in the department of Vienne. The existence, however, of a whole representational world of extreme antiquity, remarkable chiefly for the naturalistic sense displayed in the rendering of animals, began to be recognized — not without difficulty and a show of skepticism — only after the investigations of Lartet and Christy in the Vézère valley in 1860-65. Thereafter finds multiplied; they included sculptured and engraved implements and arms made of bone, ivory, and reindeer antler, engraved pebbles, female statuettes, etc. — in short, samples of the so-called "chattel art" (*art mobilier*), of which admirable examples were brought to light particularly through the researches of E. Piette in the Pyrenean caves. After the discoveries, for a long time disputed, of the parietal paintings at Altamira in Spain and of paintings and engravings in the cave of La Vache in Dordogne, the discovery of the painted and engraved caves of Les Combarelles and Font-de-Gaume, also in Dordogne, by L. Capitan, H. Breuil, and D. Peyrony led to the recognition of the existence and the importance of a paleolithic parietal art contemporaneous with and stylistically linked to the chattel art; from then on the identification and study of monuments of this type steadily progressed until the discovery in 1940 of the famous cave of Lascaux.

The distribution of ornamented caves on French territory is of primary interest, for it permits the delimitation of an area of intensive and prolonged development of paleolithic culture. This area, one of the best defined and most compact identifiable with a given kind of pictorial expression, is located in southern France, specifically on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees (Gasconne and Languedoc, especially the upriver valleys of the Garonne and the Ariège), in



France: caves and rock shelters with prehistoric representations. Key: (1) Modern political borders (after Gramet, 1960, with modifications).

the Cévennes, and in the mountainous regions south and north of the Dordogne (Périgord, especially the valley of the Vézère around Les Eyzies); the northernmost remains known occur in isolation at Angles-sur-Anglin (Vienne) and Arcy (Yonne). The entire area has its continuation to the southwest, in the territory of the Spanish Cantabrian mountains (see SPAIN), with which it forms the great "Franco-Cantabrian province" of paleolithic art.

The relative uniformity of conception, technique, and style in paleolithic art and the limited and often uncertain stratigraphic evi-

dence make it rather difficult to arrive at a chronological classification and determine a development in time. What is certain is that this artistic activity was of impressive duration, lasting through a large part of the Upper Paleolithic, from the most evolved phases of the Aurignacio-Perigordian epoch through the Solutrean and the whole Magdalenian (the cultural stages into which the European Upper Paleolithic is divided are named after the following French localities: Aurignac in Haute-Garonne, Périgord, Solutré in Saône-et-Loire, and La Madeleine in Dordogne). On the basis of the most recent researches on the absolute chronology of the Paleolithic, confirmed by radiocarbon measurements, it is believed that the most ancient Aurignacio-Perigordian art may go back more than 30,000 years; the end of the Magdalenian is generally considered to have occurred 12,000 to 13,000 years ago. Thus the entire cycle of paleolithic art occupied thousands and thousands of years.

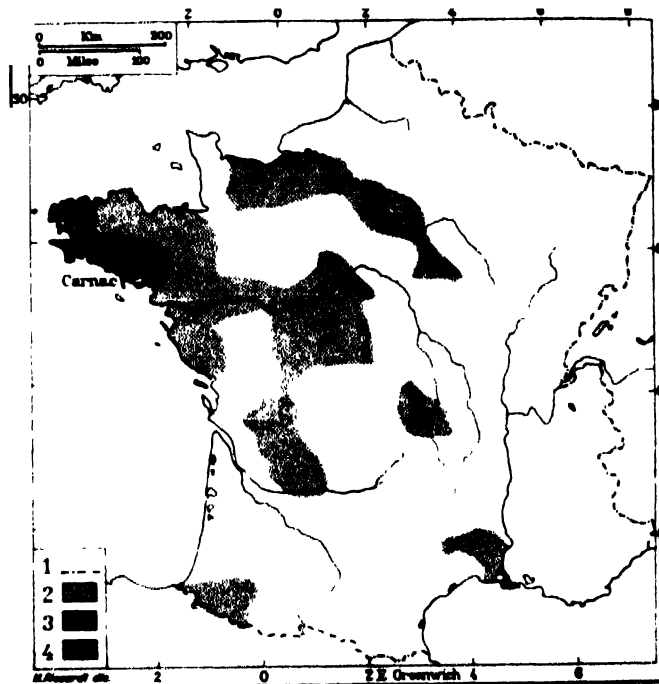
As previously stated, a general clear succession of styles has not, at least until now, been determined; naturalistic animal profiles in engravings and paintings are found, with recurrent or related forms, throughout the periods in question. Some peculiarities are recognizable, however, for the individual periods. The Aurignacio-Perigordian epoch produced sculptures of human beings — the famous statuettes of *statotypous* females with strongly emphasized sexual characteristics (Brassempouy, Lespugne, Sireuil, etc.); such sculpture was to decline in succeeding periods. The Solutrean epoch, distinguished by a less lively and characteristic production, and the older Magdalenian saw the development of the parietal relief. Beginning with the evolved Magdalenian, artistic production became ever richer and more complex; painting reached its apogee with the polychrome and chiaroscuro style (Font-de-Gaume); chattel art triumphed with objects of sculptured bone and ivory formed in the round, in relief, or with an engraved outline. It may be noted that more frequently in these last phases, though not exclusively in them, there appeared figures treated in a sketchy or stylized fashion as well as ornamental motifs of geometric tendency (e.g., spirals on bone rods).

With the end of the Pleistocene epoch and the advent of the present geologic age, the cultures of the Upper Paleolithic gave way to those of the Mesolithic: the Azilian, Tardenoisian, Sauveterian, etc. These cultures are practically devoid of artistic interest, for the great pictorial experiment of the paleolithic world stopped almost suddenly, at least in France, and it was not replaced, as in other prehistorical areas, by rock and chattel art inspired by a variety of stylistic principles (see PREHISTORY). Evidence of a taste for schematic and abstract forms is almost negligible; one may mention the painted pebbles of Mas-d'Azil (Ariège), which has given its name to one of the stages of the French Mesolithic. Even the objects of daily use made of stone and bone (reindeer antler and mammoth ivory were no longer employed) lost not only the adornments but the wealth of forms and the delicacy of Magdalenian examples. However, one may note the spread of microliths, tiny implements of geometric-cut, which indeed were common to a vast area of the prehistoric world surrounding the Mediterranean.

As far as we know, beginning with the Mesolithic and throughout the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, France tended to be a marginal zone, dependent on the culturally and artistically more highly evolved centers of the Mediterranean, west-central Europe, and the Near East — partly, no doubt, because of changed environmental conditions (see EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY; MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). Neolithic influences penetrated from the south and east; the neolithic resurgence was characterized essentially by the appearance of pottery. While the Campignian culture (after Le Campigny, near the mouth of the Seine), still belonging to the mesolithic tradition, with its crude stone "picks," was dominant in the north, in the south and center there developed a cave culture linked with the oldest Spanish Neolithic and later the Chassey culture (Camp de Chassey, Saône-et-Loire), marked by the production of pottery incised with geometric motifs. To a more advanced phase, already corresponding in part to the Aeneolithic of the Mediterranean world (3d millennium B.C. to the beginning of the 2d), belongs the dissemination of the cast grave and the corridor tomb and, more generally, of megalithic architecture, as well as the appearance of smooth pottery with carinate forms and cord ornamentation and of the bell beaker, of Spanish origin. Finally, under the influence of the cultures of Aunjetitz, Italy, etc., there unfolded what is known as the Rhone bronze culture and, farther north, the tumulus culture (2d millennium B.C.), with notable achievements in metalwork (e.g., the typical decorated daggers of triangular shape). It should be pointed out that these cultural waves did not overtake the land all at once but generally spread from the coasts and along the valleys of the great rivers. One also encounters "backwater" phenomena, as in some mountainous regions where the persistence of forms belonging to neolithic tradition can be observed (e.g., the Garrigues) and in Brittany, where a megalithic civilization survived deep into the Bronze Age.

The most interesting and arresting manifestations of megalithic

art lie in the fields of architecture and sculpture. Megalithic monuments have figured prominently in popular legend and were first believed to be Celtic works, "druidic altars," etc. Those in France belong to a much larger area of dissemination, which, at least in the West, comprises portions of the Mediterranean islands and of Italy, northern Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, the British Isles, and sections of northern Europe and Scandinavia. But France, which in a certain sense is at the center of this expansion and which has exceptional concentrations of monumental remains, especially in the northwest, is the country where the modern world's interest in megalithic constructions was kindled and the place of origin for the terms — mostly of Low Breton derivation — generally accepted to designate the various types of monuments: the dolmen, from *dol*,



France: distribution of megalithic monuments. Key: (1) Modern political borders; (2, 3, 4) the richest areas (depth of shading indicates relative concentration).

"table," and *men*, "stone"; the menhir, from *men* and *hir*, "long"; the cromlech, from *crom*, "curved," and *llech*, "stone." Almost all forms of megalithic tombs are represented in France: cists, or kists; passage tombs with a dolmenic corridor (*allées couvertes*), which have their parallel in the passage tombs excavated from the rock in the Arles region; true or simple dolmens, sometimes preceded by a corridor or with several cells; dolmens half or entirely buried in a tumulus; etc. To these should be added the upright stones, or menhirs, which can attain enormous proportions (e.g., the Men-er-Hroek of Locmariaquer, Morbihan, exceeded 65 ft. in height) and which are sometimes grouped in circles (cromlech), semicircles, or rectangles, or in long alignments of several rows. These monuments reach a particular complexity and grandeur on the Breton peninsula in the departments of Morbihan and Finistère; the classic examples are found at Carnac and Erdeven. The links with similar complexes in southern England, presumably of a cultic character, are evident (see GREAT BRITAIN). Outside continental France, Corsica, too, is very rich in megalithic monuments; highly varied, these are substantially different from the monuments of neighboring Sardinia (see ITALY; MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN; MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY), even though in the southern part of the island circular constructions of small blocks similar to the Sardinian nuraghi have been discovered.

Megalithic culture also has its decorative and representational aspects. Especially notable are the examples of schematic imitation of the human figure, mostly female, in the form of a pillar curved at the top, with a rudimentary indication of eyebrows, eyes, nose, breasts, sometimes of joined arms, necklaces, and other details of costume. Such figures are connected with the neolithic tradition of Mediterranean female "idols" (see MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). They appear sculptured in bas-relief on the walls of the little artificial funerary caves in Champagne, in the valley of the

Petit-Morin (Marne). More widely they are found applied to menhirs of modest proportions, which thus become rough anthropomorphic statues (menhir-statues); these are especially frequent in southern France, in the departments of Aveyron, Tarn, Hérault, and Gard, and appear in even more primitive form in Corsica at Filtoia; they are related to the anthropomorphic menhirs of Sardinia and to the menhir-statues of Italy (Lunigiana, Alto Adige, Apulia). Also to be noted are the engravings with ornamental or schematic motifs (the sun, snakes, concentric lines, etc.) or representational ones, particularly axes, "shields," more rarely human and animal figures, which occur on slabs or on the stones of megalithic monuments, especially in Brittany, and are among the later manifestations of schematic art in European prehistory. A place apart is occupied by the grandiose series of petroglyphs on the walls of the Valley of Marvels at Monte Bego near Tenda, French territory since 1947; the extremely varied representations, including human ones, are linked to the schematic art of megalithic culture but in many instances are as recent as the end of the Iron Age and even historical times.

The late Bronze Age saw the ever broader dissemination of the central European tumulus culture and the introduction, also from the east, of the Urn-field culture, with new types of pottery and metal objects; this period was followed by the first Iron Age with the Hallstatt culture. The most characteristic products of these cultures appear in the east-central and southern portions of France, but none are of sufficient artistic interest to merit singling out. It is probable that between the end of the 2d millennium and the first centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. the continental traffic across France between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast and the British Isles became intensified, especially along the rivers (the Garonne and its tributaries, the Rhone, the Seine, etc.), which would explain, at least in part, the development of local indigenous centers. Their prosperity is attested by the increased importation of Mediterranean objects, such as were found near Châtillon-sur-Seine in the princely tomb by the *oppidum* of Vix, which contained the famous Greek bronze crater (I, PL. 354), Attic vases, and Italic bronzes, datable to the end of the Hallstatt period, about 500 B.C.

*Greek and Celtic periods.* At the beginning of the 6th century B.C. an event took place that was to be decisive for the history of France and of western Europe generally. Greek colonists of Asia Minor, of Phocaean origin, founded on the southern coast of France the colony of Massalia (Marseilles), which quickly became the metropolis of a whole series of emporiums on the shore and in the interior. Monoikos (Monaco), Nikaia (Nice), Antipolis (Antibes), Olbia (Hyères), Agathe (Agde), and also Arles, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, and Saint-Blaise appear as the colonies and centers most deeply influenced by Hellenic culture, which also spread to Catalonia (see SPAIN).

The Greeks introduced their principles of urban planning and their building techniques: the use of large blocks of square-hewn stone joined without mortar by means of various systems of cramps; small stones bound together with clay; tiles; etc. Strictly speaking, no Hellenic monument has come down to us. But literary sources mention temples of Artemis and Apollo that dominated the city of Marseilles, where, in fact, the discovery of a large Ionic archaic capital, probably still of the 6th century, testifies to the existence of a great architecture inspired by the tradition of Ionia, land of the Phocaeans. Of a somewhat later period are some defensive enclosures that show the influence of military constructions of Greek Sicily. The finest has been brought to light at Saint-Blaise, where in the 4th century it barred access to a rocky spur on which rose the *oppidum*; another exists at Hyères; and remains similar in the character of the blocks have been found at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence and Marseilles. Only a few vestiges of sculpture — these too of Ionic derivation — have been found. Noteworthy are the votive steles from Marseilles with a goddess seated in a small aedicula (*naïskos*). The art of ceramics, too, was enriched by the cultural, technical, and artistic patrimony of the Greek colonists, who introduced a painted pottery with bands and an unpainted one, known as gray Phocaean ware, sometimes incised with wavy lines. Important, also, were the imports representative of various Greek schools and, especially later, the large-scale importation of Attic ware.

Hellenic influence had a marked effect on the development of civilization in the Mediterranean regions of France, and some reflections of Hellenic culture are found even in the north; thus it was possible for one historian to formulate the concept of a "Greek Gaul." The local populations of Ligurian and, to the west, of Iberian extraction, later gradually Celticized, adapted the fundamental elements of the Hellenic heritage to their own genius and traditions. Along the great coastal route from Italy to Spain, consecrated by the ancient legends of Hercules, there flourished an "*oppidum* culture" that gave ever stronger evidence of originality. In the indigenous sanctuaries rose monumental porticoes adorned with painting, en-

graving, and reliefs, as, in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, at Mouries beginning in the 4th century, Roquepertuse in the 3d, Entremont in the 2d, etc. The statues that decorated the sanctuary of Roquepertuse are the oldest sculptures in the round of the historical era that have been found in France; although they are related in technique to the sculpture of the Mediterranean basin, in their conception and marked stylization they present a decided contrast to classic art. The groups found at Entremont, more highly evolved in style, reveal Greek and Italic influences adapted to the native environment. The favorite themes in design and sculpture were horses, man-eating wild beasts, warrior-heroes, sometimes shown in squatting position, severed human heads (*têtes coupées*), etc.; the ornamental motifs are in part of indigenous Hallstattian derivation, in part Orientalizing and Greek (see CELTIC ART; MEDITERRANEAN, ANCIENT WESTERN). Among the most important indigenous *oppida* was Ensérune (Hérault), where the stone column appeared in private dwellings already in the 3d century and where many examples of imported Hellenic and Iberian pottery have been found.

Meanwhile, in the remainder of France, the Celts, or Gauls, evolved their folkways and culture, the origins of which presumably go back to the first Iron Age (Hallstatt) but whose individuality did not reach full expression until the second Iron Age (La Tène). Within the framework of continental Europe, independent Gaul (5th-1st cent. B.C.) became a well-defined area of development and progress. The Celts, even as they widely assimilated Mediterranean motifs and ideas in their metalwork, followed their own conceptions, developing ever more characteristic forms with a decorative sense that favored the dynamism of the curved line; they disseminated their style wherever the impulse toward expansion brought them — not only in central Europe but also in Italy, Spain, and the British Isles (for a detailed account and illustrations, see CELTIC ART). In building the Celts only partially assimilated the Greek techniques; they remained faithful to an architecture of undressed stone, wood, and clay. There subsist examples of defensive enclosures with wooden beams at Murcens (Lot), Mont Beuvray (anc. Bibracte, Saône-et-Loire), Alise-Sainte-Reine (anc. Alesia, Côte-d'Or), Vertault (Côte-d'Or), etc.; some of these belonged to places famous in the Gallic resistance to Roman conquest.

Contributions by René Joffroy and Paul-Marie Duval were utilized in the preceding sections.

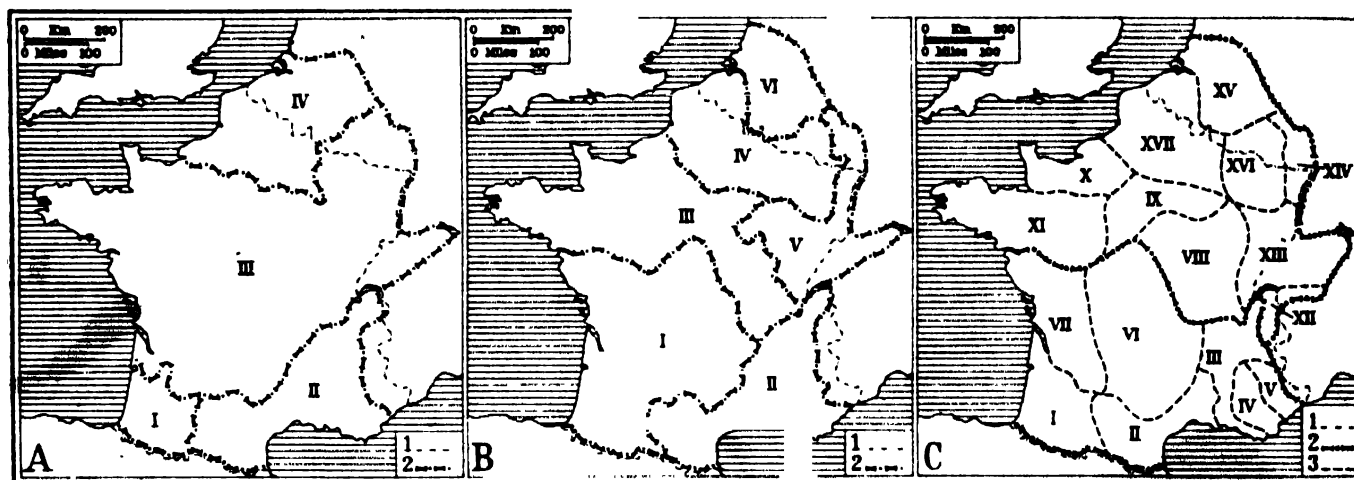
*Gallo-Roman period.* About 125-120 B.C. the Roman Republic conquered all of southern Gaul and made of it a province, Gallia Narbonensis, with the capital Narbonne. Between 120 and the Caesarian Era, Narbonensis was architecturally extremely poor, except for the centers of Hellenic origin in which city life became widespread and grew in refinement. The explanation is simple. Aside from Narbo Martius (Narbonne), Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), and Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), the Romans before Caesar did not found any cities in Gaul but in some instances occupied old indigenous cities such as Tolosa (Toulouse) and Nemausus (Nîmes). In all these cities the oldest monuments have been destroyed or rebuilt; hence, except for information provided by certain centers such as Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence), data concerning monumental urban architecture in Narbonensis under the Republic are lacking.

The history of Gallic architecture actually begins with the founding of the Caesarian colonies, by Caesar himself or shortly after his death, under the Triumvirate (Arles, Lyons, Béziers, Fréjus, Valence, Vienne); it continues with Augustus, who founded or developed many cities, the most notable of which became the capitals of large territories (Autun, Nîmes, Vaison, Limoges, Sens, etc.); finally, Claudius, too, gave a great impetus to architecture. Thus in all of Gaul urban development took a tremendous step forward, and the cities gradually became filled with great monuments. Built by rich provinces they tended to ostentation; they were overcrowded with pretentious public edifices and their great size belied the sparseness of their population — 10,000 to 15,000 at most for the capitals, which did not cease to expand until the mid-3d century. The Antonines and Severi, with their taste for the colossal, tirelessly built and rebuilt ever larger, ever higher edifices. After the Severan dynasty Gaul entered the tormented phase that, despite long periods of respite, was to lead to the devastations of the barbarian epoch. After 250, and still more after 275, the cities, ruined by the Germanic incursions, were reduced to their essential nuclei and surrounded by walls of diminished circumference; earlier monuments were deprived of whatever could contribute to solid foundations for the fortifications. Lyons suffered severe damage as early as 197 through the siege of Septimius Severus, Autun in 269 through the troops of Victorinus. Not until the reigns of Constantius Chlorus and of Constantine and his sons did a kind of architectural renaissance take place, especially



noticeable in the new imperial residences, such as Arles. The partition of the Empire gave Gaul a primary role as bulwark of the West against the Germans; Trier became an imperial capital. The country saw an architectural resurgence, this time in the military field as well as in the civil. Gallo-Roman remains of the late empire consist predominantly of great imperial projects, defensive enclosures, and country houses where the aristocracy of the cities took refuge. Settlement and construction were determined by the requirements of defense on the Rhine, and thus Gaul's center of gravity was gradually displaced northward. But the number of monuments preserved in the northern regions, which bore the brunt of the Germanic invasions, is far smaller than that for the preceding period in the south. With the end of antiquity the Gallo-Roman cities were not repopulated but, on passing under barbarian dominion, were reduced to their bare elements. Technically, architecture now lapsed into mediocrity; Merovingian building was marked by the use of poor or previously employed material, by imperfect methods of construction, and by lack of solidity. Almost nothing subsists of the early basilicas, the

fication of the Alps. The trophies in the forum of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and the small arch with four openings at Cavaillon (Vaucluse) are also assigned to the Augustan period. Aqueducts, or more exactly aqueduct bridges, became part of the Gallic landscape under Augustus with the Pont du Gard (PL. 474); the aqueduct of Fréjus, in its first state contemporaneous with the city wall, probably belongs to his reign too. Buildings for the presentation of public spectacles offered opportunities for some signal achievements. Autun had the largest theater and amphitheater in Gaul, both possibly dating from the founding of the city by Augustus. Very likely the theater of Arles (PL. 473) belongs to the Augustan period; the present tendency is to assign the same date to the great theater of Lyons (PL. 474), at least in its first state, and to the no less magnificent theater of Vienne, which had a place of worship on top of the *caves*, like the Theater of Pompey in Rome. Other, less luxurious, theaters, such as that of Fréjus, are probably also of the Augustan period. Amphitheaters — an important architectural innovation — were built at this time in Lyons, Autun, Fréjus, and Nîmes; that of Arles is



France and surrounding territories: administrative divisions in the Roman era. (A) In Caesar's time. Key: (1) Modern political borders; (2) boundaries of the Roman provinces: (I) Aquitania, (II) Narbonensis, (III) Celtica, (IV) Belgica. — (B) In Hadrian's time. Key: (1) Modern political borders; (2) boundaries of the Roman provinces: (I) Aquitania, (II) Narbonensis, (III) Lugdunensis, (IV) Belgica, (V) Germania Superior, (VI) Germania Inferior. — (C) After Diocletian. Key: (1) Modern political borders; (2) boundaries of the dioceses (to the south, Diocesis Viennensis; to the north, Diocesis Galliae); (3) boundaries of the Roman provinces: (I) Novempopulana, (II) Narbonensis Prima, (III) Viennensis, (IV) Narbonensis Secunda, (V) Alpes Maritimae, (VI) Aquitania Prima, (VII) Aquitania Secunda, (VIII) Lugdunensis Prima, (IX) Senonia, (X) Lugdunensis Secunda, (XI) Lugdunensis Tertia, (XII) Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, (XIII) Maxima Sequanorum, (XIV) Germania Prima, (XV) Germania Secunda, (XVI) Belgica Prima, (XVII) Belgica Secunda.

first churches. Some baptisteries, utilizing the walls of Gallo-Roman thermal halls, show the character of Early Christian architecture, which is all that survives — and sporadically at that — of 5th- and 6th-century monumental art in France.

In its first phase Gallo-Roman civilization, centered in the province of Narbonensis from its foundation until the Gallic War, was confined — like Greek culture in the preceding epoch — to southern France, but it extended farther into the interior, into Provence, the Rhone valley, and Languedoc. Nothing subsists of the first Narbo Martius, the first Aquae Sextiae, or of the origins of Lugdunum Convenarum. Yet there is no lack of monuments of the republican era, for in the small cities of Celto-Ligurian and Hellenic tradition (e.g., Glanum) building was influenced by the new Roman techniques. To a period prior to 50 B.C., known as Glanum I and II, are assigned a series of houses with large stonework and courtyard with peristyle, such as the Houses of the Antae, of Atys, and a portico market.

The Augustan age was one of remarkable urban development not only in Narbonensis but also, and to the same degree, in the Three Gauls, in Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. Cities both old and new acquired walls. Religious edifices rose in great number, today represented by the Maison Carrée of Nîmes — the temple dedicated to the grandsons of Augustus the "Princes of Youth"; the Temple of Augustus and Livia in Vienne; the podiums of a pair of temples uncovered at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Triumphal monuments also made their appearance at this time. The most typically Augustan is doubtless that of Saint-Rémy (PL. 470); in the same style is the arch of Carpentras (Vaucluse). These two monuments inaugurated in Roman art the type of the arch adorned with large sculptures. Very different, and unique of its kind in the West, is the Trophée des Alpes, conceived on the model of Hellenistic mausoleums; it was erected by Augustus at the boundary of Gaul and Italy (La Turbie, Alpes-Maritimes) in 7-6 B.C. as a memorial to the paci-

doubtless later. Circuses (hippodromes), fewer and for the most part built of wood, are known to us only through insubstantial remains and rare clues.

Urban development continued under the Claudio-Julian dynasty, especially with the foundations of Claudius. During this time two arches, those of Orange (PL. 470) and Saintes, were built, and a type of monument was erected in Lutetia (Paris) that was to be popular throughout Gaul: a votive pillar dedicated to Jove by the corporation of Seine shipowners, navigators, etc. (Paris, Musée de Cluny). Under Caligula a lighthouse facing England was built at Boulogne. Claudius was responsible for the theater at Feurs (Loire), the amphitheater of Saintes, and probably also the thermae and aqueduct of Bordeaux. It was Nero, finally, who rebuilt Lyons after it was devastated by a fire; to his reign can also be attributed the tiered structure (a theater?) of which some remains were found in Marseilles.

Under the Flavian, Antonine, and Severan dynasties the building fever did not abate. During this period some public edifices of the preceding period were enlarged, the theater of Lyons, for example, next to which was built an odeum (PL. 474) (a similar structure has been located at Vienne). To the Flavian epoch is attributed the arch of Saint-Chamas (Bouches-du-Rhône), and to the Antonine, the richly sculptured arches of Reims, Langres, and Besançon. Probably still of the 1st century is the best-preserved theater of the Roman world, that of Orange, next to which are the remains of one of the largest temples of Gaul, whose construction appears later than that of the theater. During the 2d century, in the Three Gauls — that is, in the provinces that remained most profoundly indigenous, most Celtic — three types of monuments came to acquire a characteristically Gallo-Roman stamp: the temple, the amphitheater, and the sculptured pillar.

What differentiates the Gallo-Roman from the Roman temple is its central plan — square, or nearly square, circular, hexagonal,



octagonal, or even cruciform — and its orientation in a direction opposite to that of the Greco-Roman temple. For the most part it was built on high ground outside the ancient cities (within were generally Roman temples), was surrounded by several enclosures, and rose on a podium; the cella was surrounded by a covered passage. Some fine examples are preserved: the Tour de Vésone at Périgueux and the Moulin du Fâ near Royan (Charente-Maritime), both round; the square temple known as that of Janus at Autun; the octagonal one at Montbouy (Loiret); the cruciform one at Sanxay (Vienne). In Normandy many *funi*, religious edifices of smaller size, were built on a square plan.

Gaul adapted what was essentially the amphitheater form so that it could also serve as a theater. This compromise structure consisted of an arena with an approximately semicircular section of tiers supported against a hillside and a stage opposite. A dozen constructions of this type are known in Gaul. The best preserved are those of Paris, Lillebonne (Seine-Maritime), Grand (Vosges), Senlis, and Montbouy. Contemporaneously theaters and amphitheaters of the Roman type multiplied in the cities and in temporary meeting places. In the 3d century Poitiers acquired a large amphitheater, as did Bordeaux (the Palais Gallien), while one of the smallest, that of Cimiez (Alpes-Maritimes), was enlarged.

The sculptured pillar (or column), funerary or votive in purpose, enjoyed particular favor in Gaul. It was widespread in the southwest but received its sculptural decoration chiefly in the east and in the valley of the Rhine (PL. 475).

Other kinds of monuments that continued to be erected in Gaul throughout the 4th century and in the first half of the 5th century show less originality. More frequent in Gaul than elsewhere are the large subterranean galleries that generally follow the perimeter of the forum; magnificent examples are known at Arles, Reims, and Bavai. In Gaul as everywhere else, aqueducts and *thermae* attained enormous proportions under the Severi. To this epoch are attributed the Palais des Thermes in Paris — the great public bathing establishment incorporated into the Musée de Cluny — and the now destroyed Piliers de Tutelle of Bordeaux, an immense rectangular colonnade decorated with statues.

All these constructions are characterized by a building technique that, if not strictly Gallo-Roman, is found chiefly in Gaul and northern Italy — in Cisalpine Gaul, notably Liguria. *Opus vittatum*, masonry consisting of rows of small stones alternating with rows of brick, was introduced into Gallo-Roman architecture toward the end of the 1st century and became increasingly common. The native adaptation of an imported heating device is found in the Three Gauls, where the hypocaust with little pillars of brick was often replaced by a sturdier system in which heat was radiated through channels placed in a basement of masonry. This system, also adopted in England, does not appear in Narbonensis, where the Italian type of hypocaust was in use.

About the mid-3d century the Germanic invasions began to lay waste all of Gaul; in 253 and 276 the majority of cities were destroyed. For half a century little was built but defensive enclosures, all presenting the same characteristics. Small, often oval, at times propped against some large ruin, theater or amphitheater, they had four gates and towers at short intervals. Most subsisting enclosures belong to this phase; they protected town life at least until the 10th century. Senlis, Bavai, Le Mans, Beauvais, Die, Evreux, Amiens, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Toulouse, and many other cities preserve sections of such walls with their round towers.

The 4th century saw a kind of rebirth of civil architecture and the beginnings of Christian architecture, which, however, has left but few traces. The great Constantinian enterprises are distinguished by their vast dimensions and their masonry, in which brick is used in about the same proportions as stone. An example is the Thermes de la Trouille at Arles, a large edifice of symmetrical plan (like the *thermae* of Rome) furnished with huge hypocausts. The sources tell us that Constantius had *thermae* built at Autun and that Constantine did the same for Reims, but nothing survives of these monuments. A partly preserved edifice is the basilica at Metz known as St-Pierre-de-la-Citadelle, which has the same plan, but smaller, as the *aula palatina* (so-called "basilica") of Trier; it can be dated in the Constantinian period by means of some stamped bricks. In general, the cities did not again rise from their ruins; all effort was concentrated on fortifications, and it must be recalled that many defensive walls belong to this epoch, especially to the reign of Julian.

A certain luxury could still be seen in the country, in the large villas of the élite. Some of them were famous — that of the Bordeaux poet Ausonius and later that of Apollinaris Sidonius — but no trace of them has been found. On the other hand, there subsist a certain number of anonymous villas, among them, those of Montmaurin (Haute-Garonne) and of Montcaret (Dordogne), with fine mosaics.

The 5th and 6th centuries have left us some vestiges of Early Christian structures, often erected on the outskirts of fortified cities and connected with a Christian necropolis.

See GALLO-ROMAN ART for other aspects of this subject.

Paul-Marie DUVAL

*Middle Ages. a. Pre-Romanesque period.* At the beginning of the Middle Ages the barbarian invasions caused a severe deterioration in the arts, in France as in the rest of Europe. Early Christian monuments are very rare and often are known to us only through excavations. Best represented is the baptistery, built on a central plan and revealing Oriental influences; remains are found mostly in the southeast (Aix, Fréjus, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Cimiez, Riez, Valence), but also farther north (Poitiers, Nevers, Portbail in the dept. of Manche). Of the basilicas that have been explored, at Lyons, Angers, Marseilles, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Saint-Blaise, some are transformed pagan buildings (St-Irénée at Lyons, St-Martin at Angers), others are new constructions (St-Victor at Marseilles, Saint-Bertrand). In the south some sculpture survived the barbarian invasions; particularly notable are the sarcophagi of Arles (up to the 5th cent.) and the capitals and sarcophagi decorated with rinceaux from the Pyrenean workshops, whose renown spread throughout Gaul until the Saracen invasion in the 8th century. Barbarian art is known chiefly from objects of adornment with linear and animal motifs found in tombs (see EUROPE, BARBARIAN).

After the artistic decadence of the 6th century, the monastic movement in the northern regions and the consolidation of the French people, converted to Catholicism under the Merovingian dynasty, brought about a strong artistic revival, whose promise, already manifest in the 7th century, was abundantly fulfilled in the Carolingian period (see CAROLINGIAN ART), under the stimulus especially of Charlemagne, his court, and the high clergy. Characteristic of the religious edifices of this period are the development of the east end and the corresponding enlargement of the crypts (as at St-Germain in Auxerre); the presence, in some instances, of facing apses (St-Remi in Reims); and the addition of a western structure, or westwork (*Westwerk*), to accommodate the sovereign (Cathedral of Auxerre). Masonry was generally rather poor, with small stones and courses of brick (nave of Saint-Philibert-de-Grandlieu). The little church of Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret) must be considered in every way exceptional — in the clarity of its disposition and in the lavishness of its mosaic and stucco decoration, which suggests the atmosphere of the court. The sculpture of this period was crude; by and large, it confined itself to simple decorative motifs, especially interlace. Architectural decoration consisted of patterns in the stonework on the exterior and mural painting, restricted in palette, on the interior (crypt of St-Germain at Auxerre). It was in the minor arts that the Carolingian renaissance found its highest expression: *repoussé* work (treasury of Conques); ivory plaques of Alexandrian or Byzantine derivation, executed in the Rhenish provinces, and especially illuminated manuscripts, produced in the official workshops of Reims, Tours, and Corbie.

All these artistic manifestations ceased in the 9th century, the darkest period of the Middle Ages, as a result of the Norman invasions, which spared only one restricted area in the Massif Central (see PRE-ROMANESQUE MEDIEVAL ART). Architecture, also abandoned, did not revive until the late 10th century, under the first Capetians, at the beginning of the feudal era (bell tower of St-Germain-des-Prés in Paris; nave of Notre-Dame at Melun), but decoration remained limited to patterned stonework and rather crude capitals.

Certain territories connected with feudal families — Burgundy, the valley of the Rhone, the Alpine provinces, the eastern Pyrenees — began in the 10th century to participate in the unfolding of a monumental art that was to dominate much of Europe: Romanesque art.

*b. Romanesque period.* During the 11th century the religious architecture of most regions underwent a renewal expressed in larger and more deliberately ordered ground plans and elevations, which were to be characteristic of the Romanesque church (see ROMANESQUE ART). The most generally adopted plan derived from the basilica with aisles, but the eastern portion of the edifice was elaborated (transept and *chevet*). The fundamental innovation resulted from the wish — manifested to a greater or lesser degree in all regions, and in the south earlier than in the north — to cover the entire building with stone vaults; these appear in a variety of forms: semicircular or pointed barrel vaults, groined vaults, cupolas. Supports, whether piers or columns, became more complicated to offset the thrusts. The exterior walls, of necessity presenting but few openings, underlined the essential elements of the structure. The design was completed by a commonly square or octagonal tower, in general placed over the crossing. Local traditions gave the Romanesque architecture of the various regions a characteristic aspect, exemplified,



France: chief Romanesque centers and monuments. Key: Modern political borders.

as a rule, in their most important edifices. The building undertaken from the 11th to the 13th century, mainly at the instigation of the monastic orders, is illustrated by a considerable number of churches, from simple ones with an aisleless nave closed by a hemicycle to very much larger abbey churches. In some areas (Burgundy, the central and southwestern regions) there subsist parish churches of the 12th century.

The resurgence of architecture was accompanied by a sculptural renaissance which found expression in the decoration of capitals (foliage designs derived from antiquity, interlaces and monsters of Oriental inspiration, scenes from the Old and New Testaments) and, especially in the 12th century, in the ornamentation of portals (typanums richly sculptured in relief). The internal adornment of Romanesque churches also included mural painting, particularly representations of Christ in Glory in the apse. The relatively rare vestiges of such painting, for the most part concentrated in west-central France, reflect the stylistic tendencies of the miniatures executed in monastery workshops from the mid-11th century onward.

A rather large number of Romanesque monasteries has come down to us, especially in southern France. According to a plan fixed since the beginnings of monasticism, the living quarters were disposed around a cloister on the north or south flank of the church, generally with the chapter house and the dormitory, on the second story, adjoining the church and the refectory facing it. Sculpture found an outlet in the capitals of cloisters (Moissac, Arles), particularly Cluniac ones. Cistercian abbeys, founded from the second quarter of the 12th century, under the impetus of St. Bernard, were severe both in plan (churches with a straight east end) and in decoration (Fontenay).

The development of military architecture, fostered above all by the Normans, paralleled the growth of feudal society. The first Romanesque donjons preserve the rectangular shape of the early wooden fortresses (donjon of Langeais, 994; fortresses of the Loire and Normandy erected during the Franco-English conflicts). In the 12th century, under the influence of Eastern fortifications seen by the Crusaders, these constructions were perfected; plans grew more sophisticated: polygonal, as at Gisors and Provins; quadrilobed, as at Etampes; circular, as at Châteaudun. The ruins of Château-Gaillard near Les Andelys still offer the aspect of a great Romanesque fortress.

Examples of 12th-century domestic architecture are rare: houses with upper stories and arcaded windows, as at Cluny, or with lineated ones, as in the southern provinces (Saint-Gilles-du-Gard).

c. *Gothic period.* In the first quarter of the 12th century, when Romanesque art was in full flower, there appeared for the first time in Normandy a system for spanning wide spaces that took its cue from English examples: the cross-rib vault (see *GOthic ART*). From

then on, particularly in Ile-de-France and Picardy, efforts multiplied to develop a lighter cross-rib vault and make possible the piercing of large windows. They culminated in 1137 with the reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint-Denis, in which the cross-rib vault was used in conjunction with other new features (the pointed arch, a nave of great height). The Gothic style emerged full-blown in the first cathedrals of Ile-de-France with galleries: Noyon, Laon (VI, PL. 295), Senlis, and Paris, where the flying buttress appeared. Then in the 13th century rose the great cathedrals without galleries: Chartres, Amiens, Reims, Bourges, and Beauvais. The new style gradually reached the various provinces, encountering a certain resistance, however, in the south. Its regional peculiarities often make it possible to distinguish clearly differentiated groupings.

A gradual transformation began to take place during the reign of St. Louis. A search for decorative effect combined with the growing desire for light to enlarge façade openings and windows and fill them with geometric networks of ribs. In the Ste-Chapelle in Paris and in the new nave of Saint-Denis the architect Pierre de Montreuil reduced the walls to a mere framework for stained glass. Moldings became more complex; piers took on the aspect of clusters of colonnettes. It was under this new guise that Gothic architecture was disseminated in France during the 14th century.

Building activity, considerably slowed down by the Hundred Years' War, revived in the course of the 15th century. At this time an extreme angularity in both plans (polygonal apse) and moldings combined with decorative overelaborateness. Ribs multiplied in vaults; the tracery of the increasingly large windows became jagged, flamelike — whence the name "flamboyant" applied to this phase of Gothic art. Flamboyant churches are particularly numerous in northern France, where much reconstruction was necessary (Normandy, Picardy, and in the east, Champagne and Lorraine).

Sculptural decoration acquired a new importance during the Gothic period. True statuary, in the form of statue-columns in portals, reappeared about 1145 at Chartres and contributed to great decorative and iconographic ensembles together with sculptured tympanums, archivolts, and bas-reliefs. Gradually sculpture freed itself from architecture; statues of Biblical and worldly personages invaded exterior walls, adorning niches and gables, as at Reims. The decoration of capitals, inspired essentially by plant life, attained a vivid naturalism. In the 14th century sculptural ornament lost its monumental character; isolated statues came to prevail in the interior of churches; the main outlet for sculptors was now funerary art (e.g., the elaborate tombs of Saint-Denis). Paris, where artists from the northern regions established themselves, became the center of production.

The art of stained glass, of which Saint-Denis offers the first examples, complements an architecture in which space triumphs over solid. Generally speaking, it follows the principle of mosaic, with medallions of anecdotal type in the lower windows and large



France: chief Gothic centers and monuments. Key: (1) Modern political borders.

figures in the upper ones. The Cathedral of Chartres (VI, PL. 299) and the Ste-Chapelle in Paris owe their beauty partly to the preservation of many of their 13th-century windows. In the 14th century stained glass became clearer and favored the representation of architectural elements sheltering personages whose faces and costumes were entirely painted on glass (Normandy, Troyes).

The Gothic period also made important contributions to monastic architecture. The galleries of cloisters, covered with cross-rib vaults, opened onto the inner court through pointed arches, which became ever broader and ever richer in decoration (Soissons, 13th cent.; Cahors, 15th cent.); chapter houses (Noyon) and refectories (Paris, St-Martin-des-Champs) received high vaults supported by slender columns. Only Cistercian buildings kept their traditional severity.

Military architecture, to which political events managed to give a considerable role, was the object of constant improvements during the Gothic period, until a fundamental change took place with the advent of artillery. After the 12th century the best-constructed walls were equipped with machicolations, which replaced the old wooden hoardings; circular donjons were built in several stories all covered with cross-rib vaults and could thus serve as dwellings; the number of towers multiplied along curtain walls, which were rectangular in outline in castles of the plain (Vincennes; VI, PL. 303) irregular in those erected on a height; the entrance took on particular importance and its defensive apparatus increased (drawbridge, portcullis). The evolution of the fortress into a palace began in the 14th century (Avignon); in the late 15th century decorative elements, such as balustrades and dormers (Nantes, Amboise), mingled with typically defensive features.

City plans were generally irregular, except in Aquitaine, where bastides—new towns laid out on a checkerboard plan—were founded in the 13th century. The 13th-century city dwelling is known by only few examples. In general the Romanesque disposition persisted; houses had upper stories lighted through arcades (Chartres, Cordes). In the 14th and 15th centuries appeared rectangular windows with mullions and transoms (Sarlat). Second stories of wood surmounting a ground story of stone, very widespread in the late Middle Ages, were embellished with sculpture. With the decline of feudalism a desire for luxury and comfort led to the construction of large town houses, such as Jacques Cœur's in Bourges, whose most characteristic features were a central courtyard with galleries and projecting stair turrets, rectangular windows asymmetrically disposed on the various floors, and high dormer windows rising against steeply pitched roofs; in the rooms, whose walls were covered with tapestries, the chief decorative element was the sculptured chimney piece. This type of private dwelling was adapted in the construction of public edifices.

The wealthiest cities erected regular public buildings: quarters where merchants could hold meetings and store goods; covered markets, largely open at the sides, as at Crémieu (Isère), Arlanc (Puy-de-Dôme), and Dives-sur-Mer (Calvados); commercial exchanges, such as the Loge de Mer at Perpignan (begun in 1397); hospitals, such as the triple-aisled one with stone vaults at Angers (late 12th cent.), that of Tonnerre, with a timber covering (1293), and — masterpiece of the type — that of Beaune (1443), with a chapel, pharmacy, kitchen with a mechanical spit, etc. City administrations, at first housed in private dwellings, moved into buildings of their own as the prestige of their communities increased, and with it their responsibilities. The new town halls generally had a room for meetings, often over an arcaded gallery, and a belfry — sometimes the remains of a destroyed or secularized religious edifice — provided, from the 14th century onward, with a clock; frequently there was a chapel and sometimes a kitchen. Fine town halls were erected especially in the north, at Arras, Saint-Omer, Lille, Valenciennes, Noyon, Douai, etc., but very few have survived. In the realm of public architecture, Gothic builders must also be credited with the construction of bridges on pointed arches, which allowed a wider span (Montauban); sometimes the bridges had a chapel (Avignon) or were fortified (Cahors).

By and large, the artistic centers of the Gothic period were the same as those of the 12th century; however, with the organization of the handicrafts in the cities the monasteries lost some of their importance. In the 13th century Limoges was the center for the production of *champlevé* enamels, and some northern workshops specialized in the illumination of manuscripts (Picardy, Reims, Metz). But Paris, preeminent politically, culturally (with its famous university), and economically, also dominated in the field of the arts and handicrafts. In the 13th century the workshops of the capital perfected two techniques: the carving of ivory (statuettes and useful objects) and the decoration of manuscripts, inspired in its composition by architecture and stained glass; the more naturalistic illumination of the 14th century, enriched by Flemish contributions, developed into the "international style." The Hundred Years' War brought about the dispersal of the Parisian artists and artisans to

the benefit of two other centers subsidized by royal princes: Burgundy, in close contact with Flanders, and the domain of the Duc de Berry (Poitou, Berry, Auvergne). In the centers of Berry and then of Touraine, asylums of royalty in the late 15th century, unfolded the talents of the last Gothic sculptors (Michel Colombe, e.g.) and of the last miniaturists, simultaneously the first French painters (Jean Fouquet, q.v., Jean Bourdichon).

Pierre PRADÉL

*Renaissance.* The end of the long conflict with England made possible, in the reign of Louis XI, a resurgence of French artistic powers. The revival of commerce, the renewed interest of feudal lords in the construction of sumptuous residences, the refinement



France: the great châteaux of the Renaissance and the fortifications of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Key: (1) Modern political borders; (2) châteaux; (3) fortifications.

and luxury at the French and Burgundian courts, all these reflected France's new-won prestige as a power among the monarchies of Europe. The last manifestations of Gothic art slowly gave way before the innovations imported from Italy, to which development the campaigns of Louis XI's successors contributed not a little. Charles VIII, back from Italy in 1496, brought with him Renaissance artists, whose influence, unfortunately, it remains difficult to define, just as it is still difficult to analyze the influence, later, of the admittedly beloved and admired Leonardo. Francis I, particularly susceptible to the magic of Italian art and desirous of giving new splendor to the royal residences, launched projects, in the Louvre and at Fontainebleau, that were to stimulate the formation of an actual school clearly Renaissance in character, now called that of Fontainebleau (see RENAISSANCE; MANNERISM).

The fondness for pleasure resorts and hunting lodges spread also in France, particularly in the Loire region, which has some of the most magnificent and perfect châteaux created as places of rest and recreation for the kings and nobility of France. The castle lost its grim and warlike aspect and, though still turreted, assumed that of a pleasing residence; it was encoined in delightful surroundings, often near a watercourse, over which it was sometimes directly built (Chenonceau).

Under the leadership of Paris, the whole French province erected extremely interesting buildings that gave a new interpretation to Renaissance models; remarkable examples may be seen in Dijon, Toulouse, Besançon, and other cities.

The more direct influence of Italian architecture in the second half of the 16th century led to a fundamental renewal of forms. New standards evolved, calling for architectural ordinances based on geometric formulas, the symmetrical disposition of the masses of a building, often around a courtyard with galleries, the systematic use of the classic orders, including their superposition, and the application of decorative elements inspired by an archaeological appreciation of antiquity. Such ideals encouraged the emergence of

great personalities who could give their work a theoretical base, founding it on Vitruvius and the Italian treatise writers. The dominant taste was thus manneristic; and the study of the ancients, often pursued by means of sojourns in Rome, was motivated by an archaeological interest, not a search for architectural "correctness."

*The 17th and 18th centuries.* The accession of the Bourbons, on the extinction of the Valois branch, seems to mark a turning point in the artistic as well as in the social and political history of France. After the appeasement of the religious conflicts that had divided the nation, Henry IV definitively located the seat of royalty in Paris, making it the pivot and lever of every artistic and cultural manifestation in France. During his reign began that renovation of the city which evokes the dreams of glory of so many monarchs and the part they played in the life of the nation. Here were the first signs of that program later developed by Louis XIV, who made monumental architecture one of the major expressions of his political prestige and the immense power he wielded; who built the most superb palace ever conceived to symbolize the might of a dynasty — Versailles — and planned an actual reconstruction of Paris on a monumental scale, a project partly realized in the enlargement of the Louvre and the renovation of the Tuileries. Thus Paris became the mirror of the nation; its artistic and worldly splendor were but the reflection of France's growing power.

The high nobility was gradually reduced to submissiveness, partly by financial concessions that served to maintain their way of life on a footing of incredible opulence; only thus did Louis XIV succeed in bending them to his political wishes. Often they vied with the king himself in the construction of resplendent edifices, provided with every conceivable luxury and refinement.

Both in Paris and in the province there arose rich dwellings surrounded by parks designed by major architects. The simple geometric plans of the gardens of Amboise, Blois, and Gaillon, reproduced by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau in his engravings for *Les Plus excellents bastiments de France*, had given way in the second half of the 16th century, to the giant complexes of Anet, Écouen, and the Tuileries in Paris, with fountains, grottoes, and especially *parterres de broderies*, arrangements of multicolored flowers inspired by Oriental carpets, of which the inventor is supposed to have been the architect E. Dupérac (1582). From here it was but a short step to the monumental layouts, embellished with sculpture and architectural elements (pavilions), of the 17th century and the fabulous realizations of Le Nôtre (see LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE).

The town houses, or *hôtels*, so typical of French classicistic taste, that were erected in Paris from the late 16th century onward show a sobriety inherited from the Renaissance and an amplitude that already partakes of the baroque (see BAROQUE ART). Both in town houses and in country places the residential wing was generally at the bottom of a courtyard and faced a garden or park in back. The disposition of the rooms gradually became more complex; yet the hall and bedroom with dressing room remained basic. Not until 1650 was the bed isolated by means of an alcove; daytime quarters began to be separated into drawing rooms and dining room. The grander dwellings acquired a gallery, which might be a closed loggia or an adaptation of the hall; it could shelter works of art.

Italian influence suffered a severe setback in the 17th century: Bernini (q.v.), called to draw up plans for the Louvre, returned to Italy before they were carried out, and they were set aside; at Versailles new forms and tastes prevailed, which anticipated the most capricious manifestations of the rococo in the next century. The policies of the great Richelieu were continued by Mazarin, Louis XIV, and Colbert: the Academy was founded (see INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATIONS), and artistic activity received strong encouragement; town planning was undertaken, with the creation of entire cities according to an ideal plan; and the most coveted goal of all was reached, that of making Paris the focus of the most vital interests of the nation. Henceforth the province had a purely receptive role. If until the Renaissance regions outside the Parisian orbit could achieve fresh architectural solutions that had a part in determining future developments, from the 17th century onward the trend of art was directed solely by the capital, whose sphere of influence grew ever larger and came to include other countries of Europe. However, the application of the ideas of the capital was often admirable, as, for example, in the "royal squares" (so called after the royal statue in the center) incorporated in the 18th-century town plans of Rennes, Bordeaux, Nancy, and Reims. The squares were planned in relation to their natural surroundings and often succeeded in displacing the town center and giving life to new quarters. Such town planning was influential abroad, especially in Belgium, Portugal, Piedmont, and in Copenhagen.

Among the public edifices built in the 17th and 18th centuries many were educational establishments. The Jesuits began to build colleges in 1603. In Paris J. Lemercier undertook the rebuilding

of the Sorbonne in 1629; there followed the Collège des Quatre-Nations (now Institut de France) by Le Vau (1662), the Observatoire, the Ecole Militaire, and the Académie de Chirurgie. Great hospitals were also built: in the 17th century in Paris, St-Louis, the Salpêtrière, and the Invalides; in the 18th century, the hospital in Lyons on which Soufflot worked. The first modern theaters, inspired by Italian models, date only from the second half of the 18th century. The theater adapted from the Salle des Machines in the Tuileries and J.-A. Gabriel's opera house at Versailles were followed by important independent buildings, such as the Grand-Théâtre de Bordeaux by V. Louis, the Opéra in Paris, the theater of Besançon by C.-N. Ledoux, that of Nantes by Crücy, and that of Amiens by J.-P. Rousseau. Meanwhile the religious orders built hundreds of monasteries, colleges, and churches throughout the country, while Paris acquired entire new quarters and consolidated its position as moral and cultural leader of the nation.

A chance to show their works publicly was given artists with the institution of annual and biannual exhibitions, or Salons, held in Paris from 1737 onward; though arousing controversy, they helped many artists — Greuze, Boucher, Fragonard, for example — make their reputations. Such a capacity to stimulate the arts is one that Paris has always retained, even through national crises.

*The 19th and 20th centuries.* Neoclassicism, a response to the imperial myth revived by Napoleon, developed and enriched the themes of the preceding age (see NEOCLASSIC STYLES). Indeed, it is nearly impossible to make a clear distinction between it and the art of the Enlightenment. The tireless quest after grandeur of the successors of the Sun King produced an extraordinary expansion of his urban program. Under Napoleon III the prefect Haussmann, striving for a more rational urban layout, created whole new networks of streets, in the process almost completely destroying the Paris of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and giving the city the aspect that it has today. Thus was the program initiated by Henry IV finally accomplished — a program that embodied the political and social aspirations of the French ruling class.

For technical reasons or as a result of the modern trend toward social leveling, architectural types — from private house to town hall, from palace to school — underwent a profound alteration. Through the requisitioning of religious buildings the public services gained more agreeable quarters, as at Bordeaux and Rouen; but constructions specially designed for them also multiplied. The Paris Bourse, which Napoleon wanted "noble and magnificent," was built of stone in neoclassic style; later there rose the great markets and stores of iron and steel. The renewed study of Gothic architecture and its technical virtuosités, stimulated by Viollet-le-Duc, was concomitant with a search for new materials; their eventual substitution for the old structural elements brought about that technical revolution which, through the work of F.-J. Bellanger, J. Saulnier, G. Eiffel, and others, prepared the way for the modern structural conception of architecture, one fully realized in the Eiffel Tower.

Paris, confirming its position as leader of taste and instigator of artistic revolutions, became to an even greater degree, if that is possible, a focus of interest for all of Europe and for more distant countries as well. From A. Perret to Le Corbusier (q.v.), the most important stages in the development of functional architecture unfolded in Paris (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS); in painting, too, the chief movements since the 19th century — verism, impressionism (q.v.), symbolism, cubism (q.v.), nonobjective art (q.v.) — drew their substance from the culture of the metropolis. But it would be unfair to overlook the town-planning and architectural achievements of cities such as Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Le Havre, which besides replacing war losses have entirely renewed the aspect of these cities (see FRENCH ART).

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**ART CENTERS.** The description of art centers begins with Paris and Ile-de-France, then follows an approximately geographical order by historical region, from north to west to south to east.

**Paris** (anc. Lutetia, later Parisii). Capital of France and of the department of Seine. Lutetia, capital of the Galli Parisii, was located on the Ile de la Cité. Burned by its inhabitants on the approach of the Roman army in 52 B.C., it was rebuilt on this island after the region was pacified, while a new city was founded at some distance, on a hill on the left bank of the Seine (Montagne Ste-Geneviève). In early imperial times the city was not fortified; it was part of the province of Lugdunensis and was situated on the unique passageway formed by the Seine, between Belgic and Celtic Gaul. There subsisted from the Gallo-Roman period ruins of thermae adjoining the Hôtel de Cluny (2d or 3d cent. of our era), whose frigidarium is the only Roman hall in France wholly preserved with its vaults; the remains of an amphitheater with stage on the Rue Monge (Arènes de Lutèce, 1st cent.); the ruins of an aqueduct bridge at Arcueil; and the blocks of a monument (pillar?) found under Notre-Dame, now in the Musée de Cluny, dedicated to Jupiter in the reign of Tiberius by the "Nautae Parisiaci" (a corporation of shipowners), the oldest dated sculptures in France. Other baths and a theater are today no longer visible. At Saint-Denis was found the necropolis where the martyr St. Dionysius (Denis) was buried in the mid-3d century. In the late empire the city on the left bank was destroyed, and the island was enclosed by walls made with the blocks of ancient monuments; it was here that in 360 Julian was proclaimed Augustus by his troops. The name "Parisii" dates from the 3d century.

During the period of invasions the urban center remained fixed on the island, located around three churches that stood on the present site of Notre-Dame; a Merovingian palace rose at the opposite end of the island, where the Palais de Justice is today. On the Montagne Ste-Geneviève, Clovis and Clotilda built the Basilica of St-Pierre-et-St-Paul, where St. Geneviève was buried. Also on the left bank Childebert founded the Basilica of Ste-Croix-et-St-Vincent, which became the Abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés. A ring of monasteries encircled the city from the 6th to the 11th century: to the north, St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, St-Merry, St-Martin-des-Champs, the Temple, the Benedictines of Montmartre; to the south, St-Victor, St-Marcel, Notre-Dame-des-Champs.

Many new constructions rose in the second half of the 12th century: Notre-Dame (VI, PL. 293), the wall of Philip Augustus with about seventy towers, and the fortress of the Louvre, standing guard on the right bank of the Seine. In 1183 a covered market was built in the very district where the great markets (Halles Centrales) are found today.

From the 13th century onward, except during an era of decadence that lasted from the Hundred Years' War until the early 16th century (when the châteaux of the Loire were built), Paris could be considered the most important French art center.

St. Louis built the Ste-Chapelle (V, PL. 380) in the middle of the royal palace (now Palais de Justice) and founded the Sorbonne College. Charles V embellished the Louvre and enlarged the city walls toward the north and east, erecting the Bastille at the eastern limit of a quarter along the Seine.

In the 16th century the Cour Carrée of the Louvre replaced the prior Gothic castle; Catherine de Médicis built the Tuileries, which Henry IV was to join to the Louvre by the Grande Galerie.

At the beginning of the 17th century the first royal squares were laid out ("royal," because they were adorned with the statue of a king): the Place Dauphine, connected with the Pont-Neuf, at one end of the Ile de la Cité, and the Place Royale (later Place des Voages) in the eastern quarter known as the Marais, where the aristocracy lived. Construction began on the Ile St-Louis, just east of the Cité. Various buildings were erected outside the walls: the hospitals of St-Louis and La Salpêtrière, the Luxembourg Palace, the Val-de-Grâce, and the Observatoire.

Under Louis XIV two new royal squares were opened: the Place des Victoires and the Place Vendôme. Along the Seine the city acquired a new physiognomy, with the Pont-Royal, the new Tuileries with its gardens, the Colonnade of the Louvre, and, across the river from the Louvre, the Collège des Quatre-Nations (now Institut de France). With the foundation of the Invalides on the left bank began the westward expansion of the city toward Versailles — royal





France: principal art centers and historical regions (inset: Corsica). Key: (1) Modern political borders.

residence from the mid-17th century until 1789. This expansion continued in the 18th century with the construction of the town houses (*hôtels*) of the Faubourg St-Germain and of the Ecole Militaire; similarly, on the right bank were laid out the Cours-la-Reine and the Place Louis XV (now Place de la Concorde), and a series of mansions was erected between the Faubourg St-Honoré and the Champs-Élysées. In 1775 most of the new constructions were enclosed by the Wall of the Farmers-General, which bordered the so-called "outer" boulevards and was furnished with monumental gatehouses.

During the First Empire the Rue de Rivoli was opened. Under the Restoration and the July Monarchy bourgeois-financial interests established themselves in the northwestern zone Monceau-Etoile. New churches rose: St-Vincent-de-Paul, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, the

Trinité, and St-Augustin. Thiers had the city surrounded by fortifications enclosing a far larger territory than the Wall of the Farmers-General and embracing the villages of Auteuil, Passy, Les Batignolles, Montmartre, La Villette, La Chapelle, Ménilmontant, Charonne, Bercy, Montrouge, Vaugirard, and Grenelle. Within this new enclosure, during the Second Empire, Haussmann's bold projects transformed the city's traditional aspect. The Louvre was completed (Carrousel); the Opéra and the Halles Centrales were erected; railroad stations were built; public parks were laid out: the Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vincennes, Parc Monceau, Buttes Chaumont, Parc Montsouris; large thoroughfares were opened; the Boulevard St-Michel, Boulevard St-Germain (at both ends joining the Seine), Boulevard Raspail, and the Place de l'Etoile, where 12 avenues converge.



**Churches:** Cathedral of Notre-Dame, begun with the choir in 1163; nave with double aisles and galleries, 1180-1200; façade with three portals, rose window, open gallery, and two towers completed in 1250 (VI, PL. 293); arms of transept rebuilt by Pierre de Montreuil and Jean de Chelles in the second half of the 13th century; side chapels added in the 14th century; much of the interior and façade destroyed and modified in the 17th and 18th centuries; reconstruction and restoration carried out in the second half of the 19th century by J.-B.-A. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, according to rather questionable criteria. Façade sculptures modern, except some in the portals (especially the north portal, devoted to the Virgin; VI, PL. 349). In the portal of the north transept, scenes from the infancy of Christ, legend of Theophilus; on the central pillar, statue of the Virgin. In the south portal, stories of St. Stephen and medallions with scenes of student life. Original stained glass preserved in the three rose windows of the façade and transept. In the choir, screen with bas-reliefs on the life of Christ (13th-14th cent.); statue of the Virgin (14th cent.); tomb of the Duc d'Harcourt by Jean Pigalle (18th cent.); reliefs and decorations of the 18th century; stalls by L. Marteau and J. Denel, *Pietà* by N. Coustou (1723), statue of Louis XIII by G. I. Coustou (1715), and of Louis XIV praying by A. Coysevox (1715). In the side chapels, 17th-century altarpieces by French artists. Important treasury. - St-Germain-des-Prés, church of the celebrated abbey founded in 542 by Childebert, artistic and intellectual center until the Revolution. Porch surmounted by a square bell tower (ca. 1000), with a crown of the 12th century; nave and aisles (once roofed with wood), 11th century; vaults of the 17th century; transept incorporates the bases of the lateral bell towers destroyed during the Revolution; Gothic choir of 1253 with triforium, ambulatory, and chapels. Alabaster Virgin of the 14th century; tomb of John II Casimir, king of Poland, by the brothers Marry (late 17th cent.). Remains of the former abbey: a brick-and-stone structure of the late 16th century. - St-Martin-des-Champs, former abbey church now occupied, as are the other abbey buildings, by the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. Choir in early Gothic style (ca. 1240) with a double ambulatory on

which open a deep trilobed axial chapel and six smaller chapels; nave of the 13th century. Refectory (13th cent.) with high vaults on slender columns, perhaps by Pierre de Montreuil. - St-Julien-le-Pauvre. Choir in the style of Notre-Dame, with apse and apsidioles, about 1175; nave and aisles of the 13th century; fine capitals. The church was shortened in the 17th century, when the present façade, of scant artistic interest, was built. - St-Pierre-de-Montmartre, begun from the east in 1147. Romanesque apsidioles; reused Merovingian capitals; of the Gothic period: apse, transept, north bell tower, nave with triforium and aisles; cross-rib vaults of the 15th century; modern façade. - St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, parish church of the Louvre of the kings of France. Choir of the 13th century with double aisles and with chapels of the 16th century; transformed in pseudo-Roman style in 1745. Nave of the 15th century with double aisles and chapels. Long chapel on the south side of the 13th century. Façade with a 13th-century portal and a vast porch in flamboyant style by J. Gausse (1435). Lateral north door in classicizing style (1570). Fragments of a rood screen by J. Goujon and P. Lescot (1539-44) preserved in the Louvre. In the 19th century T. Ballu erected the Neo-Gothic belfry adjoining the church. - St-Séverin. Façade with north tower and eastern portion of nave with triforium, 13th century; construction continued in the same style until the 16th century, with double aisles and double ambulatory; flamboyant vaults; large windows all around the building. - Ste-Chapelle. See Palais de Justice (col. 549). - St-Gervais-et-St-Protais (II, PL. 150). Reconstruction begun in the eastern portion toward the end of the Middle Ages. Choir with ambulatory and deep axial chapel; cross-rib vaults; southeast chapel of the 17th century. Nave with stellar vaults. Western portion of nave and façade with three superposed orders and pediment, by C. II Métezeau (1616-24). Stained-glass windows (mid-16th cent.) after cartoons by Jean Cousin the Younger and R. Pinaigrier; tomb of Michel Le Tellier (late 17th cent.) by P. Mazeline and S. Huet; organ of the 16th century with a case of the 18th, which used to be played by the Couperins; *God the Father* by Perugino; *Virgin and SS. Gregory and Vitalian* by Sebastiano Ricci. - St-Nicolas-des-

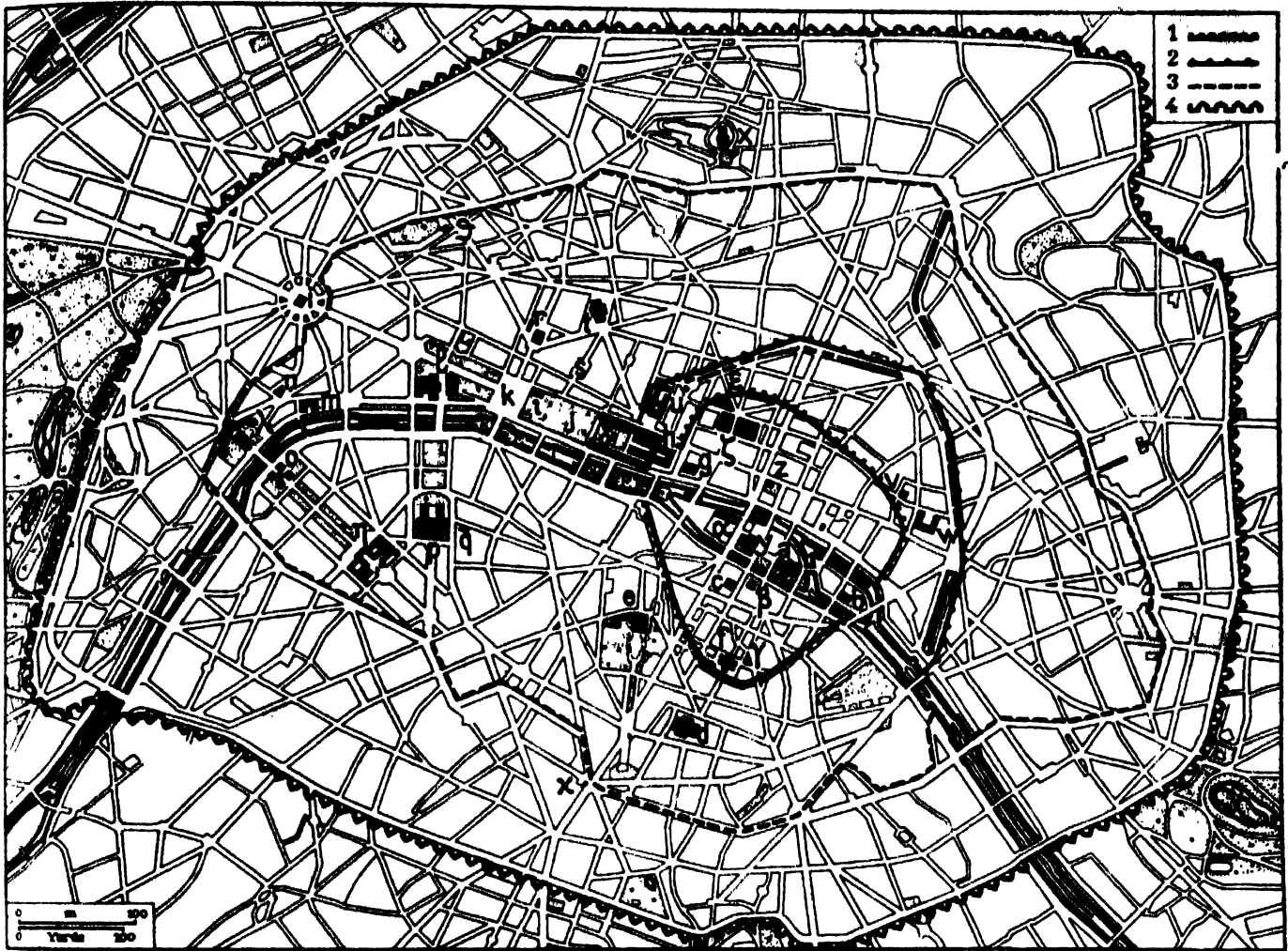


Paris, urban development. Key: Area occupied by the city at the time of (1) Charles V (1370), (2) Louis XIV (1652), (3) the Revolution (1789), (4) ramparts of 1841-45; (5) the modern city with its main suburbs.

Champs. Nave with double aisles and chapels, 15th-16th century; no transept; choir of the 17th century with complex vaults and radiating chapels that form a continuous band with the side chapels; façade in flamboyant style; south portal of 1576, inspired by Philibert Delorme. On the high altar, retable painted by S. Vouet and decorated by J. Sarrazin. - St-Etienne-du-Mont. Rebuilding of the preceding 13th-century church begun in 1492 with the choir and its wide ambulatory, continued in the 16th century with the transept, nave, aisles, and side chapels, still in Gothic style but with many Renaissance elements. Vaults with hanging keystones. Façade in late Renaissance style (1609) with three superposed pediments. In the monumental interior, Renaissance rood screen (1541) with spiral staircases, flanked by doorways of the 17th century; sculptured pulpit of the 16th century; organ case of the 17th century; stained glass by Engrand Le Prince (first half of 16th cent.) and the Pinaigniers (second half of 16th and early 17th cents.); paintings by L. Le Nain, Fréminet, etc. - St-Merry (or Merri), built in flamboyant style (1515-52) on the emplacement of a very early chapel. Choir redone in 1752 with rococo stuccowork by the brothers Slodtz; stained glass of the late 16th century; Chapel of the Sacrament decorated by the Slodtzs; works by T. Chassériau, C.-A. Coypell, N. Coypell, S. Vouet. - St-Eustache, vast edifice inspired by Notre-Dame in which Gothic construction is combined with Italianate decoration. Begun with the transept (which does not project on the exterior) in 1532; continued with the nave (1570) and the choir with radiating chapels (1618-37). Neoclassical façade by Mansart de Jouy (1754), finished by P.-L. Moreau-Desproux (1772-78), erection of which entailed the sacrifice of a chapel decorated by Pierre Mignard. Restored after a fire in the 19th century by V. Baltard. Inside: Virgin by Jean Pigalle; tomb of Colbert by A. Coysevox and J.-B. Tuby (late 17th cent.), after the designs of Lebrun. - Chapel of St-Joseph-des-Carmes (ca. 1613-20). Latin-cross plan; side chapels; deep choir; transept surmounted by a dome, one of the oldest in Paris (1628). Woodwork of the 17th century; Virgin by A. Raggi. - Temple de l'Oratoire (now Protestant church), perhaps designed by J. Lemercier, executed by C. II Métezeau (1620-30). Side chapels; rotunda (formerly choir for the priests) behind the choir. Portal, choir, and high altar (1745) by P. Caqué. - Ste-Elisabeth, in the style of the Counter Reformation, founded in 1628 by Marie de Médicis, consecrated in 1646, enlarged in the 19th century with a neoclassical ambulatory around the choir. - St-Paul-et-St-Louis (PL. 410); church of Jesuit type (1627) built after the plans of Father E. Martellange and F. Derand. Latin-cross plan; intercommunicating side chapels; choir with two side chapels; monumental façade with three orders (1634). Altarpiece depicting Louis XIII offering a model of the church to St. Louis, by S. Vouet; *Christ in the Garden of Olives* by Delacroix. - Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Jesuit church founded by Louis XIII, begun in 1629 by P. Le Muet, continued by L. Bruant and R. Boudin, then by G. Le Duc (1663), and finished in the 18th century by J.-S. Cartaud. In the choir, works by Charles André (Carle) Van Loo. - Temple Ste-Marie (former Chapel of the Visitation, now Protestant church), by F. Mansart (1632-34). Circular plan, in imitation of the Pantheon in Rome. Pedimented façade. - Church of the Sorbonne, erected by J. Lemercier (1636-42) on the order of Richelieu. Aisleless nave flanked by chapels; transept; monumental classifying façades; large dome modeled on St. Peter's. Tomb of Richelieu by F. Girardon (1694), after the designs of Lebrun; works by P. de Champaigne. - Chapel of the Val-de-Grâce (II, PL. 151), monastery founded by Anne of Austria. Begun in 1645 by F. Mansart and continued by J. Lemercier and P. Le Muet; large dome by G. Le Duc, decorated by Pierre Mignard. Sculptures by M. Anguier; high altar inspired by Bernini, designed by Le Duc and executed by the Anguiers. - St-Sulpice, erected on the foundations of a 12th-century church rebuilt and enlarged several times from the 13th to the early 17th century. The present structure, of grandiose proportions, was begun in 1646 after the plans of C. Gamard, later modified by D. Gittard (1670); continued from 1719 by G.-M. Oppenord (transept and nave); the circular Lady Chapel was added by Servandoni, who in 1749 began the high façade with two towers and a Doric portico surmounted by a gallery with Ionic columns. Interior: sculptures by E. Bouchardon, Jean Pigalle, M.-A. Slodtz; organ case of 1776; Chapelle des Anges decorated by Delacroix (q.v.). - St-Roch, church of Jesuit type begun in 1653 after the plans of J. Lemercier, who realized the choir with ambulatory and the transept; construction interrupted in 1660, resumed by J. Hardouin Mansart in 1705. Nave with aisles; choir opening into a large rotunda with ambulatory and semicircular apse; façade by R. de Cotte (1735). Baroque paintings and sculptures; tomb of Cardinal Dubois by G. I. Coustou; etc. - St-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, rebuilt between 1656 and 1709 after the plans of M. Noblet and F. Levé; modern façade (1936) of 18th-century design. Nave with aisles and chapels; wide ambulatory with chapels. Works by C.-J. Natoire, Lebrun, N.-N. Coypell, P. Bruegel the Younger; *The Baptism of Christ* by Corot; Lebrun funerary chapel with a tomb

designed by the artist and executed by J.-B. Tuby and Gaspard Collignon, paintings by the artist, and a monument to him by A. Coysevox. - St-Louis-en-l'Île, typical Jesuit church begun by L. Le Vau (1664), continued by G. Le Duc, and finished in 1726 by Jacques Doucet; decorated by J.-B. de Champaigne; numerous baroque sculptures and paintings. - L'Assomption, central-plan church by C. II Errard (1670-76) with a vast dome, decorated on the interior by C. de Lafosse, and a classicizing portico. - St-Philippe-du-Roule, by Chalgrin (1774-84), enlarged during the 19th century by E.-H. Godde and V. Baltard. Basilican plan; columns with architrave; façade with pediment supported by four Doric columns. In the apse, *Deposition* by T. Chassériau. - Dôme des Invalides. See Hôtel des Invalides (col. 542). - St-Thomas-d'Aquin, church of Jesuit type by P. Bullet (1683). Façade with two orders. Paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries (*Virgin and St. Jerome* by Guercino). - St-Louis-d'Antin, neoclassical church (1783) with a nave flanked by a single aisle, by A.-T. Brongniart, who also built the adjacent monastery with neoclassical cloister (now Lycée Condorcet). - La Madeleine (Ste-Marie-Madeleine), begun in 1806 by P.-A. Vignon, in the form of a peripteral temple with Corinthian columns, frieze, and pediments. Numerous 19th-century sculptures. - Chapelle Expiatoire, by P.-F.-L. Fontaine (1818-21), on the site of the cemetery where Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were buried. Trefoil plan; dome and three half domes; neoclassical portico. - St-Vincent-de-Paul classicizing basilica by J.-B. Lepère and J. I. Hittorff (1824-44). Façade with Ionic portico and two towers, preceded by two vast ramps. High altar with a *Calvary* by Rude; murals by H. Flandrin. - Ste-Clotilde, by F. C. Gau and T. Ballu (1846-57), fine example of Gothic revival. - St-Augustin, by V. Baltard (1860-71), with iron arches and cast-iron columns; tall dome in Byzantinizing style. - La Trinité, built by T. Ballu (1861-67) in the heavy eclectic style of the Second Empire inspired by the Italian Renaissance. - Sacré-Cœur, on the top of Montmartre, by P. Abadie, begun in 1875 and continued in the first decades of the 20th century. Basilica with high dome, in a composite style partly Byzantine in inspiration. - St-Jean-de-Montmartre, one of the first examples of the use of reinforced concrete by A. de Baudot (1904).

Secular buildings: Palais de Justice, in the Cité, incorporating the remains of a Carolingian and Capetian castle. Vestiges of the 14th century (heavily restored): subterranean room with cross-rib vaults; north façade with three round towers topped by conical roofs; angle tower with a clock ornamented about 1585 by G. Pilon. Wing of 1783-86 by P. Desmaisons and J.-D. Antoine, with a large central dome and a monumental stairway; it dominates a courtyard (Cour du Mai) closed by a magnificent railing. The Palais encloses the Ste-Chapelle (PL. 380), celebrated Gothic monument begun in 1246, probably by Pierre de Montreuil, to receive the relics of the Passion in the possession of St. Louis; it consists of two stories, of which the upper has a flamboyant rose window preserving the original stained glass and immense side windows also preserving some of the original glass. - Tour de Jean-sans-Peur (late 14th cent.), remnant of the Hôtel de Bourgogne; flamboyant staircase of the 15th century. - Hôtel de Sens, residence of the archbishops of Sens, begun in 1474. Fine example of a private dwelling in flamboyant style. Tall dormer windows; inner courtyard. - Hôtel de Cluny (now mus.), in flamboyant style; begun in 1485, over anterior structures, among them Roman baths. Toward the courtyard, façade with high dormer windows and a polygonal stair turret. Oratory with a vault springing from a central pillar. - Tower of St-Jacques, in flamboyant style (early 16th cent.), remnant of the destroyed Church of St-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. - Palais du Louvre. The present edifice — a quadrilateral enclosing a courtyard (Cour Carrée) extended westward by two long wings — rises on the site of a castle of Philip Augustus, enlarged under Charles V with the collaboration of Raymond du Temple (14th cent.). Reconstruction was begun under Francis I by P. Lescot (1546), continued under Henry II by Lescot and J. Goujon (1550), under Henry IV by L. Métezeau and Jacques II Androuet Ducreau (Grande Galerie in the south wing, 1608), under Louis XIII by J. Lemercier (Pavillon de l'Horloge, 1624); the quadrilateral of the Cour Carrée was completed under Louis XIV by L. Le Vau (1663). Under Louis XIV and Colbert, Le Vau, Lebrun, and Claude Perrault drew up plans for the exterior north and east façades of the Cour Carrée (II, PL. 150); the Colonnade of the east façade was built 1664-68 and restored in the 18th century, under Louis XV, by J.-A. Gabriel and J.-G. Soufflot, who also altered the Cour Carrée. The 19th century saw the partial reconstruction of the south wing and the erection of the north wing. In the Petite Galerie (late 16th cent.) the apartments of Anne of Austria on the first floor were decorated by G. F. Romanelli and M. Anguier; the Galerie d'Apollon, on the second floor, is richly adorned with stuccowork and painting (on the ceiling, central panel by Delacroix, 1848). - Hôtel Carnavalet (former Hôtel de Ligneris; now Musée Historique de la Ville de Paris).



Paris: plan of the historical center. Key: Walls of (1) Philip Augustus (1180), (2) Charles V (1370), (3) the Farmers-General (1780), (4) 1841-45. - (a) Notre-Dame; (b) St-Louis-en-l'Île; (c) St-Séverin; (d) Val-de-Grâce; (e) Luxembourg; (f) Panthéon; (g) St-Germain-l'Auxerrois; (h) Louvre; (i) Etoile, with Arc de Triomphe; (j) Tuileries; (k) Place de la Concorde; (l) Petit-Palais and Grand-Palais; (m) Palais d'Art Moderne; (n) Musée Guimet; (o) Eiffel Tower; (p) Invalides; (q) Musée Rodin; (r) Madeleine; (s) Place Vendôme; (t) Opéra; (u) Palais-Royal; (v) Hôtel Carnavalet; (w) Place des Vosges; (x) Sacré-Cœur; (y) Préfecture de Police; (z) Tower of St-Jacques; (aa) Palais de Justice, with Ste-Chapelle and Conciergerie; (ab) St-Julien-le-Pauvre; (ac) St-Etienne-du-Mont; (ad) Arc du Carrousel; (ae) St-Eustache; (af) Halles Centrales; (ag) Ecole Militaire; (ah) Musée Cernuschi; (ai) Musée du Jeu de Paume; (aj) Catacombs; (ak) Palais de Chaillot

by P. Lescot and J. Goujon, finished by F. Mansart in 1655 - Hotel Lamignon (1580), with a courtyard façade presenting a rare early example of colossal order. - Luxembourg Palace (Senate), begun in 1615 by S. de Brosse for Marie de Médicis, in imitation of the Pitti Palace in Florence. Rectangular structure with two perpendicular wings enclosing a courtyard, which is shut off by a gallery with a central pavilion. Interior completely transformed in the early 19th century by Chalgrin (grand staircase); ceilings by Delacroix (1847); a series of paintings by Rubens that decorated the palace is now in the Louvre. N. Descamps and G. Boutin (17th cent.), Chalgrin, and others contributed to the layout of the large garden. - Hospital of St-Louis, founded by Henry IV, erected by C. Vellefaux (1607-12), in brick and stone. Buildings disposed around a square courtyard; angle pavilions. Chapel. - Hôtel de Sully, built about 1624 by Jean I Androuet Ducerceau. Courtyard façade richly decorated with sculptures. - Bibliothèque Nationale, a complex of buildings including the Hôtel Tubeuf by P. Le Muet (1633), of brick and stone; the two-story wing containing the Galerie Mazarine, by F. Mansart (1645), with paintings by G. F. Romanelli; remains of the Hôtel de Nevers, by F. Mansart; *cour d'honneur* by R. de Cotte (18th cent.), leading to a large 19th-century reading room, with cupolas and cast-iron columns, by H. Labrousse. - Hôtel Lambert, by Le Vau (1640). Interior decorated by Lebrun and E. Le Sueur. - Hôtel Lauzun, by Le Vau (1650-58). Three wings enclosing a courtyard. Interior decorated with wood- and stucco-work; paintings by Lebrun, Le Sueur, P. Patel, and S. Bourdon. - Hôtel des Ambassadeurs de Hollande, by P. Cottard (1655). - Hôtel de Beauvais, by A. Le Pautre (1655), with a circular colonnaded vestibule, an oval courtyard, and

a monumental staircase with sculptures by M. van den Bogaert (M. Desjardins). - Palais de l'Institut de France (former Collège des Quatre-Nations, founded by Mazarin), built after the plans of Le Vau (1662); continued by P. Lambert and F. d'Orbay. Façade with colossal orders forming a hemicycle; in the center, former chapel with a dome on a high drum and a portico. - Observatoire, sober structure with a nearly square ground plan, by Claude Perrault (1668-72). - La Salpêtrière, vast complex of hospital buildings erected in the 17th century by Le Vau and Le Muet, continued by L. Bruant. Chapel (1670) on a Greek-cross plan, surmounted by multiple-sided dome. - Hôtel des Invalides (I, PL. 390), begun in 1671 by L. Bruant, continued, from 1677, by J. Hardouin Mansart. Large symmetrical complex of buildings and courtyards with a monumental entrance and a church in the center. A second church Dôme des Invalides (II, PL. 150), begun by J. Hardouin Mansart (q.v.) in 1679, is built on a central plan, with a lofty dome; it contains the tomb of Marshal Turenne by J.-B. Tuby, after the designs of Le Brun, and that of Napoleon by L.-T.-J. Visconti (1843), with sculptures by J. Pradier. - Hôtel de Soubise (Archives Nationales), incorporating remains of the Hôtel de Clisson (14th cent.); rebuilt by P.-A. Delamair (1705), with a horseshoe-shaped courtyard bordered by colonnaded galleries. Stucco-work and painting by Charles André (Carle) Van Loo, J.-B. Lemoyne, and L.-S. Adam. - Hôtel de Rohan, twin to the preceding, also by Delamair (1705-08). Rococo decoration (Salon des Singes). On the portal of the former stables, *Horses of Apollo*, in high relief, by R. Le Lorrain. - Palais de l'Elysée, built in 1718 by C. Mollet for the Comte d'Evreux. Interior altered in Empire style for Carolina Bonaparte. - Hôtel de Matignon, by J. Cour-

tonne (1721). - Hôtel Biron (Musée Rodin), by Jacques Gabriel and J. Aubert (1728). - Hôtel de Laasay, built in the early 18th century, later joined to the Palais-Bourbon (18th cent., rebuilt in the 19th), which has a portico by B. Poyet (1803-07) and a library with paintings by Delacroix (ca. 1845). - Ecole Militaire, series of interconnected buildings erected after the plans of J.-A. Gabriel (1751-73). Rigorously classicizing façade toward the Champ-de-Mars; at its center, pavilion with a four-sided dome and colossal Corinthian columns. Chapel (1773) with Corinthian colonnade. - Panthéon (former Church of Ste-Geneviève), by J.-B. Soufflot (1758), finished by J.-B. Rondelet. Italianate in taste. Greek-cross plan; nave with double aisles; huge crypt; central dome on externally colonnaded drum; ample portico. Inside (PL. 422), paintings on historical themes, murals by Puvion de Chavannes (stories of St. Geneviève). - Palais-Royal, with vestiges of the palace built for Richelieu by J. Lemercier in 1629 (Galerie des Proues); reconstructed by Contant d'Ivry (1764-70) for the Duc d'Orléans, with a courtyard closed off by a gallery in Louis XVI style; rectangular garden surrounded by arcades, by V. Louis (1781-84). - Académie de Chirurgie (part of the Ecole de Médecine), by J. Gondouin (1769). - Hôtel des Monnaies (Mint), overlooking the Seine, by J.-D. Antoine (1771-77), in Louis XVI style. Projecting central portion of façade with Ionic columns. - Hôtel de Salm (Palais de la Légion d'Honneur), built along the Seine by P. Rousseau. Toward the river, façade with a semicircular pavilion. Courtyard with a neoclassical portal. - Opéra, by Charles Garnier (1861-75), in the eclectic style of the Second Empire. On the façade, *The Dance*, by Jean B. Carpeaux. - Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, built in 1911-13 by the brothers A. and G. Perret after the plans of J.-A. Bouvard and H. Van de Velde. Reliefs and frescoes by E.-A. Bourdelle; paintings by J. E. Vuillard and Maurice Denis. - House of Tristan Tzara, by A. Loos (1926). - Théâtre Pigalle, by C. Sicliis (1930). - Swiss pavilion of the Cité Universitaire, by Le Corbusier (FIG. 239). - Salvation Army Building, by Le Corbusier (1933). - Palais de Chaillot, by L. Azéma and others (1936). - Unesco Building (1955-58; PL. 119), by M. L. Breuer, B. H. Zehrhus, P. L. Nervi, with the collaboration of L. Costa, W. Gropius, Le Corbusier, S. Markelius, E. N. Rogers, E. Saarinen; pictures by J. Miró, Picasso, Afro, Appel, R. Matta, R. Tamayo, J. L. Artigas; sculptures by H. Moore, A. Calder, J. Arp.

Monuments, fountains, squares: Fontaine des Innocents, by J. Goujon (1549), altered in the 18th century. - Pont-Neuf, bridge of 1578-1606. - Place Dauphine (1607), connected with the Pont-Neuf, one of the royal squares built during the reign of Henry IV. Triangular in form; originally lined with brick-and-stone houses all of the same design. - Place des Vosges, another royal square dating back to Henry IV. Square in shape, surrounded by arcades; in the middle, statue of Louis XIII remade in the 19th century. - Porte St-Denis, arch (former city gate) by F. Blondel (1671); triumphal sculptures by M. Anguier and F. Girardon. - Porte St-Martin, arch (former city gate) by P. Bullet (1674), with bas-reliefs. - Pont-Royal, built after the designs of J. Hardouin Mansart (1685). - Place des Victoires, by J. Hardouin Mansart (1685). Circular in plan; formerly surrounded by uniform façades of severe classicizing style, some of them still extant. Equestrian statue of Louis XIV (19th cent.). - Place Vendôme, by J. Hardouin Mansart (1685), in the form of a rectangle cut off at the corners. The Colonne Vendôme in the center, erected for Napoleon by V.-D. Denon, J. Gondouin, and J.-B. Lepère (1806), replaces a statue of Louis XIV. - Fontaine des Quatre-Saisons, by E. Bouchardon (1739-46), with statues and bas-reliefs. - Place de la Concorde, by J.-A. Gabriel (1755), scenographically closed on the north by two colonnaded buildings. In 1836 the obelisk from Luxor was placed in the center, where there once stood a statue of Louis XV. On the side leading to the Champs-Élysées are the *Horses of Marly* by G. I. Coustou; on the Tuileries side, sculptures by A. Coysevox. - Of the Wall of the Farmers-General several gatehouses in neoclassical style, built by C. N. Ledoux (late 18th cent.), are in part preserved: the Barrière d'Enfer (Place Denfert-Rochereau), the pavilions and columns of the Barrière du Trône (Place de la Nation), the Rotonde de la Villette (PL. 422), the Pavillon de Chartres (Parc Monceau). - Arc de Triomphe, on the Place de l'Étoile (I, PL. 390), begun by Chalgrin in 1806; finished in 1836. Among the sculptures, the *Mar-seillaise* by Rude. - Colonne de Juillet, on the site of the Bastille, by J.-A. Alavoine and J.-L. Duc (1840); crowned by the *Spirit of Liberty*, by A.-A. Dumont. - Eiffel Tower, of iron, erected by A.-G. Eiffel for the Exposition of 1889 (PL. 99). - Also noteworthy: the gigantic Monument de la République, with numerous sculptures by J. Dalou (1883), the statue of Marshal Ney by Rude, the Fontaine de l'Observatoire, with the *Continents* by Carpeaux; the statue of Balzac by Rodin.

Museums: Louvre (in the former royal palace of the Louvre), royal collection begun by Francis I, expanded under Colbert and

Louis XV with Italian and French works and under Louis XVI with Dutch and Flemish ones; transformed into a public museum by the National Assembly (1791) and thereafter steadily enriched. Divided into various sections each comprising vast collections: classic, Oriental, medieval, modern, minor arts, etc. - Musée de Cluny, built partly over Roman baths: outstanding ancient, medieval, and Renaissance works. - Musée Jacquemart-André: French 18th-century art; Italian Renaissance. - Musée Nissim de Camondo: 18th-century furniture; Chinese vases. - Musée Cognacq-Jay: 18th century. - Musée du Petit-Palais: 19th-century French art; Dutch and Flemish works; applied arts. - Musée du Jeu de Paume (Musée de l'Impressionisme). - Musée National d'Art Moderne: 20th-century art. - Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. - Musée Guimet and Musée Cernuschi: Oriental art. - Musée Carnavalet (Musée Historique de la Ville de Paris). - Musée des Arts Décoratifs. - In the Palais de Chaillot, Musée National des Monuments Français: moldings of sculptures, reproductions of medieval mural paintings, architectural models; Musée de l'Homme: anthropology and ethnography; Musée de la Marine; Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires. - Also: Treasury of Notre-Dame; Cabinet des Médailles et des Antiques, in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Ecole des Beaux-Arts; Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers; Musée Marmottan: decorative arts; Musée Monétaire; Musée de l'Opéra; Musée Rodin; Musée Bourdelle; Musée Gustave Moreau; Musée Napoléon; Musée de l'Armée, in the Invalides; Musée de l'Histoire de France; Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer.

Libraries: Archives Nationales; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie; Bibliothèque Forney; Bibliothèque Nationale; Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: Espér, IV, 1911; F.-G. de Pachtere, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1912; J. Formigé, *Les Arènes de Lutèce*, Procès-verbaux de la Commission municipale du vieux Paris, 1918, pub. 1923. P.-M. Duval, *Proues de navires de Paris*, Gallia, V, 1947, p. 122; P.-M. Duval, *Les Fouilles du "Palais des Thermes" (Musée de Cluny, Paris)*, Actes du Congrès de Grenoble de l'Association Guillaume Budé, 1948; A. Desguane, *Au sujet de l'aqueduc romain de Lutèce*, Paris, 1949; P.-M. Duval, *Le Groupe de bas-reliefs des "Nautae Parisiaci"*, MPot, XLVIII, 2, 1956. *Middle Ages and modern times*: A. Berty, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris*, 6 vols., Paris, 1866-97; F. Hoffbauer, *Paris à travers les âges*, Paris, 1885; A. de Champeaux, *Les Monuments de Paris*, Paris, 1887; F. Contet, *Les Vieux hôtels de Paris*, 10 vols., Paris, 1908-24; J. Bayet, *Les Edifices religieux de Paris: XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup>, XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1910; A. Hustin, *Le Luxembourg*, 2 vols., Paris, 1910-11; H. Stein, *Le Palais de Justice et la Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris, 1912; M. Poitte, *Une vie de cité*, 3 vols., Paris, 1924-32; P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme*, I, Paris, 1926; L. Hauteœur, *L'Histoire des châteaux du Louvre et des Tuileries*, Paris, 1927; M. Dumolin, *Etudes de topographie parisienne*, Paris, 1929-31; A. Morizet, *Atlas des plans de Paris*, Paris, 1932; A. Morizet, *Du vieux Paris au Paris moderne*, Paris, 1932; M. Dumolin and G. Outardel, *Les Eglises de France: Paris et la Seine*, Paris, 1936; G. Fillement, *Les Hôtels de Paris, 1945 (hôtels in various quarters, Paris, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1955)*, Paris, Mantes, CAF, 1947, p. 9. Y. Christ, *Eglises parisiennes actuelles et disparues*, Paris, 1947; G. Huysman, *Pour comprendre les monuments de Paris*, new ed., Paris, 1949; M. Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, new ed., Paris, 1950; A. Boinet, *Les Eglises parisiennes Moyen Age et Renaissance*, Paris, 1958.

*Environs of Paris*. Maisons-Laffitte. Château by F. Mansart (1642-51), modified by F.-J. Bellanger in 1779. Monumental façade with pilasters; staircase with groups of putti by J. Sarrazin; large gallery; room with mirrors; chimney pieces of the early 17th century; dining room with statues by Houdon and Clodion.

BIBLIOG. P. Vitry, *Le Château de Maisons-Laffitte*, Paris, 1912; J. Stern, *Le Château de Maisons-Laffitte*, Paris, 1934.

Malmaison. Château of the 17th century, transformed and enlarged from 1799 for Napoleon and Josephine by Percier and Fontaine. Fine grounds. In the interior, fittings of the early 19th century.

BIBLIOG. J. Ajalbert, *Le Château de Malmaison*, Paris, 1911; J. Bourguignon, *Malmaison*, Paris, 1937.

Saint-Denis. The town boasts France's most famous sanctuary, the Basilica (former abbey church) of St-Denis. In 1957 excavations beneath the church uncovered a Gallo-Roman and Early Christian necropolis — as well as the probable site of St. Denis's tomb — and a Merovingian oratory enlarged by Pepin the Short. The present church, begun by Abbot Suger ca. 1137, is one of the first Gothic monuments in France. The narthex dates from 1140; the crypt, choir, ambulatory, and radiating chapels from 1144. In the 18th century the three west portals lost their statue-columns, which were of the same type as those of the Royal Portal at Chartres (remnants in the Princeton Art Mus.). Of the two façade bell towers, only the

southern one remains. Some windows of the apsidal chapels retain stained glass of the late 12th century (medallions, tree of Jesse). The Gothic nave with open triforium was not built until the mid-13th century, after the designs of Pierre de Montreuil. In spite of the damages caused by the Revolution, the church, burial place of the kings of France, preserves 12 mausoleums of Capetian and Valois kings, to which numerous tombs of princes, of various provenances, were added during the romantic period. Of special interest are the tombs with recumbent effigies: those of Philip the Bold (1301); of Charles V, by A. Beauneveu; of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria, by Pierre de Thury. Some monuments show dual representations of the deceased, alive, kneeling in prayer, and as cadavers: those of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, flanked by four Virtues, a work of the Juste, or Giusto, family and of sculptors of the Touraine school; of Francis I and his family, by Pierre Bontemps; of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis, of marble and bronze, by G. Pilon, from the designs of Primaticcio. The abbey buildings to the south, rebuilt by R. de Cotte and G. de La Tremblaye in the early 18th century, offer a very well preserved example of monastic architecture during the Regency (1715-23): cloister with classicizing arcades, monumental staircases, wrought-iron railings.

BIBLIOG. P. Vitry and G. Brière, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1923; S. M. Crosby, *The Abbey of Saint Denis*, New Haven, 1942; J. Formigé, *Les Fouilles de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1959.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Church of the late 18th century, neo-classical in style, with a wooden ceiling; altered in the 19th century. — Château. Of the anterior vast Gothic castle there remains the irregular plan, with an inner courtyard, as well as a square angle donjon of the 14th century and a chapel of 1230 with tall windows. Reconstruction begun in 1539 by Pierre I Chambiges, with terraced roof, large round-headed windows, loggias, and brick decoration. Altered in the 17th century. Appropriated by Napoleon III for the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, which contains important prehistoric and Gallo-Roman collections.

BIBLIOG. G. Houdard, *Les Châteaux royaux de Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1909-11; P. Gruyer, *Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, Paris, 1922; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 161.

Sceaux. Church with 17th-century choir. — The château built for Colbert (1673 ff.), replacing a 16th-century edifice, was itself rebuilt in the 19th century. Alone preserved are the entrance pavilions, the Orangerie by J. Hardouin Mansart, and the Pavillon de l'Aurore by Claude Perrault, with a cupola painted by Lebrun. The gardens by André Le Nôtre, with cascade and canal — greatly altered and deprived of their statuary — have been restored.

BIBLIOG. G. Brière, *Le Pavillon de l'Aurore au château de Sceaux*, Paris, 1916; H. Soulangue-Bodin, *Sceaux*, Paris, 1927; F. de Catheu, *Le Château de Sceaux*, n.p., 1938.

Versailles. The nucleus of the present edifice was a small château of brick and stone built by Louis XIII to serve as a hunting lodge. Its enlargement was entrusted by Louis XIV to Le Vau (1660), who prolonged the wings flanking the courtyard (Cour de Marbre) with buildings of brick and stone and, toward the garden, erected a stone façade in classicizing style concealing the original structure. In a recess left by this façade on the second-story level J. Hardouin Mansart placed the Hall of Mirrors (PL. 409); he subsequently lengthened the palace by two immense wings, cadenced by projecting colonnaded bays. To him is also due the masterly approach to the forecourt: the three converging avenues, the two stables with inward-curving façades, and, to the side, the powerful Grand Commun (servant quarters). The royal apartments (Grand Appartement), which date back to Le Vau, have marble facings and ceilings adorned with stucco and painting. The vaulting of the Hall of Mirrors and the adjoining Salon de la Guerre and Salon de la Paix carries a series of great allegorical paintings by Lebrun, celebrating the deeds of Louis XIV (II, PL. 212). The evolution of contemporary French art is illustrated by the undertakings of the end of Louis XIV's reign: the chapel by Mansart and R. de Cotte (with colonnaded gallery, bas-reliefs on piers and arches, ceilings by A. Coyppel, C. de Lafoisse, and J.-B. Jouvenet); the bedchamber of the king and the Salon de l'Oeil-de-Bœuf with carved gold-and-white paneling. Under Louis XV some internal alterations were made (Salon du Conseil). The new penchant for intimacy of the waning *ancien régime* is expressed in Marie Antoinette's suite (Petit Appartement) with its neoclassical decoration. In 1770 J.-A. Gabriel finished the Salle de l'Opéra at the end of the north wing (sculptures by A. Pajou). He also proposed to reconstruct the courtyard façade in neoclassical style, but the project was interrupted by the Revolution. Only the right-hand building with its peristyle was erected; its pendant, on the other side of the courtyard, was built in the early 19th century under

Louis XVIII. The collections of the museum founded by Louis Philippe have documentary interest; all the major neoclassical painters and sculptors are represented. — The garden (VIII, PL. 438), of the French type, was laid out by André Le Nôtre in the 1660s and continually enlarged. It has a great central axis marked by the Bassin de Latone and the Bassin d'Apollon and prolonged by the Grand Canal. On either side are groves, waterworks, and monuments: the circular Colonnade, the Dômes (grove with pool and statues), the Bains d'Apollon, the Rocailles (cascades). Near the palace are two sheets of water framed by statues of rivers (among them, the *Garonne* and *Dordogne* by A. Coysevox). To the north is the Allée des Eaux, a double row of fountains adorned with groups of children, which descends from the Bain des Nymphes de Diane, with sculptures by F. Girardon, to the Bassin de Neptune, completed under Louis XV and decorated by the brothers Adam, J.-B. Lemoyne, and E. Bou-



Saint-Germain-en-Laye: city plan. (a) Château, with the Musée des Antiquités Nationales; (b) Musée Municipal; (c) Terrace; (d) Town Hall.

chardon. To the south is the majestic Orangerie, by Mansart, with a façade of Tuscan orders framed by two stairways (Escalier des Cent-Marches); beyond it lies a large sheet of water, the Pièce d'Eau des Suisses. A whole army of sculptors under the direction of Lebrun, among them Girardon, the brothers Marsy, the Italian J.-B. Tuby, the Dutch M. Desjardins (Van den Bogaert), peopled the gardens with statues and monumental vases. — The left arm of the Grand Canal led to the Zoo (destroyed). The other extends to the Grand Trianon, built by Mansart in 1687 (VIII, PL. 438). It consists of two single-storied pavilions with round-headed windows and terraced roofs, joined by a colonnade of pink marble. The Trianon gardens are dotted with small structures of the 18th century: the Pavillon Français, with *rocaille* (rock and shell) ornamentation, and the cubic Petit Trianon (PL. 421), in neoclassical style, both by J.-A. Gabriel; the Temple de l'Amour (PL. 421) and the little theater of Marie Antoinette, both by R. Mique, to whom is also due the Hamlet of the Queen, inspired by Hubert Robert and already reflecting the nascent romantic spirit. — The town, which grew in response to the needs of the palace, dates back mainly to the 17th and 18th centuries. Its monuments include the former ministry of foreign affairs (now library), the Hôtel des Réservoirs de Mme de Pompadour, the Pavillon de Madame by Chalgrin. In the Church of Notre-Dame Mansart employed certain medieval features (basilican plan, façade towers). A descendant of the Mansarts, Mansart de Sagonne, built the Cathedral, on a basilican plan, in Louis XV style. The Couvent de la Reine (Lycée Hoche), with its square chapel topped by a cupola, typifies the return to the antique characteristic of the late 18th century.

BIBLIOG. A. Pératé, *Versailles*, Paris, 1904; P. de Nolhac, *Histoire du château de Versailles*, 3 vols., Paris, 1911-18; G. Brière, *Le Château de Versailles: Architecture et décoration*, Paris, n.d.

Vincennes. Favorite residence of the Capetians and the Valois, bordering the woods southeast of Paris. The 14th-century castle (VI, PL. 303), which succeeded a manor house, was a typical castle of the plains, of regular plan, with rectangular towers and a powerful central donjon; there survive one tower and the donjon, three of whose stories have vaults springing from a central pillar. The Ste-Chapelle erected in the forecourt, begun in the late 14th century, was finished with cross-rib vaults by Philibert Delorme in the mid-16th century. At the beginning of Louis XIV's reign Le Vau redid the whole southern portion of the castle, erecting lateral pavilions with colossal orders and connecting them by a long gallery with a triumphal arch.



BIBLIOG. F. de Fosse, *Le Château historique de Vincennes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1908.

**Ile-de-France.** Former province comprising the departments of Seine, Seine-et-Oise (with the historical region of Hurepoix), western Seine-et-Marne (with Gâtinais), and the south of Aisne and of Oise (with Valois); included for reasons of affinity: the west of the historical region of Brie (cap., Meaux) and northern Orléanais (Chartres region); for the department of Seine, see *Paris and Environs of Paris*, above. The vital center of France, among the first possessions of the Capetian kings, Ile-de-France was the cradle of Gothic art (the great cathedrals of Sens, Noyon, Reims). During the Renaissance numerous châteaux were built by the nobility and the court, especially in the northern and northwestern portions of the province (domains of Montmorency and Fontainebleau). In the 18th and 19th centuries several cities developed in the court style.

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *L'Architecture religieuse dans l'ancien diocèse de Soissons au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1894-97; E. Fréderic-Moreau, *L'Ancien pays de France*, Paris, 1923; Ile-de-France, CAF, 1944; Paris, Mantes, CAF, 1946; M. Aubert, *Les Environs de Paris*, Paris, 1938.

a. **West.** Beauvais (anc. Caesaromagus). One of the most important cities of northern France. Capital of the Bellocaci; bishopric; repeatedly assaulted by the English during the Hundred Years' War. The famous Manufacture Royale de Tapisserie (see *TAPETRY AND CARPETS*) was founded there by Colbert in 1664 and continued in operation until its destruction in 1940. The glass industry (see *GLASS*) was also very important, especially in the 16th century with Engrand, Jean, and Nicolas Le Prince. The city suffered severe damages during World War II. - Church of St-Etienne. Nave with aisles and transept with a central bell tower, 12th century; early example of cross-rib vaulting; choir with ambulatory, early 16th century, in flamboyant style (heavily damaged). North side portal and transept rose window of the Romanesque period. Stained glass of the 16th century, including a tree of Jesse with figures of Louis XII and Francis I, by E. Le Prince (1518). - Cathedral. Adjoining its transept is the nave of an anterior cathedral (known as Notre-Dame-de-la-Basse-Oeuvre), erected in 997-98 and showing walls with courses of brick. The later edifice (St-Pierre) was begun in 1247 from the east, in the style of the great cathedrals. Choir (ca. 160 ft. high) with ambulatory and radiating chapels, rebuilt after its collapse in 1284 (VI, PL. 299); transept begun in the late 13th century, continued with flamboyant façades, from 1500 to 1548, by Martin Chambiges and Michel de Laliet; work suspended in 1578 (a nave was never constructed). Notable stained-glass windows: north rose window with the Sun and seraphim, by Jean Le Prince (1537); other windows signed N.L.P. (Nicolas Le Prince, or Nicolas Le Pot) and by E. Le Prince (1522). Astronomical clock (1865-68) by A.-L. Verité. - Remains of a late imperial wall with towers. - Courthouse (former episcopal palace). Main construction of the early Renaissance (redone in the 19th cent.); fortified gate of 1306. - The 16th-century houses with arcades on the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville were destroyed.

BIBLIOG. L. Pihan, *Beauvais: Sa cathédrale, ses principaux monuments*, Beauvais, 1885; V. Leblond, *La Cathédrale de Beauvais*, Paris, 1926; J. Ajalbert, *Beauvais*, Paris, 1927.

**Chaalis.** Cistercian abbey founded in 1136. Remains of the church: the north transept, which terminates in a hemicycle with radiating chapels (early 13th cent.). Chapelle de l'Abbé (13th cent.), with paintings of the Fontainebleau school depicting angels with the instruments of the Passion, Evangelists, apostles, and Church Fathers (ca. 1547). Abbey rebuilt by Jean Aubert in the 18th century, not completed; seat of the important Musée Jacquemart-André, with Roman marbles, medieval and Renaissance sculptures, art objects, paintings.

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Chaalis*, B. Monumental, 1902, p. 449; L. Gillet, *L'Abbaye de Chaalis*, Paris, 1912.

**Chantilly.** The medieval castle (a fortress stood on the emplacement as early as the 12th century) was transformed into one of the most magnificent French residences of the Renaissance under Constable Anne de Montmorency by Pierre I Chambiges (Grand Château, 1528-31); alterations were made under the Condés by J. Hardouin Mansart (17th cent.). Entirely destroyed by the Revolution, the château was rebuilt (1876-82) from the designs of H. Daumet under the Duc d'Aumale, heir of the Condés (PL. 398). - The Petit Château, next to the Grand Château, was also erected under Anne de Montmorency (1560 ft.), from the designs of J. Bullant, influenced by Philibert Delorme; it is preserved almost intact. In the 18th century it was redecorated with splendid woodwork (Salon des Singes). - The Grandes Ecuries (stables), an admirable group of buildings by Jean Aubert (1719-40), are among the finest examples of 18th-century

secular architecture in France. - The large park, with its celebrated fountains and Grand Canal, was designed by André Le Nôtre for the Great Condé. An English garden (1820) was substituted for the part of Le Nôtre's park destroyed during the Revolution. - The Musée Condé, located in the Grand Château and founded by the Duc d'Aumale, offers work of exceptional interest: *Les Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry, by the Limbourg brothers; the *Book of Hours* (40 miniatures) of Etienne Chevalier by J. Fouquet (q.v.); *The Virgin of the House of Orléans* and *The Three Graces* by Raphael; drawings by Clouet and others; mausoleum of Henry II, Prince de Condé, with bronze statues, by J. Sarrazin, formerly in the Church of St-Paul-et-St-Louis in Paris. - In the city, which developed around the château and became a commune in 1692, is the Church of Notre-Dame by J. Hardouin Mansart (1686).

BIBLIOG. G. Macon, *Chantilly et le musée Condé*, Paris, 1910; E. de Ganay, *Chantilly au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1925; H. Martin, *Les Fouquet de Chantilly*, 2d ed., Paris, 1926; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 78; H. Malo, *Les Clouet de Chantilly*, Paris, 1932.

**Chars.** Church of St-Sulpice. Romanesque nave, aisles, and transept with cross-rib vaults of the second half of the 12th century; magnificent choir with ambulatory, five radiating chapels, and galleries, late 12th century; Renaissance tower (1576), by Nicolas Lemercier (?).

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *L'Eglise de Chars*, B. Monumental, 1901, p. 7.

**Dourdan.** Capital of Hurepoix. - Church of St-Germain. High nave with triforium and aisles, 12th-13th century; side chapels. Façade with two towers, 14th-15th century. - Castle built in 1222 by Philip Augustus. Rectangular curtain wall with eight towers; cylindrical angle donjon. - Town Hall, 1725. - Hospital of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. Ile-de-France, CAF, 1944, p. 236.

**Ecouen.** Dominated by its château, the town lies on the flank of a hill near a large forest. - Church of St-Acceul, whose choir with complex cross-rib vaults and north tower are of the mid-16th century. Stained glass (1515), Italianate in the single choir aisle, typically French in the apse, where members of Anne de Montmorency's family are represented together with other subjects. - Large château begun under Anne de Montmorency (ca. 1535), continued by J. Bullant (1556-78). Quadrilateral with corner pavilions; rear and left wing erected first; right wing redone under Henry II de Montmorency; side porticos inspired by antiquity added by J. Bullant. In the *salle d'honneur*, chimney piece with reliefs of the school of Goujon. Chapel with woodwork.

BIBLIOG. C. Terrasse, *Le Château d'Ecouen*, Paris, 1925; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 87.

**Etampes** (anc. Stampae). In existence as early as the 6th century, seat of important councils. - Church of Notre-Dame-du-Fort. The crypt, divided into three aisles and covered with groined vaults, and capitals in the nave date back to the founding of the church (11th cent.) by Robert the Pious. The short nave with aisles, the transept, the choir with a straight east end and an ambulatory of irregular plan, are of the 12th-13th century. Façade bell tower of the 12th century with a stone spire; façade of the 13th century. Lateral south portal with statue-columns of the mid-12th century, in the style of Chartres. Stained-glass window representing sibyls (16th cent.). - Church of St-Martin, begun about 1140 from the east. Choir with triforium, ambulatory, and three chapels; cross-rib vaults. Nave with aisles, 13th century. Leaning façade bell tower, first half of 16th century. - Church of St-Basile. The transept with central bell tower and the façade portal with a Last Judgment on the tympanum date from the 12th century; the nave with double aisles and chapels, the choir with aisles and a straight east end, are late medieval. - Tour Guinette, royal donjon of the first half of the 12th century, quadrilobed in plan. - Town Hall of 1514, in flamboyant style. - House called that of Anne de Pisseleu (1538) with a brick angle turret and Renaissance decorations.

BIBLIOG. L.-E. Lefèvre, *Le Portail royal d'Etampes*, 2d ed., Paris, 1908; Paris, CAF, 1919, p. 3; L. Guibourgé, *Etampes, ville royale*, Etampes, 1958.

**Mantes.** Destroyed by William the Conqueror (1087), it was rebuilt and obtained a charter from Louis VI (1108). The modern city dates back in the main to an 18th-century reconstruction. It was heavily damaged during World War II. - Church of Notre-Dame, late 12th century, clearly influenced by Notre-Dame in Paris; oldest parts near the façade (1170-75). Nave with aisles surmounted by galleries; choir with ambulatory; façade with two towers and three portals



(in the center, the Coronation of the Virgin); radiating chapels and south portal of the façade, 14th century. On the south flank, Chapel of the Navarres, with a central pillar. Stained glass of the 14th century. - Church of Gassicourt, with a Romanesque portal; nave of the 12th century; Renaissance vaulting; east end of the 13th century; choir furnishings of the 16th century. - Tower of the 16th century, sole remnant of the Church of St-Maclou.

BIBLIOG. A. Rhein, *Notre-Dame de Mantes*, Paris, 1932; Paris, Mantes, CAF, 1946, p. 163.

Montmorency. Home of the celebrated family of that name, who owned a castle there. - Church of St-Martin (1525-63), by J. Bullant and Philibert Delorme, heavily restored in the 19th century. Basilican plan. Stained glass (16th cent.) representing members of the Montmorency family.

BIBLIOG. J. de La Garde, *Ile-de-France*, Paris, 1954; R. Baillargest, *L'Eglise collégiale Saint-Martin de Montmorency*, Paris, 1939.

Pontoise (anc. Briva Isarae). Passed to the French crown under Philip I (1064); a commune from 1188. - Church of St-Maclou. Transept of the 12th century; early Gothic choir with ambulatory and chapels; nave of seven bays with aisles (a double one on the north), façade, and portals, 14th-16th century. Renaissance portions perhaps by Pierre and Nicolas Lemercier. Stained glass of the 16th century. - House of Cardinal G. d'Estouteville (15th cent.), seat of the Musée Tavet-Delascour.

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Saint-Maclou de Pontoise*, Paris, 1888; Paris, CAF, 1919, p. 76.

Rambouillet. Château (PL. 398) belonging to various periods, situated in the Forest of Yveline. The triangular layout with angle towers dates mainly from the early 15th century; the donjon, named for Francis I, who died there in 1547, was also built at this time. Enlargements were made in the 16th and 17th centuries. The present structure is substantially that of the 18th century, but it embodies heavy alterations made in the 19th. Under the Comte de Toulouse, son of Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan, two wings perpendicular to the base of the original triangle were added (early 18th cent.); one contains the Appartements d'Assemblée, decorated with splendid woodwork; the other was pulled down under Napoleon. The Duc de Penthièvre, successor of the Comte de Toulouse, was responsible for the English garden, finished by Hubert Robert, and for the delightful Pavillon des Coquillages with rustic decoration (1778). Under Louis XVI, who acquired the château in 1783, Thévenin erected the *Lanterne de la Reine* (1785), with sculptures by P. Julien. The château now belongs to the state; it has served as summer residence to the presidents of the Republic.

BIBLIOG. G. Lenôtre, *Le Château de Rambouillet*, Paris, 1948; H. Lommon, *Rambouillet*, Paris, n.d.

Royaumont. Abbey founded by St. Louis (1228). There subsist the cloister, the refectory of the monks with reader's chair, the kitchen, and the guests' refectory. Abbatial palace in neoclassical style (late 18th cent.), by Le Masson.

BIBLIOG. P. Lauer, *L'Abbaye de Royaumont*, B. Monumental, 1908, p. 215; H. Gouin, *Royaumont*, Paris, 1932.

Saint-Sulpice-de-Favières. Church (mid-13th-late 14th cent.), with a nave partly covered by modern wooden vaulting; aisles; apse with three tiers of windows and clerestory passage. Façade portal with statues and a Last Judgment on the tympanum. Stained glass of the 14th century with scenes from the Gospels.

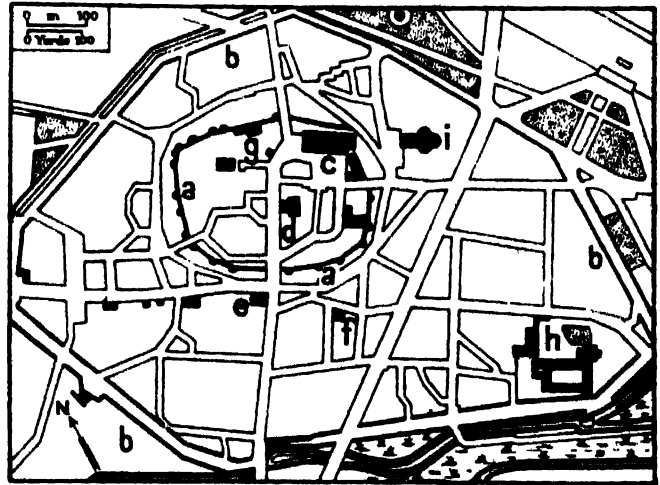
BIBLIOG. *Ile-de-France*, CAF, 1944, p. 246.

Senlis (anc. Augustomagus). Capital of the Silvanectes; bishopric from the 4th century; commune from 1173. Despite considerable damage suffered during World Wars I and II, Senlis is one of the French cities that have best preserved their historic aspect. Portions of the late imperial wall, of a Gallo-Roman amphitheater, and of the bastioned ramparts of the Middle Ages have been preserved. - Notre-Dame, Gothic cathedral begun in 1153, consecrated in 1191. Nave with galleries (vaults redone in the 16th cent.); transept; ambulatory with chapels. Façade portal with the Coronation of the Virgin on the tympanum and statues of 1185-90 (restored) in the splay. Large south tower with high perforated spire. Transept with south portal by Pierre I Chambiges (1534) and north façade of 1560. - Church of St-Pierre (secularized). Nave with an open timber roof and aisles

15th century; transept and choir, 13th century; Romanesque tower with a 15th-century spire; south tower of the 17th century. - On the foundations of the Gallo-Roman *praetorium* was built the royal castle of the Capetians, of which there remain a few walls. - Hospital. Hall of the 13th century divided into three aisles by columns. - Hôtel de Raoul de Vermandois, 14th and 16th centuries. - Town Hall, 15th century. - Musée du Haubergier (in a 16th-cent. mansion); medieval sculpture; porcelain; collection of Gallo-Roman ex-votos. - Musée de Vénérie.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis*, Paris, 1910; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 560, 886.

Taverny. Beautiful Gothic church of the early 13th century, in the style of Notre-Dame in Paris. Polygonal apse and apsidioles;



Senlis: city plan. (a) Remains of Gallo-Roman wall; (b) outline of medieval wall; (c) Cathedral; (d) hall of former hospital; (e) Town Hall; (f) Musée du Haubergier; (g) remains of royal castle; (h) former Abbey of St-Vincent; (i) former Church of St-Pierre.

south side portal with decorations of the 14th century; stone altarpiece with the Montmorency monogram; tombstone of Mathieu de Montmorency (d. 1360).

BIBLIOG. Paris, CAF, 1919, p. 50.

Les Vaux-de-Cernay. Remains of a Cistercian abbey. Ruined church of the late 12th century; façade with rose window. Abbey building of the 12th-13th century with cross-rib vaults supported by a central row of columns.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, *L'Abbaye des Vaux-de-Cernay*, Paris, 1931.

b. East. Blérancourt. Château erected in 1612 by S. de Brosse, partly preserved, with monumental portal and entrance pavilion.

BIBLIOG. Château de Blérancourt, *Le Musée de la Coopération franco-américaine*, Blérancourt, 1957.

Braine. Church of St-Yves (late 12th cent.-1216). Western portion in ruins; transept with turrets topped by spires; choir with four chapels disposed fanwise in the Champenois manner.

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Reims, I*, CAF 1911, p. 428; A. Boinet, *L'Ancien portail de l'église Saint-Yves de Braine*, Caen, 1913.

Champs. Château rebuilt by J. B. Bullet in 1703-07. Façade with a central projection; *cour d'honneur* with side porticos. Inside, the room of Mme de Pompadour with its famous wood decoration; Salon Chinois by C. Huet. French park.

BIBLIOG. C. Cahen d'Anvers, *Le Château de Champs*, Paris, 1928.

Compiègne. Mentioned as early as 557; residence of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings; commune from 1153; severely damaged in World War II. - Church of St-Jacques, of the second quarter of the 13th century, greatly altered. Nave with aisles; transept; side chapels, 14th century; ambulatory of irregular plan, 16th century.

North tower of the façade in flamboyant style, with crowning of the 16th century. Interior with wood and marble decoration of the 18th century. - Church of St-Antoine, in Gothic style. Choir, raised above the level of the nave, with ambulatory and apsidal chapels (early 16th cent.); webbed vaults. Façade with octagonal turrets. - Ruins of a 12th-century donjon. - Town Hall, 1502-10, with flamboyant towers. - Of the castle of Charles V (1374), considerably altered in the course of the centuries, there remain some fortifications. Reconstruction undertaken by J.-A. Gabriel (1738) and his pupil Le Dreux de la Châtre: long façade toward the park (1775-84) with a central portico and a balustrade along the flat roof; *cour d'honneur* closed by a colonnaded open gallery. Restored and partly transformed on Napoleon's orders by Percier and Fontaine, in accordance with the taste of the First Empire (ca. 1806). Enlarged under Louis Philippe. The château contains the Musée du Second Empire and the Musée National de la Voiture et du Tourisme (carriages, automobiles). Its large park is continued by the demesial forest.

BIBLIOG. Beauvais, CAF, 1905, p. 130; J. Philippot, *Monographie de l'église Saint-Jacques de Compiègne*, Paris, 1931; J. Babelon, *Compiègne-Pierrefonds*, Paris, 1949; M. Terrier, *Le Château de Compiègne*, Paris, 1950.

Coucy. Gothic church with nave and aisles. - City wall with the Porte de Laon. - Remains of the castle, typical example of the military architecture of the 13th century: curtain wall with four towers; ruins of a 14th-century hall; central donjon, about 10 ft. in diameter, destroyed in World War I.

E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Le Château de Coucy*, Paris, 1928.

La Fère-en-Tardenois. The castle consisted of two distinct portions: a fortress built on a circular plan, comprising seven towers connected by a curtain wall (13th cent.), and, linked to it by J. Bultant's grandiose viaduct (mid-16th cent.), the "new château" (16th cent.), now in ruins. - In the environs, Premonstratensian monastery, rebuilt in the 18th century. Large courtyard; buildings with Ionic orders and projecting pedimented bays.

BIBLIOG. E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Histoire de Fère-en-Tardenois*, 3 vols., Paris, 1911; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 95.

La Ferté-Milon. The town rises at the foot of the imposing ruins of Louis d'Orléans's unfinished castle of the 14th century. - Church of Notre-Dame. Nave of the 12th century with wooden barrel vaulting; choir and crypt of 1565, in Renaissance style, built under the auspices of Catherine de Médicis. - Church of St-Nicolas, of the late Middle Ages, with stained glass of the 16th century. - Remains of the castle: monumental gate flanked by towers with spurs and decorated with a bas-relief representing the Coronation of the Virgin; to the north, a rectangular donjon.

BIBLIOG. Reims, I, CAF, 1911, p. 270.

Fontainebleau (VIII, PL. 436). Favorite resort of the French court from 1160 to 1870; subsequently summer residence of the presidents of the Republic. The château consists of buildings of various periods disposed around three main courtyards that are contiguous: the Cour Ovale, the Cour de la Fontaine, and the Cour du Cheval-Blanc. The layout of the Cour Ovale and one turret in it are survivals of the 12th century. Fontainebleau's most resplendent period was the 16th century, when it was taken over by Francis I; the new buildings were begun in 1528 by Gilles Le Breton, in Italianate style. - Access to the Cour Ovale, or du Donjon, is provided by Le Breton's Porte Dorée (PL. 396), a three-storied pavilion with decorations by Primaticcio, and the Porte Dauphine, or Baptistry of Louis XIII, by Primaticcio (originally in the Cour du Cheval-Blanc). The Cour Ovale includes the so-called "Portique de Serlio" (restored in 1887), the Salle de Bal (so-called "Gallery of Henry II"), by Le Breton and Philibert Delorme, and the Chapel of St-Saturnin (1545). - The Gallery of Francis I, link between the Cour Ovale and the Cour du Cheval-Blanc, is the central wing of the Cour de la Fontaine, which has a fountain (1812) with a statue of Ulysses by L.-M.-L. Petitot. The Gallery is preceded by a terrace supported by arcades, which dates back to Henry II and was rebuilt under Henry IV. The left wing houses the apartments of the Queen Mothers and of Pius VII and terminates in the pavilion occupied by the Musée Chinois (erected under Louis XV). The right wing was built by Primaticcio (1568). In front of the courtyard is a pond, the Étang des Carpes, with a pavilion built under Francis I and renovated under Napoleon. - The main wing of the Cour du Cheval Blanc, or des Adieux, was the principal building at the time of Francis I; it was later completely transformed. It comprises five pavilions: the Pavillon des Armes, or de l'Horloge, with a Renaissance door flanked by two Egyptian caryatids; the Pavillon des Orgues (1559, rebuilt in 1702); the Pavillon Central, with

the Escalier du Fer à Cheval by Jean I Androuet Ducerceau (1634), a stairway in the form of a horseshoe that leads to the Cour de la Fontaine; a fourth pavilion housing a staircase; the Gros Pavillon by J.-A. Gabriel, built under Louis XV. - From the Cour Ovale, through the Grille des Hermès (two heads of Hermes by G. Guérin, 1640), one enters the Cour des Offices, or of Henry IV, surrounded by structures of brick and sandstone (1609). - In back of the Cour de la Fontaine is the Jardin de Diane (fountain with a statue of Diane by the brothers Keller, 1684, which is bordered by the Galerie des Cerfs, with the Galerie de Diane on the second story (period of Henry IV); the Corps de Garde (erected under Charles IX), later occupied by the apartments of Marie Antoinette; the Salle du Trône; the Salle du Conseil, built under Francis I, with a hemicycle added in 1774; the long structure backing the Gallery of Francis I (Napoleon's apartments), built under Louis XVI; the Chapel of the Ste-Trinité. - Interior: Gallery of Francis I, decorated with mythological and allegorical scenes in fresco and stucco, by Rosso and Primaticcio (1533-44); the Salle de Bal, with mythological compositions by Primaticcio and Niccolò dell'Abate (1552 ff.); various rooms with magnificent 16th-century chimney pieces; the Salle du Trône, sumptuously decorated in 1642; monumental staircase (Escalier du Roi) by J.-A. Gabriel (1749); the Salle du Conseil, with painting by F. Boucher (1755); the apartments of Marie Antoinette, in Pompeian style (1780-85). - Besides the Jardin de Diane, the château has an English park, done over in the 19th century, and a French garden, which owes its present form to Le Vau.

BIBLIOG. J.-J. Champollion-Figeac and R. Pfnor, *Monographie du palais de Fontainebleau*, 3 vols., Paris, 1863-85; L. Dimier, *Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1908; F. Herbet, *Le Château de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1937; C. Terrasse, *Le Château de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1946; A. Bray, *Le Château de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1956.

Jouarre (anc. Divodurum). Abbey founded in Merovingian times. - Semisubterranean funerary crypt (III, PL. 388) of the 7th century, consisting of two rooms with antique columns and Merovingian capitals; vaulting of a later period. Sarcophagi of the 7th century, with figures and foliage and shell decorations. - Church of St-Pierre-et-St-Paul (15th cent.), divided into three aisles.

BIBLIOG. J. Hubert, *Les Cryptes de Jouarre*, Melun, 1952.

Laon (anc. Lugdunum Clavatum). Situated on an isolated hill, a bishopric from the 5th century, the city preserves some old quarters and remains of a medieval wall and gates. - Cathedral of Notre-Dame, one of the major monuments of French Gothic art, begun about 1155. Long nave (VI, PL. 295) with galleries and triforium; piers with magnificent capitals. Lantern over the crossing. Transept flanked by four towers, two of them unfinished. Façade (VI, PL. 296) with three porches, a rose window, a gallery, and two high towers with turrets. Original east end replaced in 1215 with a flat wall pierced by a rose window and three other tall windows. In the 13th century, side chapels added and alterations in the south transept. Stained glass of the 13th century in the choir. - St-Martin, church of Cistercian type, begun in the mid-12th century. Towers at the angles of transept and nave. Cross-rib vaults and façade, 13th century. Notable recumbent statue of the 14th century. - Chapelle des Templiers, octagonal in plan, with cupola (mid-12th cent.). - Former episcopal palace, partly of the 13th century, with an arcaded gallery toward the courtyard. Chapel of two stories, each divided into three aisles (12th cent.). - Vestiges of a 13th-century hospital. - Buildings of the former Abbays of St-Jean (Prefecture) and St-Martin (now hospital), 18th century.

BIBLIOG. A. Bouxin, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Laon*, Laon, 1902; H. Adenauer, *Die Kathedrale von Laon*, Düsseldorf, 1934; E. Lambert, *Les Portails sculptés de la cathédrale de Laon*, GBA, 1937, p. 83; L. Broche, *La Cathédrale de Laon*, Paris, 1854.

Meaux (anc. Jatinum). Capital of the Meldi; bishopric; capital of Brie. - Cathedral of St-Etienne, begun in the late 12th century, continued in the Gothic period. Nave with double aisles; transept; choir with galleries and ambulatory. Façade with three sculptured portals (14th cent.). North tower in flamboyant style. Transept with portals of the 13th century. - Remains of Gallo-Roman walls. - Former episcopal palace with rooms and a chapel of the 12th century. Seat of the Musée Bossuet. - Vieux-Chapitre, chapter house of the 12th century with external staircase.

BIBLIOG. J. Formigé, *Cathédrale de Meaux*, Pontoise, 1917; Paris, CAF, 1919, p. 140; F. Deshoulières, *La Cathédrale de Meaux*, Paris, n.d.

Melun (anc. Melodunum, Metlosedum). Situated on an island in the Seine and on both banks of the river. The remains of thermae, an amphitheater, and a castrum have been uncovered. After its devastation by the Normans, the city was rebuilt by the first Capetian

kings, who erected their residence on the ruins of the castrum. - Church of Notre-Dame, built by Robert the Pious in 1020-31. Large nave with rectangular piers, covered with ribbed vaults of the 12th century; aisles with groined vaults. Renaissance façade. - Church of St-Aspais (15th and 16th cents.), divided into five aisles. Complex cross-rib vaulting.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, Notre-Dame de Melun, B. Monumental, 1932, p. 409.

Morienvall. Church of Notre-Dame, of the 11th century. Nave and aisles redone; choir and ambulatory with cross-rib vaults that are among the oldest in Ile-de-France (ca. 1125; PL. 379).

BIBLIOG. Beauvais, CAF, 1905, p. 471; J. Bilson, Les Voûtes d'ogives de Morienvall, B. Monumental, 1908, p. 128; E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Le Plan primitif de l'église de Morienvall, B. Monumental, 1908, p. 477.

Noyon. Cathedral (I, PL. 391), one of the oldest Gothic edifices with galleries and triforium. Choir, ambulatory with chapels, transept with rounded ends, 1145-60. Continued with western portion: porch of three bays and façade with towers, about 1185; nave (VI, PL. 295) and aisles, 1185-1205. Various elements joined in 1325. Vault redone in the late 13th century. Chapter house, 13th century. Half-timbered chapter library of the early 16th century. - Town Hall (1485-1523), in flamboyant style, with 17th-century pediments. - Fountain of the 18th century. - In the environs, remains of the Cistercian Abbey of Ourscamp; infirmary with three long aisles and cross-rib vaults.

BIBLIOG. Beauvais, CAF, 1905, p. 170; C. Seymour, Notre-Dame of Noyon, New Haven, 1930; M. Aubert, Noyon et ses environs, Paris, n.d.

Pierrefonds. Castle built under Louis d'Orléans about 1395, in part rebuilt by Viollet-le-Duc in the mid-19th-century. Quadrilateral plan; eight huge towers.

BIBLIOG. J. Babelon, Compiègne-Pierrefonds, Paris, 1949; L. Grodecki, Le Château de Pierrefonds, Paris, 1957.

Rampillon. Church of the 13th century. Long nave with triforium; pentagonal choir; fortified exterior; bell tower on the south flank; north tower standing by itself. Notable sculptures on the façade; Christ on the dividing pillar of the central portal; statues of apostles; reliefs representing the labors of the months; the Last Judgment on the central tympanum; the Coronation of the Virgin on the south tympanum.

BIBLIOG. A. Carlier, Un Chef-d'œuvre du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'Eglise de Rampillon, Paris, 1930.

Soissons (anc. Noviodunum, later Augusta Sueassionum). Capital of the Sueassiones; a bishopric as early as 290; fortified Capetian city. Site of famous abbeys. - Abbey of St-Médard. Ruins with crypt of the 9th century (III, PL. 49) and chapter house of the 13th century. - Church of St-Pierre-au-Parvis, of which there remain the façade and the adjoining portions of the nave and aisles (12th cent.). - Cathedral of St-Gervais-et-St-Protais, 12th-13th century. Nave of seven bays with triforium; south transept (1177) with a semicircular ambulatory (VI, PL. 292); choir with ambulatory (1212). Façade altered in the 18th cent.) with two towers, one of them with a gallery. Portal of north transept of the 14th century. Stained glass of the 13th century in the apse; north rose window of the 14th century. - Abbey church of St-Léger. Eastern portion, with triforium, 13th century; nave rebuilt in the 16th century; south portal transferred from another church, 14th century; façade with tower, 17th century. Cloister and chapter house of the 13th century. - Abbey of St-Jean-des-Vignes. Of the destroyed church there subsists the high façade (late 13th-14th cent.), with three portals, a rose window, and towers with spires completed in the 15th and 16th centuries. Refectory of the 13th century, divided into two aisles. Cloister with sculptural decoration, 14th century. Remains of a small Renaissance cloister. - Remains of late imperial walls. - Town Hall (former intendance), 18th century. - Musée Municipal (in the former Abbey of St-Léger): Gallo-Roman sculpture; medieval and Renaissance works.

BIBLIOG. Reims, I, CAF, 1911, p. 315; H. Doyen, La Cathédrale de Soissons, 2d ed., Soissons, 1952.

Vaux-le-Vicomte. Château built by Le Vau for Superintendent of Finance Fouquet (1656-61). Wings flanking courtyard in brick and stone; main building with large pilasters; facing the park, central rotunda with dome. Large park in the French manner, designed by André Le Nôtre, with flower beds, ponds, and statuary. Interior with stucco work and with paintings by Lebrun.

BIBLIOG. J. Cordey, Vaux-le-Vicomte, Paris, 1924.

Villers-Cotterets. Château rebuilt between 1523 and 1559 by Guillaume and Jacques Le Breton. Large courtyard surrounded by buildings in brick and stone; toward the park, façade with loggia. Inside, grand staircase and hall richly decorated in Italianate taste with sculptures on mythological subjects. Chapel in the form of a rotunda, by Philibert Delorme.

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Reims, I, CAF, 1911, p. 423; F. Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927, p. 181; M. Leroy, Le Château de Villers-Cotterets, Soissons, 1959.

c. Chartres region. Northern Orléanais (dept. of Eure-et-Loir), artistically linked with Ile-de-France.

Anet. A once vast château begun about 1547 for Diane de Poitiers by Philibert Delorme; largely destroyed in the 19th century. There remain the cryptoporticus; a considerably altered lateral wing; the beautiful entrance gate in the form of a triumphal arch; a domed central-plan chapel with a façade surmounted by two pyramids. Most of the valuable reliefs and sculptures by J. Goujon and his school have been removed. The elements of the main façade have been set up in the courtyard of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The Diana of the fountain by Goujon is now in the Louvre. The tomb of Diane de Poitiers, reconstituted at Versailles, stood in the brick-and-stone funerary chapel, which is somewhat later than Delorme's.

BIBLIOG. A. Roux, Le Château d'Anet, Paris, 1911; M. Roy, Le Château de Diane de Poitiers, Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1924; F. Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927, p. 41.

Chartres (anc. Autricum). Capital of the Carnutes and important religious center of the Druids; became a county in feudal times; united to the crown in 1286. - Cathedral of Notre-Dame, immense edifice that marks the apogee of Gothic architecture in Ile-de-France (VI, PL. 291). Two crypts of the 9th and 11th centuries testify to the existence of earlier structures. The façade (VI, PL. 293) with two towers was begun about 1135 (the north tower has a high flamboyant spire of the early 16th cent. by Jean de Beauce). Reconstruction of the entire nave began in 1194 (VI, PL. 300) and was completed in 1220; the south transept and porch are of about 1216, the north transept and porch (VI, PL. 296) slightly later. The Cathedral is no less famous for its sculpture and stained glass than for its architecture. Especially noteworthy are the sculptures of the Royal Portal (1145-55; VI, PLs. 293, 343) the side porches (13th cent.), the destroyed rood screen, of which fragments are preserved in the crypt, and the choir screen, begun in 1514 and finished in the 18th century, with scenes in high relief from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. The exceptional series of stained-glass windows with figures, preserved almost entirely, belongs to two distinct periods. Of the 12th century (clear glass) are the three windows of the façade (tree of Jesse with the genealogy of Christ, medallions with the infancy of Christ, scenes from the Passion) and the window known as *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière*, now placed just east of the south transept; of the 13th century are the windows of the nave, with large figures, those of the aisles, with medallions of the lives of the saints, and the rose windows of the transept (the southern one dedicated to Christ; the northern one (VI, PL. 299), a royal gift of 1230, to the Virgin). - Church of St-Père-en-Vallée (St-Pierre), of the 13th century, influenced by the Cathedral. Stained glass of the 14th and 15th centuries. Prized series of enamels by Léonard Limosin (1545-47), transferred from Anet. - Remains of a Roman aqueduct. - Town Hall, 1614. - Former episcopal palace, 17th and 18th centuries, now a museum. - Lapidary museum in the former church of St-André.

BIBLIOG. F. de Mély, Le Trésor de Chartres, Paris, 1886, M.-J. Bulteau, Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres, 2d ed., 3 vols., Chartres, 1887-92; R. Merlet, La Cathédrale de Chartres, Paris, 1909; Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, 4 vols., Chartres, 1926; E. Houvet, Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres, Chartres, 1953; L. Grodecki, Chronologie de la cathédrale de Chartres, B. Monumental, 1958, p. 91; E. Houvet, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, n.d.

Châteaudun (anc. Castrodunum). Capital of a county after the Norman invasions. - Notable castle. Large cylindrical Romanesque donjon of three stories, the first two covered with ovoid cupolas. West wing of the 15th century with a wall walk; at the angle of the west and north wings, a three-storied staircase lighted by ogival openings; north wing of 1510-18, with a grand staircase and Renaissance decorations. Two-storied chapel (1451-68) with a magnificent group of 15th-century sculptures.

BIBLIOG. D. Lesueur, Orléans, CAF, 1930, p. 476; J. Tardion, Châteaudun, Paris, 1948.

Dreux. In Gallo-Roman times, capital of the Durocasses. - Church of St-Pierre, of the early 13th century, in great part rebuilt, from the

15th century onward, by Pierre Chéron (or Caron), then by Jean Desmoulins and the Métezeau. The choir with ambulatory (altered in the 15th cent.), part of the nave and aisles, and the north transept are of the 13th century; south transept of 1611, with a Renaissance façade. West façade with two towers, the northern one with a Renaissance cupola; portal in flamboyant style. Historiated stained glass of the 16th century. — Square belfry (1512-27) begun in flamboyant style, completed in Renaissance style by Clément I Métezeau. — Royal Chapel of St-Louis, in Neo-Gothic style, with tombs of the Orléans family.

BIBLIOG. Chartres, CAF, 1900, p. 330.

Gallardon. Church, formerly attached to a priory, with a beautiful choir (13th cent.) in the style of Chartres; Renaissance nave.

BIBLIOG. G. Gillard, Gallardon, 2 vols., Paris, 1899.

Maintenon. Castle with remains of Gothic constructions, including a square donjon; main building of the Renaissance; chapel of 1521; gallery of brick and stone and other additions by J. Hardouin Mansart. — Remains of a great aqueduct by Vauban, intended to carry water from the Eure to Versailles (1684).

BIBLIOG. H. Havard, La France artistique et monumentale, III, 1805, p. 63; Chartres, CAF, 1900, p. 48; H. Soulangue-Bodin, Les Anciens châteaux de France, Paris, 1925.

Picardy (Fr. Picardie). Department of Somme; parts of Aisne (north), Oise, and Pas-de-Calais. Region with little Romanesque art; many examples of early cross-rib vaulting; important monuments of high Gothic (Cathedral of Amiens) and late Gothic art.

BIBLIOG. C. Enlart, Monuments religieux de l'architecture romane... Anciens diocèses d'Amiens et de Boulogne, Amiens, 1895; R. Rodière, Le Pays de Montreuil, Paris, 1933; Amiens, CAF, 1936.

Abbeville. The old center was almost completely destroyed in 1940. — Collegiate church of St-Wulfran (PL 380), vast edifice in flamboyant style (heavily damaged). Begun from the west in 1488. Nave with aisles and chapels. Work interrupted at the transept in 1539, finished in the 17th century. Sumptuously decorated façade with two towers; central portal with wooden leaves of the 16th century. Altarpiece with scenes from the life of the Virgin, of sculptured wood (16th cent.). — Town Hall in flamboyant style (heavily damaged). — Houses of the 18th century. — Musée d'Abbeville et du Ponthieu: paintings, sculptures. — Musée Boucher de Perthes, for archaeology (original building and large part of collections destroyed). — Library with Carolingian manuscripts from Saint-Riquier. — In the environs, the small Château de Bagatelle (1752-54), in stone and brick, with well-preserved rococo rooms and a French park.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 54; H. Zanettacci, Statuaire de la façade à Saint-Wulfran d'Abbeville, B. Monumental, 1936, p. 333.

Amiens (anc. Samarobriua). Capital of the Galli Ambiani; bishopric from the 3d century; a commune from 1113; it suffered severe damage during World Wars I and II and was rebuilt according to the plans of Dufau; the railway station district (1948-53) is of interest. — Cathedral, one of the finest and largest Gothic edifices in France, begun in 1220 from the façade (VI, PL. 296), after the designs of Robert de Luzarches, and continued by Thomas and Renaud de Cormont until 1288. Nave (VI, PL. 300) of six bays with triforium and aisles; large transept with aisles; long choir of four bays, with ambulatory and clerestory. West façade with three portals (*Beau-Dieu*, Virgin, St. Firmin (PL. 380; VI, PL. 299)); at the north corner, buttress (1375) with statues of Charles V and entourage. Transept portals of the 13th and 14th centuries. Wooden spire over the crossing (1528). Interior: bronze tombs of the bishops Evrard de Fouilloy and Geoffroi d'Eu (first half of 13th cent.); choir screen with scenes from the lives of St. Firmin and St. John the Baptist (late 15th and early 16th cents.); choir stalls (VI, PL. 390) by A. Boulain and A. Huet (16th cent.); wrought-iron gate at the entrance of the choir (18th cent.). — Church of St-Germain (15th cent.), with flamboyant spire. — Church of St-Leu (late medieval), with nave and aisles of equal height and a timber covering. — Remains of a late imperial wall, an amphitheater, and thermae. — Remains of a belfry of the 15th century. — Maison du Saggiatore, with an arcade and bas-reliefs (1593). — Theater (1779-83), by J.-P.-J. Rousseau, with a façade in Louis XVI style. — Musée de Picardie, decorated with paintings by Puvis de Chavannes. Collections of paintings selected through competitions held by the Confrérie du Puy Notre-Dame (1439-1666); primitives; French paintings of the 18th and 19th centuries by Fragonard, Hubert Richard, Chardin, La Tour, and Boucher. — Library with Romanesque and Gothic manuscripts from Corbie.

BIBLIOG. G. Durand, Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame, cathédrale d'Amiens, 3 vols., Amiens, 1901-03; A. Boinet, Le Musée d'Amiens, Paris, 1928; L. Lefrançois-Pillion, La Cathédrale d'Amiens, Paris, 1937; A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, Paris, 1958, p. 607.

Corbie. Ancient abbey, important center of Carolingian art. — Romanesque church of St-Etienne. Portal with Coronation of the Virgin (13th cent.). — Former abbey church of St-Pierre, in flamboyant style, begun in 1498, not finished until the 18th century. — A third of a mile away, in Neuville-sous-Corbie, parish church of the 15th and 16th centuries.

BIBLIOG. P. Hélot, L'Abbaye de Corbie, Louvain, 1957.

Lucheux. From 1095, seat of a priory. — Priory church begun toward 1130. Nave with arches resting on cylindrical piers; choir and apse showing early example of cross-rib vaulting. — Ruined castle with a 13th-century cylindrical donjon on a Romanesque base; curtain wall with gates, towers, and wide machicolations provided through arches spanning buttresses; hall with a series of windows framed by colonnettes (13th cent.).

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 198.

Rue. Port and fortress during the Middle Ages. — Chapel of St-Esprit, of the 15th century, in flamboyant style, heavily decorated; vaults with hanging keystones (VI, PL. 302); portal and buttresses with statues. — Belfry with angle turrets, 15th century. — Hospice of the 17th century, in brick and stone. Chapel with timber vaulting.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 268.

Saint-Quentin (anc. Augusta Veromanduorum). Important Roman crossroads; bishopric in the 3d century. The modern city has its origin in the cult of St. Quentin, buried there. — Collegiate church begun from the east in the early 13th century. Unusual plan with two transepts, one rebuilt in the 15th century, the other of 1350; choir with double ambulatory; nave with triforium and tall windows; aisles of the first half of the 15th century. Romanesque porch surmounted by a bell tower. South portal in flamboyant style, richly decorated with sculpture. — Town Hall, in Flemish style, begun in the 14th century, completed in 1599; belfry of the 18th century. — Musée Antoine Lécuyer: notable series of pastels by M. Quentin de La Tour; important collection of paintings. — Musée des Beaux-Arts: contemporary works.

BIBLIOG. C. Gomart, Etudes saint-quentinoises, 5 vols., Saint-Quentin, 1891-78; A. Boinet, Saint-Quentin, Paris, n.d.

Saint-Riquier (anc. Cantua). Abbey founded about 645 on the tomb of the apostle Ricarius; important art center in the Carolingian period. — Abbey church whose general plan and whose transept date from the 13th century. Choir and ambulatory with 13th-century vestiges, rebuilt in flamboyant style, with radiating chapels, when nave and aisles were built (15th-16th cent.). Façade with a central tower and stuary (16th cent.). — Abbey buildings (mainly 17th cent.).

BIBLIOG. G. Durand, L'Eglise de Saint-Riquier, Paris, 1933.

Valloires. Abbey rebuilt in brick and stone between 1741 and 1756, forming a quadrilateral around a cloister; chapel with fine wood fittings by the Austrian Joseph von Pfaffenhofen, long active in the region.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 293.

Artois. Department of Pas-de-Calais. In the 15th century the province passed to the house of Burgundy, then to Spain until the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). Romanesque art is scarce. A marked English influence, traceable to the occupation of Calais until the reign of Henry II, made itself felt in the Gothic period. Successive wars have caused heavy destruction.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936; P. Hélot, Les Eglises du Moyen Age dans le Pas-de-Calais, Arras, 1951.

Aire-sur-la-Lys. Site of a monastery destroyed by the Normans. — Church of St-Pierre, of the late Middle Ages, restored in the 18th century. Nave of seven bays with aisles and triforium; large transept with double aisles; ambulatory with radiating chapels. Façade tower of 1569. — St-Jacques, former Jesuit chapel (1682-88), by J. Beegrandt, built of brick and stone, with an imposing façade. — Bailliage (or Corps de Garde), in brick and stone (1599-1603), perhaps by

P. Framery. Lively ornamentation in flamboyant style, with trophies, emblems, statues. - Town Hall (1716-21), by Héroguelle, adorned with trophies; Gothic belfry rebuilt after it burned down in 1914.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 546.

Arras (anc. Nemetacum). Capital of the Atrebatas; powerful bishopric; suffered numerous sieges and devastations; almost entirely rebuilt after 1918. - Church of St-Jean-Baptiste (1565-84), with towers. - Cathedral (1754-55), on a Latin-cross plan, by P. Contant d'Ivry. Nave with high columns. Façade with Corinthian orders. - The center of the city is occupied by the Grand'Place and the Petite-Place, whose almost identical houses are in Flemish style, with gables and continuous arcades. On the Petite-Place are the late Gothic Town Hall of 1502-05 and, behind it, a high belfry of 1463-1554 (both rebuilt). - Citadel, built by Vauban, with chapel. - Former Abbatial Palace of St-Vaast, in classicizing style (1746-83), by G. Labbé. Contains a museum with paintings of the Northern school and a library with Carolingian and Gothic manuscripts. - In the sacristy of the Cathedral, museum with triptychs by J. Bellegambe (16th cent.).

BIBLIOG. J. Boutry, Arras: Son histoire et ses monuments, Arras, 1890; Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 170.

Boulogne-sur-Mer (lower town, anc. Gesoriacum; upper town, anc. Bononia). Harbor used by the Morini and the Romans; bishopric in the 4th century. - Church of St-Nicolas. Eastern portion of the 15th century, nave of the 18th. - Remains of a Gallo-Roman lighthouse and bridge. - Rectangular city wall with towers, in part dating from 1211; dominated at one corner by a castle. - Belfry of the 11th and 13th centuries, with crowning of the 18th. - Municipal museum: important group of Greek vases; archaeological and ethnographic collections. Library with illuminated Romanesque manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. C. Enlart, Monuments anciens de Boulogne, Boulogne, 1899; Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 349.

Calais. Fortified city of the 12th century; almost totally destroyed in 1940 and 1944, rebuilt after the plans of M. Gondolo. - Church of Notre Dame (14th-15th), of brick, in English style. There survive only the south transept and the choir with a high altar by A. Lottmann (1624-27). - In front of the Town Hall, monument to the Bourgeois of Calais by Rodin (1895).

BIBLIOG. P. Hélot, L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Calais, B. Monumental, 1947, p. 71.

Saint-Omer. Grew out of a monastery founded in the 7th century. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, vast edifice begun in the 13th century and continued through the Middle Ages. Nave with triforium, aisles, and chapels; transept with aisles; choir with ambulatory. Fine organ case (1717) by the brothers Piette; pulpit of 1714; various tombs, including that of Eustache de Croy (d. 1538), in Flemish style, by Jacques Dubroeuq. - Remains of church (14th-16th cent.) of the Abbey of St-Bertin, an important Merovingian foundation: some arcades and the base of the west tower, which collapsed in 1947. - Former episcopal palace (now Courthouse), perhaps after the designs of J. Hardouin Mansart (1680-1701). - Hospital of 1726. Façade with Corinthian pilasters. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: base of a chased and enameled cross from the Abbey of St-Bertin, attributed to Godefroy de Claire; objects in precious metals, ivories, enamels, ceramics; picture gallery. - Musée Henri Dupuis: minor arts. - Library with Carolingian and Romanesque illuminated manuscripts from the Abbey of St-Bertin.

BIBLIOG. Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 475.

Flanders (Fr., *Flandre*). Department of Nord. Territory ceded to France in the 13th century; domain of the house of Burgundy in the 15th century; in the 16th century, a Spanish possession; reunited to France by Louis XIV. Few medieval monuments survive (the great cathedrals of Cambrai and Valenciennes were destroyed). The Flemish tendency in decoration appears in the brick structure erected in the 16th and 17th centuries and later also. Noteworthy are Vauban's citadels: Bergues, Lille, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Cambrai, Douai. World War II caused extensive damage.

BIBLIOG. C. Enlart, Hôtels de ville et betrois du nord de la France, Paris, 1920. E. Lotthé, Les Eglises de la Flandre française, 2 vols., Lille, 1940-42. M. Battard, Beffrois, halles, hôtels de ville dans le nord de la France et la Belgique, Arras, 1948.

Bavai (anc. Bagacum). Capital of the Galli Nervii; acquired great importance in Gallo-Roman times; roads led from it to Reims,

Cologne, Boulogne, etc. Excavations have brought to light a vast subterranean rectangular portico consisting of ample galleries, whose exact purpose is not known, but which are similar to others in Arles, Reims, and Aosta. In the middle are the foundations of a large rectangular edifice — perhaps the temple of the forum — already in the 3d century covered with a pavement. In the late empire ramparts were erected on the walls of the portico, in order to fortify the heart of the city. Excavations have also uncovered tombs, hypocausts, and storage cellars, which — taking into account their distribution — delineate a city without walls, very extensive in the early empire, and important in the food trade. Later Bavai was supplanted by Cambrai. The modern city has preserved the form imposed by its ancient walls. In the center are the Town Hall (1784) and an 18th-century church. An archaeological museum harbors the products of excavation, notably bronze statuettes, vases decorated with masks, etc., a few sculptures and inscriptions.

BIBLIOG. H. Biévelet, L'Exploration archéologique de Bavai (Nord), Gallia, I, 2, 1943; G. Faider-Feytmans, Recueil des bronzes de Bavai, Gallia, sup. VIII, 1957; A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, Paris, 1958, p. 315.

Cambrai (anc. Camaracum). Already in existence in the Gallo-Roman period; capital of a Frankish kingdom; bishopric from the 5th century; commune in 1227. - Jesuit church with cross-rib vaults and sculptured baroque façade (1692). - Church of St-Géry, of the 18th century, with a cupola supported by four columns. - Cathedral, rebuilt in the 19th century. - Belfry, tower of the no longer extant church of St-Martin (1447), with a crown of 1746. - Citadel of the 16th century, altered by Vauban. - Former episcopal palace of the 18th century. - Musée Municipal: archaeological collections; contemporary paintings. - Library with Romanesque and Gothic manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. F. Beaucamp, La Flandre et l'Artois, Paris, 1923; M. Nicq-Doutreligne, L'Ancien Cambrai, Cambrai, 1924.

Cassel (anc. Castellum Menapiorum). In the center, the Grand'Place, long and irregular, with houses of the 17th and 18th centuries in Flemish style. - Hôtel de la Noble-Cour, with stepped gables (16th cent.). - Folk art museum.

BIBLIOG. P. Parent, L'architecture civile à Lille au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Lille, 1925, p. 39.

Douai. The city was almost entirely rebuilt according to a regular plan after the sieges of 1710-12. - Church of Notre Dame, with nave and aisles of the 13th century; late Gothic transept and choir. - Church of St-Jacques, begun in 1706, with classic orders. - Church of St-Pierre, of the 18th century, with a large façade tower of the 16th century. - Square belfry of the 15th century. - Town Hall in flamboyant style. - City gate of the 15th century, altered by Vauban. - Courthouse with a façade of 1784-89. - Municipal museum: polypych by J. Bellegambe (1516-20); important collection of paintings. - Library with Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. V. Bufquin, Histoire de la ville de Douai, Douai, 1951.

Dunkerque. Surrounded by walls and forts; half destroyed in World War II. - Church of St-Eloi, built about 1590, in late Gothic style. Double aisles that continue around the choir. Modern façade. - Belfry (1440), a six-storied brick tower that belonged to another Church of St-Eloi, no longer extant.

BIBLIOG. L. Lemaire, Histoire de Dunkerque, Dunkerque, 1927; R.-L. Boireau, Dunkerque, 5th ed., Lyons, 1955.

Lille. Of feudal origin, it became the capital of the county of Flanders and enjoyed great commercial success. It preserves many fine mansions of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, in Flemish and Spanish style. - Chapel of Notre-Dame-de-la-Réconciliation, 13th century. - Oratory of the Hospital of St-Sauveur, of the 13th century with a late Gothic choir. - Church of St-Maurice, late Gothic, in German-Flemish style. Consists of five aisles of equal height, the three central ones of the 15th century. Façade of 1872. - Chapel of the Palais Rihour (15th cent.) and vestiges of the palace (staircase with sculptures). - Church of Ste-Catherine, of 1538, enlarged in 1727. - La Madeleine (1675-1713), central-plan church with a high dome. - Church of St-Etienne (1696), of Jesuit type. - Church of St-André, 1702. Nave with Corinthian columns. - Hospice Gantois, of brick and stone (15th-17th cent.). - Porte de Gand (1620-22), by Pierre Raoul. - Former bourse (1652), in brick and stone, with relief decorations, masterpiece of the Flemish architect Julien Destré. - Porte de Paris (1682-95), by Simon Volland, with allegorical decorations. - Vast pentagonal citadel by Vauban (late 17th cent.), with bastions

and triumphal entrance gate. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: important Flemish and Dutch paintings (Dirk Bouts, Van Dyck, Jordaens, Rubens); two famous pictures by Goya and a *Medea* by Delacroix. - Musée Commercial et Colonial.

BIBLIOG. P. Parent, *L'Architecture civile à Lille au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lille, 1925; E. Théodore, *Les Vieux monuments de Lille*, Lille, 1927.]

Le Quesnoy. Town Hall, 1585, restored in 1700; belfry. - Citadel fortified by Vauban, with polygonal bastions in brick and stone.

BIBLIOG. J. Duvivier, *Le Quesnoy*, Lille, 1934.

Saint-Armand-les-Eaux. The city grew out of an abbey founded in 647 and destroyed in 1789. - Of the abbey church there survives only the façade tower that served as entrance (1630-33). It has a pyramidal crowning, turrets, and rich decoration in Churrigueresque style. It shelters a museum for bells. Echevinage (seat of municipal council), in Flemish Renaissance style.

BIBLIOG. B. Bevan, *L'Eglise de Saint-Amand-les-Eaux*, Apollo, 1927, p. 144.

Valenciennes. City known from the 10th century; capital of a county; heavily damaged in World War II. - Church of St-Géry, with parts of the nave dating back to about 1225. - Church of St-Nicolas (former Jesuit chapel), 1602. - Remains of medieval fortifications and gabled houses. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: paintings of the Flemish and Dutch schools and by native masters: Watteau, Harpignies, Carpeaux. - In the former Jesuit college of the 18th century, library with Romanesque manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. L. Serbat, *L'Architecture gothique des Jésuites au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, B. Monumental, 1902, p. 328; H. Lancelin, *Histoire de Valenciennes*, Paris, 1933.

Normandy (Fr., *Normandie*). Departments of Seine-Maritime, Calvados, Manche, Eure, and Orne. Historically and through its medieval art the province was linked with England. It saw an early flowering of Romanesque art: its notable Gothic edifices are distinguished by high bell towers with slender spires; many buildings in flamboyant style were erected after the Hundred Years' War. Architecture continued to flourish during the Renaissance but declined in the classicizing phase of the late Renaissance and the 17th century. The Caen area is rich in limestone.

BIBLIOG. Caen, 2 vols., CAF, 1908; A.-A. Porée, *L'Art normand*, Paris, 1913; Rouen, CAF, 1926; G. Huard, *L'Art en Normandie*, Paris, 1928; H. Soulangue-Bodin, *Les Châteaux de Normandie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1928-29; M. Anfray, *L'Architecture normande*, Paris, 1939. Orne, CAF, 1953.

Alençon. Incorporated in the duchy of Normandy in 911. Suffered severe damage in World War II. - Church of Notre-Dame. Nave with ribbed vaults and triforium, aisles, and chapels, 15th century; transept and choir, 18th century. Flamboyant porch adorned with numerous statues. Stained glass of the 16th century. - Church of St-Léonard (1489-1505), in flamboyant style; behind the apse, 13th-century chapel with Angevin vaulting. - Jesuit chapel, 1620. - City gate with towers and fortifications, 14th and 15th centuries. - Maison d'Ozé, Gothic house of the mid-15th century. - Prefecture in brick and stone, 1630. - Town Hall (1783), by J.-B. Delarue.

BIBLIOG. Orne, CAF, 1953, p. 21.

Les Andelys (near anc. Andeliens). Composed of two villages, Le Grand-Andely and Le Petit-Andely. The first owes its origin to a monastery founded by Queen Clotilda in 526. Disputed by France and Normandy, it was fortified by Richard the Lion-Hearted, to whom Le Petit-Andely owes its origin. - Church of Notre-Dame, of the 13th century. Choir with straight east end; central tower of the 15th century; transept and chapels of the 16th and 17th centuries. North portal in Renaissance style; sculptured organ case of the 16th century. - Château-Gaillard (1196), founded by Richard on a hill overlooking the Seine. Ruins of defensive works on a triangular plan and of two curtain walls. - Hospice of 1784, with central-plan chapel.

BIBLIOG. M. Dieulafoy, *Le Château Gaillard*, Paris, 1898; L. Coutil, *Le Château Gaillard*, Paris, 1906; L. Coutil, *La Ville des Andelys, Les Andelys*, 1942.

Argentan. Church of St-Germain, 1424-1641. Nave with triforium; polygonal apse and apsidioles; double ambulatory in Renaissance style. Fine lantern of the 15th and 16th centuries. Flamboyant side porch with tower. Stained glass of the 15th century. -

Church of St-Martin, of the early Renaissance. Ambulatory without chapels. Octagonal tower with spire. - Donjon of the 12th century.

BIBLIOG. Orne, CAF, 1953, p. 106.

Bayeux (anc. Augustodurum). Site of the capital of the Baiocasses. - Cathedral, consecrated in 1077. Nave (PL. 379) with large Romanesque arcades decorated with interlace and surmounted by a triforium and high Gothic windows of the 13th century; aisles, transept, choir with triforium, ambulatory, and deep axial chapel, also 13th century; lantern and side chapels, 15th century. Façade with three portals and gallery with statues; two Romanesque towers with Gothic spires. Portal of south transept richly decorated with scenes from the life of St. Thomas Becket (13th cent.). Choir stalls of the late 16th century. Chapter house of the 13th century. - Remains of Roman thermae. - Late medieval houses of wood and stone. - Town Hall, 18th century. - Musée de la Reine Mathilde: unique piece of wool embroidery, known as *Queen Matilda's Tapestry*, 230 ft. long, depicting episodes from the Norman Conquest.

BIBLIOG. H. Prentout, *Caen et Bayeux*, 2d ed., Paris, 1921; A. Lejard, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, Paris, 1946; J. Vallery-Radot, *La Cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, n.d.

Caen. In the 11th century, favorite residence of William the Conqueror; repeatedly devastated in the struggle between French and English. Important art center, greatly damaged in World War II. - Church of St-Etienne, founded by William the Conqueror. Nave with galleries (11th cent.), covered in the 12th century with cross-rib vaults of English type. Choir with galleries and ambulatory with coupled columns (early 13th cent.); vaults redone in the 17th century. Majestic façade of the 11th century, with two towers surmounted by spires of the 13th century. - La Trinité, church founded by William the Conqueror's wife Matilda. Nave of the 11th century with a blind triforium, raised and covered with cross-rib vaults in the 12th century; very narrow ambulatory. Façade of the 11th century with two bell towers. Lantern of the 13th century. - St-Nicolas, Romanesque church of the late 11th century. Apse with two rows of arcatures, surmounted by a conical stone roof. Tower over crossing. Façade tower of the 15th century. - Church of St-Pierre. Nave of the 13th and 14th centuries; cross-rib vaults with hanging keystones; polygonal apse (PL. 391) with ambulatory and five chapels (16th cent.), by Hector Sotier, with rich decorations of Lombard inspiration. Lateral bell tower of the 13th century, surmounted by an elevated spire of the 14th (restored). - Church of St-Sauveur, with two joined naves and two apses (14th and 15th cents.). Timber vaulting. - Church of St-Jean (15th cent.), with a polygonal apse and a lantern with a Renaissance upper story. - Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Gloriette, of the 17th century. Baroque baldachin by G. de La Tremblaye (1707). - Abbey of St-Etienne (Abbaye aux Hommes, now Lycée), majestic complex of buildings of the early 18th century, by G. de La Tremblaye. Grand staircase with wrought-iron railings. Rooms decorated in Louis XV style; wood paneling; paintings by Jean II Restout. - The buildings of the Abbey of La Trinité (Abbaye aux Dames) are in the same style. - Remains of a castle with chapel, 12th-15th century. - Hôtel d'Escoville (1535), with statues and reliefs framed by columns (almost totally destroyed in 1944). - Courthouse of the late 18th century. - Palais de l'Université, by H. Bernard and E. Hur (1957). - Musée des Beaux-Arts: paintings of the French and Italian schools.

BIBLIOG. H. Prentout, *Caen et Bayeux*, 2d ed., Paris, 1921; E. Lambert, *Caen roman et gothique*, Caen, 1935.

Caudebec-en-Caux. Church in flamboyant style (1426-1515). Nave with triforium; columns with foliage decoration on the imposta. Choir with a triangular termination and an axial column; ambulatory; Lady Chapel with a long hanging keystone. Flamboyant façade with Renaissance decorations. Stained glass of the 16th century. Free-standing tower with modern spire. - House of the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. R. Quenedey, Rouen, CAF, 1926, p. 610.

Coutances (anc. Constantia). Named after Constantius Chlorus. Annexed to Normandy in 933. - Cathedral, with a nave of the early 13th century; transept and ambulatory, side chapels, and large apse (VI, PL. 294), all of the late 13th century. Façade of the 13th century with an upper gallery of the 14th; two towers of the 11th-12th century, refaced in the 13th century. Lantern of the 13th-14th century, flanked by four turrets. Side porches of the 13th century. - Church of St-Nicolas. Portal of the 13th century. Nave, 16th century; choir with ambulatory, 17th century, in Gothic style. Lantern of the 18th century with remnants of medieval construction. - Church of St-Pierre, with remains of the 13th century; reconstruction begun about 1500. Ambulatory in Renaissance style. Huge lantern, 1550-80. Façade with Renaissance portal and tower crowned by a lantern turret.

BIBLIOG. P. Colmet-Daage, *La Cathédrale de Coutances*, Paris, 1933.



**Dieppe.** Became notable in the 12th century. - Church of St-Jacques, begun in the late 12th century. Nave triforium, transept, façade, 13th-14th century; ambulatory, 16th century. High façade tower in flamboyant style. - St-Rémy, Gothic church begun in 1522 with the choir and ambulatory; completed in 1645. Façade with rectangular tower. - Castle largely rebuilt about 1435 around a cylindrical donjon of the 14th century.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Deshoulières, *Dieppe*, Paris, 1929; A. Boudier, *Dieppe et sa région à travers les âges*, Dieppe, 1953.

**Eu.** Of the medieval center destroyed by Louis XI (1475) there remains the Church of St-Laurent, in early Gothic style. Nave of 11 bays with a false triforium; transept with galleries; rectangular radiating chapels and lantern, 15th century. *Deposition* of the 15th century. In the crypt, recumbent statues of the counts of Artois (13th-14th cent.). - Former Jesuit college, 1582. Chapel of 1624 with cross-rib vaults and highly decorated façade; funerary monuments of the Duc and Duchesse de Guise, with praying figures and virtues (early 17th cent.).

**BIBLIOG.** A. Legris, *L'Eglise d'Eu*, Paris, 1913; Amiens, CAF, 1936, p. 388.

**Evreux (anc. Mediolanum).** Capital of the Aulerici Eburonices; bishopric in the 4th century; county in 990. - Cathedral, one of the oldest Gothic edifices in Normandy, begun in 1119. Nave with triforium, 13th century; choir, 1260, rebuilt in the 15th century with large windows; apsidal Lady Chapel, lantern, south transept, also 15th century; north transept and façade, 16th century; north façade tower completed in 1628. Stained glass of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries with portraits of the counts of Evreux; wooden screens at the entrance of the ambulatory, 16th century; wrought-iron choir railings, 18th century. Cloister of the 15th century. - Church of St-Taurin, with remains of the 11th century and portions of the 12th to the 16th century. Shelters the reliquary of St. Taurin, masterpiece of 13th-century metalcraft. - Remains of a wall with towers of the late empire and of a Roman theater. - Clock tower and former episcopal palace in flamboyant style.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Fosseay, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Evreux*, Evreux, 1898; G. Bonnefant, *La Cathédrale d'Evreux*, Paris, 1929; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 950.

**Falaise.** Owes its importance to the first dukes of Normandy, who fortified it and made it one of their residences. - Church of St-Gervais. Nave in part of the 12th century, completed and vaulted in the 13th century; Romanesque central tower; side chapels, 15th century; transept and choir with ambulatory, 16th century. - La Trinité, church with a transept of the 13th century; nave and aisles, 1438; choir with triforium, timber vaulting (burned in World War II), and ambulatory, 1510-40; lateral north porch, 16th century. - Castle with a rectangular donjon built in the early 12th century and a cylindrical one, three stories of which are vaulted, erected by Philip Augustus in the early 13th century. - Hospital with a 13th-century ward; buildings of the 18th century (heavily damaged in 1944). - Town Hall (1785), in neoclassical style.

**BIBLIOG.** V. Ruprich-Robert, *Le Château de Falaise*, Paris, 1864; Orne, CAF, 1953, p. 143.

**Fécamp.** Convent founded about 660, transformed into an abbey for monks in the 10th century. - La Trinité, ample abbey church begun from the east after 1168; choir with galleries (removed in the southern portion in the 13th cent.), ambulatory, and deep axial chapel; nave and aisles, early 13th century; high lantern, mid-13th century; façade, 1748. Tombs of the 14th century; chapel screens and altarpiece of the Renaissance.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Valléry-Radot, *L'Eglise de la Trinité de Fécamp*, Paris,

Gaillon. Château rebuilt in the first decade of the 16th century for Cardinal Georges d'Amboise by the architects Pierre Delorme, P. Fain, and R. Le Roux; it is one of the first monuments of the French Renaissance. Demolished in the early 19th century, it retains its entrance pavilion and portions of the galleries and of the two-storied chapel. Some fragments are in Paris (courtyard of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; in the Louvre, bas-relief by M. Colombe) and Saint-Denis (choir stalls). In the 17th century a wing in classicizing style was added by J. Hardouin Mansart.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Deville, *Comptes... du château de Gaillon*, Paris, 1850; E. Chrol, *Le Château de Gaillon*, Rouen 1922.

**Gisors.** Church of St-Gervais-et-St-Protas, gravely mutilated in 1940. Rectangular choir, transept tower, mid-13th century; nave, double aisles, side chapels, transept, and ambulatory, 16th century. Façade (1537-58) with portal adorned by sculptures in the style of J. Goujon. North portal in flamboyant style. - Castle begun by William II of England (1097), subsequently altered and enlarged. Curtain wall fortified by nine towers; donjon built on an irregular octagonal plan, second half of the 12th century; cylindrical angle donjon of the time of Philip Augustus, with three stories covered by cross-rib vaults.

**BIBLIOG.** F.-M.-A. Blanquart, *Notice sur les vitraux de Gisors*, Pontoise, 1884; L. Régnier, *Quelques mots sur les monuments de Gisors*, 4th ed., Gisors, 1919; E. Pépin, *Gisors*, Paris, 1939.

**Harfleur.** From the 9th century onward, one of the most important harbors of Normandy. - Church of the 16th century in flamboyant style. Divided into three aisles of equal height; straight east end. Façade tower with fine stone spire. Portal of 1635. Château in brick and stone, 16th-17th century.

**BIBLIOG.** F. de La Motte, *Antiquités de la ville d'Harfleur*, Rouen, 1888.

**Le Havre.** Heavily damaged during World War II. The new quarter established near the harbor includes the Church of St-Joseph and the Town Hall (1949-56). - Church of Notre-Dame, begun in 1574 by Nicolas Duchemin. Late example of cross-rib vaulting. Façade of the early 17th century. - Museum with impressionist paintings, many by the preimpressionist E. Boudin, who lived in Le Havre. - Environs: Abbey church of Gravelle-Sainte-Honorine. Nave and aisles, transept and central tower, late 11th century; choir with straight east end, 13th century; façade, 14th century.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Morlent, *Le Havre ancien et moderne et ses environs*, Le Havre, 1825; F. Berge, *Le Havre*, Paris, 1929.

**Honfleur.** Known as a seaport since the 13th century. - Church of Ste-Catherine (late 15th cent.), built entirely of wood. Two naves, each with one aisle; two apses, one with a spire. - Church of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (1615), with rustic porch projecting from façade tower.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Deville, *Honfleur*, Paris, 1923.

**Jumièges.** Grew around an abbey, now in ruins, founded by St. Philibert in 654, abandoned in 851 during the Norman incursions, and reestablished in the 10th century. - St-Pierre, small church whose façade and first bays with triforium are vestiges of a building dating from 926-45; eastern portion of the 14th century. - Church of Notre-Dame. There subsist the façade with two towers (prior to 1028); a part of the nave with galleries (1052-67) and of the lantern; fragments of the choir (1305); parts of the chapter house (1140). - Remains of the abbey storerooms (12th cent.). - Abbey building of the 17th century housing a lapidary museum.

**BIBLIOG.** L.-M. Michon and R. Martin du Gard, *L'Abbaye de Jumièges*, Paris, 1927; L.-A. Jouen and J. Lafond, *Jumièges*, ed. G. Lanfry, Rouen, [ca. 1934].

**Lisieux (anc. Noviomagus).** Capital of the Lexovii; bishopric from the 6th to the 18th century; fortified during the Hundred Years' War. - Cathedral of St-Pierre, begun about 1170. Nave with triforium, aisles, and transept in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France; choir, late 12th century; ambulatory with chapels, early 13th century; lantern, 13th century, completed in the 15th; axial chapel and side chapels, 14th-15th century. Façade with three portals and two towers (north tower, 13th cent.; south tower, 16th cent.). Lateral south portal of the Romanesque period. - Church of St-Jacques, in flamboyant style (1496-1501; severely damaged in World War II). Nave with triforium; polygonal apse. - Carmelite Church of Ste-Thérèse, modern basilica with dome. - Remains of the late imperial wall and of a Roman aqueduct. - Before World War II, numerous half-timbered houses with wooden sculptures (15th and 16th cents.). - Former episcopal palace of brick and stone (early 16th cent.), with rich interior decoration of the late 17th century.

**BIBLIOG.** V. Hardy, *La Cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Lisieux*, Paris, 1917; L. Serbat, *Lisieux*, Paris, 1926.

**Louviers (anc. Loveria).** Called Loveria in the 9th century; seat of the dukes of Normandy; in 1197 ceded to the archbishopric of Rouen. - Church of Notre-Dame. Choir with aisles and straight east end, late 12th century. Nave and aisles, 13th century; second pair of aisles added in the 15th century. Lantern of 1500. West façade with square tower, 14th century (restored); south façade of 1506, highly decorated,

with flamboyant porch (VI, PL. 302). - A few half-timbered houses of the 15th-16th century have survived the devastations of 1940.

BIBLIOG. L. Rénier, *Notre-Dame de Louviers*, Evreux, 1903.

Mont-Saint-Michel. Unique group of medieval monastic buildings rising in three tiers on a rocky islet (I, PL. 391). - Church. Romanesque nave begun in 1022 and completed in 1084; north side of the 12th century; false triforium. Choir (VI, PL. 302) with large windows, ambulatory, and radiating chapels in flamboyant style (ca. 1450-1521). Crypt. Central bell tower of the 19th century. - Building called "La Merveille," 1202-28. On the first floor, almonry and storerooms; on the second, Salle des Hôtes and Salle des Chevaliers, divided respectively into two and four aisles, both covered with cross-rib vaults; on the third, refectory and cloister (PL. 380). - Ramparts and gates.

BIBLIOG. P. Gout, *Le Mont Saint-Michel*, 2 vols., Paris, 1910; C.-H. Beaudard, *Le Mont Saint-Michel*, Paris, 1945.

Norrey. Imposing aisleless church of the 13th century; transept with lantern; in the ambulatory, piers with engaged colonnettes and rich foliage decoration.

BIBLIOG. Caen, I, CAF, 1908, p. 338.

Ouistreham. Small church typical of Norman architecture in the 12th and 13th centuries. Nave with cross-rib vaults of the 12th century, largely rebuilt in the 19th; choir and bell tower, early 13th century. Romanesque façade with three stories of arcatures.

BIBLIOG. Caen, I, CAF, 1908, p. 187.

Pont-Audemer. Arose in the 7th or 8th century; granted a communal charter by Philip Augustus. - Church of St-Ouen, large edifice with a choir of the 11th century, vaulted in the 12th; nave with triforium, aisles, façade, 1488-1506. Nave, unfinished, vaulted in wood; aisles with cross-rib vaults and hanging keystones. Stained glass of the 16th century.

BIBLIOG. L. Rénier, *Pont-Audemer*, Caen, 1899.

Rouen (anc. Rotomagus). Capital of the Veliocasses. In 876, after its destruction by the Normans, it became the point of departure

for their invasions. It was granted a communal charter in the 12th century. One of the great centers of Gothic art in France, it suffered heavy damage in World War II. - Cathedral, extensively restored after the bombardment of 1944. Tower of St-Romain, at the north of the façade, second half of 12th century (top story of the 15th cent.). Present edifice begun in 1210; nave with false galleries; large transept with aisles; ambulatory with deep axial Lady Chapel (14th cent.). Central bell tower with a high modern metal spire. Broad façade with three portals and two towers (VI, PL. 301); that of St-Romain and the Tour de Beurre (1485) to the south; important sculptural decoration, completed in 1509 (tree of Jesse by Pierre des Aubaux). Side portals with sculptures of the late 13th century: on the south, Portail de la Calende with Biblical scenes, the Passion; on the north, Portail des Librairies with the Last Judgment and medallions with fanciful figures. In the Lady Chapel, tomb of the cardinals of Amboise, begun in 1520 by Pierre des Aubaux; tomb of Louis de Brézé (mid-16th cent.). Stained glass in the ambulatory with medallions (12th cent.) and in the nave (14th-15th cent.). - Church of St-Ouen. Choir with large windows, 1318-39; construction continued with the transept and nave until 1536; lateral south portal of the 14th century, with sculptured tympanum; modern façade. Wrought-iron choir screen (18th cent.). Magnificent stained-glass windows (large figures in the clerestory; medallions in the lower windows) begun about 1320, completed in the 16th century (some by Arnould de Nimègue, also known as Aert Van Ort). Cloister of the 15th century. - Church of St-Maclou, begun in 1436 after the plans of Pierre Robin, completed in 1521. Flamboyant porch; lantern of the 15th century; organ loft with columns, by J. Goujon; over the altar, a rococo glory (1757). Aître de St-Maclou, cemetery of 1526-1640 with wooden galleries. - Church of St-Godard, 15th century. Renaissance tower. Stained glass from the workshops of the Le Prince family and Arnould de Nimègue (16th cent.). - Jesuit chapel (1610-1704), showing late example of cross-rib vaulting. - Church of St-Romain (1676-early 18th cent.), in classicizing style, with Ionic columns; dome; pedimented façade. - La Madeleine, neoclassical church of the late 18th century. - Tour de Jeanne d'Arc, donjon of a castle built in 1204 by Philip Augustus, of which there also remain some vestiges of the curtain wall. - Gros-Horloge, belfry of the late 14th century and, next to it, clock pavilion with archway spanning the street (1527); rococo additions (1732). - Archbishopal Palace, with portions of the 15th and 16th centuries, in large part rebuilt in the 18th. - Courthouse (1490), in flamboyant style (heavily damaged). - Hôtel du Bourgtheroulde, 1506. Gallery adorned with bas-reliefs on historical themes (Field of the



Rouen: plan of the center of the city. (a) Cathedral; (b) St-Ouen; (c) St-Maclou; (d) Aître St-Maclou; (e) St-Godard; (f) Gros-Horloge; (g) Musée de Secq des Tournelles; (h) Tour de Jeanne d'Arc; (i) Courthouse; (j) Hospital; (k) Hôtel du Bourgtheroulde; (l) Archbishopal Palace; (m) Musée de l'Histoire Naturelle and Musée Départemental des Antiquités; (n) Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Cloth of Gold), 1520-30. - Bureau des Finances (1509), by R. Le Roux, in Renaissance style. - Town Hall, in a wing of the former Abbey of St-Ouen by J.-P. DeFrance (1750). - Docks, notable example of contemporary architecture by J. Fayeton, J. Remondet, and others (1951). - Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime: mosaic and other Gallo-Roman finds from Lillebonne; medieval ivories, enamels, metalwork, and stained glass. - Musée des Beaux-Arts, et de la Céramique: paintings by Gerard David (*Virgin and Saints*) and by French masters (*Washerwomen* by Fragonard; *The Justice of Trajan* by Delacroix). Rich ceramics collection. - Musée Le Secq des Tournelles, for ironwork. - In the environs, Le Petit-Quevilly, with a chapel of the mid-12th century; vaults painted with historiated medallions (13th cent.).

BIBLIOG. A. Deville, *Tombeaux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, 3d ed., Paris, 1881; G. Duboc, *Rouen monumental aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Rouen, 1897; C. Enlart, *Rouen*, Paris, 1906; L. Lelancq, *Les Portails latéraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, Paris, 1907; E. Delagrè and M. Boulanger, *Vieux hôtels de Rouen des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1909; A. Loisel, *La Cathédrale de Rouen*, Paris, 1913; M. Pliet, *L'Art de Saint-Maclou*, Paris, 1924; M. Aubert, *Rouen*, CAF, 1926, p. 11; R. Coutan, *La Chapelle Saint-Julien du Petit-Quevilly*, Rouen, CAF, 1926, p. 228; R. Quenedy, *L'Habitation rouennaise*, Rouen, 1926; G. Ritter, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, Cognac, 1926; A. Masson and J. Lafond, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, Paris, 1927.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville. Church of the former Abbey of St-Georges-de-Boscherville, begun about 1125 (PL. 379). Nave of eight bays vaulted in 1240; triforium; aisles. Transept with galleries. Choir flanked by side chapels. Central tower with two stories of arcades and windows. Façade turrets of the 13th century. Chapter house (ca. 1170) with statue-columns and historiated capitals.

BIBLIOG. A. Beuard, *Monographie de l'église et de l'abbaye de Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville*, Paris, 1899; L.-M. Michon, *Rouen*, CAF, 1926, p. 331.

Saint-Wandrille. Abbey founded in 649 (originally called Fontenelle), burned by the Normans in 852 and rebuilt in 960; particularly prosperous during the Middle Ages. - Of the abbey church, vast edifice with an ambulatory surrounded by 15 chapels, there remains only the 13th-century north transept. - Cloister of the 14th-16th century. Doorway with sculptured tympanum (Coronation of the Virgin). Late medieval lavabo with Renaissance touches. - Refectory of the 12th century with a timber vault. - Buildings of the 17th century. - Entrance portal in Louis XV style.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, *Rouen*, CAF, 1926, p. 350; G.-A. Simon, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, Grenoble, 1937.

Sées (or Séez; anc. Sagii). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, begun in the early 13th century from the west. Nave with triforium and pointed arches of English type; choir with clerestory and ambulatory, begun about 1270. Façade with bell towers, 14th century; portal with tympanum consecrated to the Virgin. Rose windows in the transept (modern glass); in other windows, stained glass of the 13th and 14th centuries. - Former episcopal palace (1778), by J. Brousseau.

BIBLIOG. R. Gobillot, *La Cathédrale de Séez*, 1937; Orne, CAF, 1953, p. 39.

Verneuil-sur-Avre. Owed its importance to Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy. - La Madeleine, church with a Romanesque nave, later altered; eastern portion of the 16th century. Tower in flamboyant style, with statues (early 16th cent.). Deposition and stained-glass windows, 16th century. - Church of Notre-Dame. Choir with ambulatory and apsidioles, 12th century; transept, 15th century; façade, 18th century. Numerous late medieval statues. - Cylindrical donjon of the Romanesque period. - Houses employing two types of stone laid in a checkerboard pattern (15th-16th cent.). - Wooden houses of the 16th century.

BIBLIOG. Orne, CAF, 1953, p. 407.

Vernon. During the Norman domination subject to the counts of Vernon; ceded to Philip Augustus in 1196. - Church of Notre-Dame. High nave with triforium, 14th century; transept and central bell tower, 13th century; Romanesque choir with ambulatory; apsidal chapels of the 14th century, finished in the 16th. Flamboyant façade with sculptured portal, rose window, upper gallery, and gable flanked by turrets. Organ loft and stained glass of the 16th century. - Tower of 1123. - Fortified bridge (13th cent.), in ruins. - Half-timbered houses of the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. F. Coutan, *L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Vernon*, Rouen, 1912.

Vire. The old town, with its 18th-century buildings, was almost totally destroyed in World War II. - Church of Notre-Dame. Nave with aisles, 13th century; choir and ambulatory, 15th century. - Square donjon of the Romanesque period. - Clock tower over what was once a city gate, 13th-15th century.

Brittany (Fr., *Bretagne*). Departments of Finistère, Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes-du-Nord, Loire-Inférieure. Former province in the westernmost part of France, region of the great megalithic monuments (Carnac). Romanesque churches, severe in style, were built of granite, which does not lend itself to sculpture. Anglo-Norman art influenced the Gothic style, of which the great cathedrals represent a late phase. At the end of the Middle Ages many parish churches were built, with large windows, open timber roofs, and high bell towers with spires and galleries (Kreisker at Saint-Pol-de-Léon); wooden furnishings were produced in abundance; schools of stained-glass painters arose in several centers. Many fortresses were built (or enlarged) during the Hundred Years' War, as were half-timbered houses. Typical in the Renaissance were religious buildings of an archaic regional style that persisted until the 17th century; it was at this time, too, that the church increasingly became the focus of a grouping including calvaries with numerous personages, ossuaries, cemeteries with monumental gateways, and fountains (Guimiliau). Important city plans date from the 17th century, the early 18th century (Rennes), and the neoclassical period (Nantes).

BIBLIOG. J.-M. Abgrall, *Architecture bretonne*, Quimper, 1904; Brest, Vannes, CAF, 1914; P. Gruyer, *Les Calvaires bretons*, Paris, 1920; Les Chapelles bretonnes, Paris, 1926; Menhirs et dolmens bretons, Paris, 1927; Retables et jubés bretons, Paris, 1927; Fontaines bretonnes, Paris, n.d.; P. Banat, *Le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 4 vols., Rennes, 1927-29; G. Duhem, *Les Eglises de France: Morbihan*, Paris, 1932; Saint-Brieuc, CAF, 1949; Cornouaille, CAF, 1957; R. Grand, *L'Art roman en Bretagne*, CAF, 1958; R. Couffon and A. Le Bars, *Répertoire des églises et chapelles du diocèse de Quimper et de Léon*, Saint-Brieuc, 1959; H. Waquet, *L'Art breton*, rev. ed., Grenoble, 1960.

Carnac. Region rich in megalithic monuments, (see EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY; PLs. 160, 161, 163). At Ménez, alignment of 1,099 menhirs in 11 rows over a distance of about two-thirds of a mile; at Kermario, dolmens and alignment of menhirs (1,029 in 12 rows); at Kerlescan, 594 menhirs in 13 rows.

BIBLIOG. J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1908, pp. 393, 422; Z. Le Rouzic, *Carnac*, 11th ed., Rennes, 1955.

Dinan. Fortified city of feudal origin. Partly preserved medieval wall of irregular plan, with towers and gates. - Church of St-Sauveur. Part of nave and lower portion of façade with a tympanum representing Christ in Glory, 12th century; choir and apse in flamboyant style (1480-1509); central tower of the early 17th century. - Church of St-Malo. Transept and choir rebuilt from 1489 onward. - Donjon consisting of two coupled towers built by Etienne de Tur (ca. 1382). - Gabled wooden houses (15th-16th cent.), especially in the Rue du Jerzual.

BIBLIOG. R. Cornon and R. Couffon, *Saint-Brieuc*, CAF, 1949, p. 172.

Dol. Owes its origin to a monastery founded about 548. Its bishop was primate of Brittany until 1159. Alternately a French and an English possession. - Cathedral of St-Samson, in Norman Gothic style, with highly pointed arches and a straight east end, attesting English influence. Begun in the 12th century; nave with triforium and aisles, transept, choir with side chapels and a rectangular ambulatory, mainly 13th century; apse added in the 14th century. Capitals adorned with crockets. Porch of south transept with statuettes in the archivolts (14th cent.). Stained glass of the early 14th century in the choir. Tomb of Bishop Thomas James (ca. 1504) by the sculptor Jean Juste (Giovanni di Giusto). - In the Grande-Rue, fine medieval and Renaissance houses.

BIBLIOG. A. Rhein, *La Cathédrale de Dol*, Caen, 1911.

Guérande. Late medieval town of circular plan with ramparts and a fortified gate (14th-15th cent.). - Church of St-Aubin, with a nave of the 13th century and an apse of the 15th. External pulpit on the façade.

BIBLIOG. H. Quilgars, *Guérande, terre bretonne*, Rennes, 1930.

Guimiliau. In the village, fine church in Renaissance style, rebuilt in the 17th century but preserving a 16th-century west bell tower over a porch. South porch decorated with sculptures on Biblical themes. Wooden baptismal font, choir stalls, pulpit, organ loft, 17th century.

- Near the church, ossuary of the 17th century. Façade decorated with six columns and bas-reliefs. - In the cemetery, sculptured calvary with over two hundred figures (1581-88) and a funerary chapel (1648).

BIBLIOG. H. Waquet, Guimiliau, Châteaulin, 1952.

Josselin. Church of Notre-Dame-du-Roncier (14th-15th cent.), with the marble tombs of Olivier de Clieson and Marguerite de Rohan (15th cent.). - Castle of various periods. Remains of the curtain wall, 12th-13th century; four subsisting towers of the 14th century; flamboyant courtyard façade with tall dormer windows, 15th-16th century. Houses a costume museum. - Half-timbered houses of the 15th and 16th centuries.

BIBLIOG. R. Grand, Le Château de Josselin, Paris, 1954.

Kerjean. Castle rebuilt in 1553-90 for Louis Barbier. Vast fortified enclosure; very plain façade with dormer windows toward the courtyard; entrance portal adorned with classical orders. Houses a museum of Breton folk art.

BIBLIOG. F. Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927, p. 118.

Nantes (anc. Condevincum, Portus Namnetum). Capital of the Namnetes; from 560 an episcopal possession; fortified by Philip Augustus in the early 13th century; from 1491 under royal dominion. - Cathedral of St-Pierre, begun in 1434 after the plans of Mathurin Rodier, continued in the 16th century (nave and aisles); vaults, 1628; choir, 1650-55; not completed until 1893. Interior: tomb of the parents of Anne de Bretagne with recumbent effigies and Virtues, executed by M. Colombe from the designs of Jean Perréal (1505); tomb of General Lamoricière, executed in 1879 by the sculptor Paul Dubois. - Remains of a city wall of the late empire. - Castle of the dukes of Brittany with curtain wall and towers (rebuilt in 1466; slightly modified, 1582-92). Monumental wing added in the late 16th century; stairway with loggias in flamboyant style. - Along the river, shipowners' houses of the 17th and 18th centuries. - Prefecture (former Cour des Comptes), by J.-B. Ceineray. - Centers of neoclassical city planning by the architect M. Cruey (late 18th cent.): the Grand-Théâtre, the Place Royale, the Town Hall, and the Cour Cambronne. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: famous paintings of the French school, including *The Hurdy-gurdy Player* by G. de La Tour, the *Portrait of Mme de Senonnes* by Ingres, and *The Sisters* by Courbet. - Musée de Nantes par l'Image, in the Porte St-Pierre, a former city gate. - In the castle, Musée des Arts Décoratifs et d'Art Régional.

BIBLIOG. G. Durville, Etudes sur le vieux Nantes, 2 vols., Vannes, 1900-15; M. Nicolle, Le Musée de Nantes, Paris, 1920; P. Jeulin, Histoire lapidaire du château de Nantes, Rennes, 1925; P. Lelièvre, L'Urbanisme et l'architecture à Nantes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Nantes, 1942.

Quimper (anc. Civitas Aquilonia). At one time capital of Cornouaille; bishopric from the 6th century. - Cathedral of St-Corentin, begun about 1240 from the choir with ambulatory; continued, along a deviating axis, in the 15th century, with transept, nave, and aisles. Façade with towers, 15th century; spires of the 19th century. - Stone and half-timbered houses of the 16th century. - Former episcopal palace with a wing dating from 1508-40, seat of the Musée Départemental Breton. - Musée des Beaux-Arts, in the City Hall, with an important collection of paintings. - In the environs, at Locmaria, Romanesque church (11th-12th cent.) with timber vaulting and a late Gothic porch.

BIBLIOG. A. Masseron, Quimper, Quimperlé, Paris, 1928; Cornouaille, CAF, 1957, p. 9.

Quimperlé. Existed already in the 6th century; hermitage and abbey founded there. - Ste-Croix, Romanesque church built in the 12th century over an 11th-century crypt. Trefoil plan with a central rotunda suggesting the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Stone rood screen with figures of apostles and Virtues (1541). - In the upper town, St-Michel, late Gothic church (14th-15th cent.) with a north side porch in flamboyant style.

BIBLIOG. J.-M. Abgrall, Le Vieux Quimperlé, Quimper, 1903; Cornouaille, CAF, 1957, p. 78.

Rennes (anc. Condate). In the Gallo-Roman period, capital of the Redones; from the 10th century, capital of Brittany; from 1551, seat of the regional parliament. After the great fire of 1720 the center of the city was almost entirely rebuilt according to a regular plan by Robelin. - Church of St-Melaine (or Notre-Dame), with Romanesque

portions; altered in the 14th, 15th, and 17th centuries. The nave, which has a Romanesque door, is preceded by a three-storied tower with a classicizing façade (1672-76). Cloister of 1683. - Church of Toussaints, former Jesuit chapel, in classicizing style (1624-51). - Cathedral of St-Pierre. Façade with two towers and superposed orders, 1541-1703. The remainder of the edifice was rebuilt from 1811 to 1841. - Basilica of St-Sauveur, 1703-28, with Doric orders. - Remains of late imperial walls. - Courthouse (former Parliament Building), begun in 1618 by S. de Brosse; richly decorated rooms of the 17th and 18th centuries; ceilings painted by J.-B. Jouvenet (1694) and Noël Coypel. - Place du Palais, laid out by Jacques Gabriel (1720 ff.). - Also by him, the City Hall in Louis XV style (1734-62). - Numerous houses of the 18th century. - Maison de la Radio (1935-57), by J. Carlu and M. Joly, notable example of contemporary architecture. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: Flemish and Dutch paintings; two reliefs by A. Coysevox from a destroyed monument to Louis XIV. - Musée de Bretagne, devoted to the history of Brittany. - Library with illuminated manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. H. Bourde de La Rogerie, Le Parlement de Rennes, Rennes 1930; P. Banéat, Le Vieux Rennes, Rennes, 1930.

Saint-Brieuc. Cathedral of St-Etienne, begun in 1170, restored in the second half of the 14th century. Nave with columns, rebuilt in 1712-15. - Fine Gothic fountain and Renaissance houses.

BIBLIOG. R. Couffon, Saint-Brieuc, CAF, 1949, p. 9.

Saint-Malo. The city rose in the 12th century on a granitic island, former cenobitic center. For a long time it remained an independent bishopric. Three-quarters destroyed in 1944, it has been faithfully reconstructed. - Cathedral (restored), of various periods: nave of 1157 with cross-rib vaults; choir of the late 13th century; late Gothic and Renaissance portions; neoclassical façade (1772). - Castle with donjons of 1393 and 1424, fortified by Vauban (1682 ff.). Contains a museum.

BIBLIOG. E. Dupont, Le Vieux Saint-Malo, Saint-Malo, 1923.

Saint-Philibert-de-Grandlieu. Church founded in the early 9th century (the transept probably dates from this period); nave rebuilt in the late 9th century, with square piers showing alternate rows of stone and brick.

BIBLIOG. R. de Laeteyrie, L'Eglise de Saint-Philibert-de-Grandlieu, Paris, 1909; R. Grand, L'Art roman en Bretagne, Paris, 1958, p. 445.

Saint-Pol-de-Léon. The town takes its name from a monastery founded about 530. - Cathedral. Nave with aisles, façade with towers, 13th-14th century; transept and choir with ambulatory and rectangular chapels, 15th-16th century. Choir stalls of 1512; stained glass of the 16th century. - Chapel of the Kreiaker, built under John IV, Duke of Brittany (1345-99). High bell tower, modeled on that of St-Pierre in Caen, with openings at every level and a stone spire (late 14th cent.).

BIBLIOG. L.-T. Lécureux, Saint-Pol-de-Léon, Paris, 1909.

Saint-Thégonnec. Magnificent religious ensemble: church rebuilt in the 17th-18th century, with notable baroque wooden furnishings; cemetery gateway of 1587; ossuary with Corinthian orders (1677); calvary with three crosses (1610).

BIBLIOG. Brest, Vannes, CAF, 1914, pp. 170, 538.

Tréguier. Of monastic origin. - Cathedral. Hastings Tower over north transept, 12th century. Reconstruction begun in 1330; choir and apse, 1380-1425; side chapels of a later period. Spire of lateral south tower, 18th century, in Gothic style. Choir stalls, 1508-09. - Cloister of archaizing type (15th cent.), with wooden vaulting. - Many half-timbered Gothic houses.

BIBLIOG. R. Cornon, Saint-Brieuc, CAF, 1949, p. 102.

Vannes (anc. Darioritum). Capital of the Veneti; bishopric from the 5th century; from the 6th, an independent county. - Cathedral of St-Pierre, of the 15th-16th century, without aisles; apse of the 18th century; round side chapel in Renaissance style (1537). - Former Jesuit chapel (1652), with a large marble altarpiece (1684). - Medieval walls and gates. - Maison du Parlement de Bretagne, early 15th century, seat of the Musée de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan (local prehistory).

BIBLIOG. Brest, Vannes, CAF, 1914, p. 401; J. Blarez, La Cathédrale de Vannes, Vannes, 1920.

**Maine.** Departments of Mayenne and Sarthe. Romanesque churches are rare, owing to the very early adoption of cross-rib vaulting. In the 16th century the châteaux of the Loire had a marked stylistic influence.

**BIBLIOG.** Angers, Saumur, 2 vols., CAF, 1910; H. Soulange-Bodin, *Châteaux du Maine et de l'Anjou*, Paris, 1934.

**Evron.** Beautiful church with a Romanesque nave; transept and elegant choir with ambulatory, 14th century; fortified tower; in the Chapel of St-Crépin (12th cent.), vault painting with Christ in Glory.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *L'Eglise abbatiale d'Evron*, B. Monumental, 1903, p. 299.

**La Ferté-Bernard.** The town grew around a hexagonal castle. - Church of Notre-Dame-des-Mairis, in flamboyant style (1450-1500). Choir (1535) and apsidal chapel by Mathurin de la Borde; Renaissance elements, such as medallions with Roman busts, offered ceilings; stained-glass windows of the 16th century, some of them by Robert Courtois; organ case (1501) by E. Baudot. - City walls and gates of the 15th century. - Marked with an open timber roof (1536).

**BIBLIOG.** L. Charles, *Histoire de La Ferté-Bernard*, Mamers, 1877; L. Calendini, *Les Verrières de La Ferté-Bernard*, Sablé, 1934.

**La Flèche.** The city developed around a fortress that rose beside the Loire in the 11th century. Most notable is the Prytanée (military school, former Jesuit college) of the 17th century, which comprises a chapel by Father E. Martellange (1607-20), with rich sculptural decoration and fine stone and marble furnishings; buildings disposed around several courtyards; and a monumental gateway.

**BIBLIOG.** A. de Rochemonteix, *Le Collège de La Flèche*, 4 vols., Le Mans, 1889.

**Laval.** The city owes its origin to a castle founded about 1020. - Cathedral. Transept and bell tower, 11th century; aisleless nave with vaulting of Angevin type, mid-12th century; subsequent alterations. - Vieux-Château, with a cylindrical donjon of the Romanesque period that leads into a late medieval hall with a magnificent timber vault. - Nouveau-Château, with Renaissance ornamentation (1540). - Bridge over the Mayenne with Gothic arches (13th cent.). - Remains of city walls; gate of the 15th century. - Musée d'Art; sculptures and paintings. - In the suburbs, Church of Notre-Dame d'Avénières (1140-70). Romanesque apse with ambulatory; cross-rib vaults over nave and transept; spire by Jamet Neveu (1534).

**BIBLIOG.** L.-J. Hamard, *Etudes archéologiques sur la cathédrale de Laval*, Laval, 1895; *Le Diocèse de Laval*, Lyons, 1955.

**Le Lude.** Town dominated by a castle that belonged to Jehan de Dailon, chamberlain of Louis XI. Angle towers with machicolations. North wing with Gothic façade (15th cent.). South wing (1520-30) in Renaissance style, decorated with medallions; reliefs around the windows and dormers. East wing in Louis XVI style, by the architect Barré. Courtyard redone in the 17th century. Fine interior.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 141.

**Le Mans (anc. Vindonum).** Capital of the Cenomani; from the 3d century a bishopric; very active in the Carolingian period. - Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture, with vestiges of the late 10th century in the crypt, choir, and transept. Ambulatory of the 11th century. Nave altered in the late 12th century to carry vaults of Angevin type. Façade with two towers and a portal with the Last Judgment and statues of apostles (13th cent.). *Virgin and Child* by G. Pilon (1571). - Cathedral of St-Julien (VI, PL. 295), with lateral walls of the 11th century, cross-rib vaults of the first half of the 12th century; Gothic choir with double ambulatory and chapels, begun in 1217. Romanesque west façade with small stones in a reticulated pattern; façade of the north transept in flamboyant style; on the south flank, a late-12th-century portal with tympanum, archivolt, and statue-columns. Stained glass of the 12th century (Assumption, legend of St. Julian) and of the 13th; in the ambulatory, tomb of Charles VI of Anjou (d. 1472), formerly attributed to F. Laurana, and tomb of Guillaume du Bellay (d. 1543), in the style of Pierre Bontemps. - Chapel of the Visitation (ca. 1730), by the Mathurin Riballiers, father and son, fine example of the rococo. - Gallo-Roman wall (late 3d or early 4th cent.), in great part preserved. Remains of a theater. - Ward of the Hospital of Coëfort, a Plantagenet foundation (1180), divided into three aisles and cov-

ered with cross-rib vaults. - House called Queen Berengaria's (1440-1515), with a wooden upper story. Shelters a museum of decorative and folk art. - House of Adam and Eve, 1520-25. - Hôtel du Grabbatoire (1528-42), in Renaissance style. - Hôtel du Petit-Louvre, in classicizing style. - Social Security Building, by J. Le Couteur (1957). - Musée Archéologique, in the crypt of the former collegiate church of St-Pierre-de-la-Cour, at one time chapel of the counts of Maine. - Musée de Tessé: champlevé enamel representing Geoffrey Plantagenet (12th cent.); important collection of paintings; etc.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Ledru, *La Cathédrale du Mans*, Saint-Julien, 2d ed., Le Mans, 1923; G. Fleury, *La Cathédrale du Mans*, Paris, 1933; R. Vassas, *La Maison-Dieu d'Anjou*, Coëfort au Mans, B. Monumental, 1954, p. 61; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 847.

**Solemes.** Benedictine abbey. Church with modern choir; nave and transept built in the late Middle Ages on Romanesque foundations. Large sculptural groups in the transept: the *Deposition* (1496), formerly attributed to M. Colombe, and the *Dormition of the Virgin* (16th cent.), with architectural elements and Renaissance reliefs.

**BIBLIOG.** M. C. de La Tremblaye, *Les Sculptures de l'église abbatiale de Solemes*, Solemes, 1892; J. Hourlier, *Les Eglises de Solemes*, Solemes, 1951.

**Anjou.** Department of Maine-et-Loire. Anjou's religious edifices include a number of pre-Romanesque churches, churches of the 12th century generally modeled on Poitevin types, and Gothic ones with the characteristic "Angevin vault." A Maecenean bent on the part of the counts of Anjou stimulated remarkable artistic achievements in the 14th and 15th centuries, outstanding among which are the tapestries of Angers, commissioned by Louis I d'Anjou, and the castles of Angers and Saumur, embellished by King René (the Good). The region also preserves châteaux of the Renaissance and the 17th century.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Berthélé, *L'Architecture Plantagenet*, Poitiers, CAF, 1903, p. 234; Angers, Saumur, 2 vols., CAF, 1910; H. Soulange-Bodin, *Châteaux du Maine et de l'Anjou*, Paris, 1934.

**Angers (anc. Juliomagus).** Capital of the Andecavi, important Roman colony with thermae, circus, and amphitheater. Under the Plantagenets the city was almost a second capital of England; Henry II, especially, enriched it with numerous edifices. - Church of St-Martin. Rebuilding begun with the choir about 1150, in Romanesque style, over the remains of a funerary basilica of the Carolingian period and of a Merovingian sanctuary. - Abbey church of Le Ronceray, of the 11th century, partly in ruins. North lateral wall showing reticulated work (1028); nave and aisles, transept, and east end, 1088-1119. - Cathedral of St-Maurice. Aisleless nave of the mid-12th century with Angevin vaults; transept and choir, late 12th century; apse, 13th century. Main portal with statue-columns (late 12th cent.). Central tower by Jean de Lespine (1540). Baroque high altar with baldachin (1757). - La Trinité, church built in the second half of the 12th century. Wide aisleless nave with lateral niches and Angevin vaults. Octagonal bell tower of the mid-16th-century on a Romanesque base. - Of the destroyed Abbey of St-Aubin there subsists a tower (1130) and remains of the Romanesque cloister with historiated capitals. - Church of St-Serge. Choir with light graceful columns and Angevin vaults (13th cent.). - Former episcopal palace, with a Romanesque hall divided into two aisles and covered with groined vaults. - Hospital of St-Jean, one of the oldest and finest complexes of its kind (1174-86). Large vaulted hall (PL. 380) divided into three aisles; chapel; cloister with a Renaissance wing. - Castle (PL. 381), one of the outstanding feudal residences in France, erected under St. Louis (1228-38). Pentagonal curtain wall with enormous round towers, built of slate, sandstone, and granite. Within, chapel and pavilion with turrets (15th cent.), the latter almost totally rebuilt in the 19th cent.). - House of Adam, of wood and brick, with wooden sculptures (15th cent.). - Logis Barrault (1487), with a fine spiral staircase. Contains a library and several museums. - Logis Pincé, probably by Jean de Lespine (1523-35), with elegant sculptural decoration. - On the Place du Château, a statue of King René by David d'Angers. - Musée des Tapisseries (in the castle): famous series of tapestries illustrating the Apocalypse (VI, PL. 387), commissioned in the late 14th century by Louis I d'Anjou from the Parisian Nicolas Bataille, who executed them after the cartoons of Hennequin de Bruges. - Musée Archéologique (in the Hospital of St-Jean): medieval works of local origin. - Musée des Beaux-Arts (in the Logis Barrault): paintings by Watteau, Lancret, Greuze; sculptures by David d'Angers; etc.

**BIBLIOG.** L. de Farcy, *Monographie de la cathédrale, d'Angers*, 4 vols., Angers, 1901-26; Angers, Saumur, I, CAF, 1910, p. 153; C. Urseau, *Les Monuments anciens de la ville d'Angers*, Angers, 1912; J. Levron, *L'Abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Angers, 1937; G. H. Forsyth, Jr., *The Church of Saint Martin at Angers*, Princeton, 1953; R. Planchenaute, *Les Tapisseries d'Angers*, Paris, 1955; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 839; C. Urseau, *La Cathédrale d'Angers*, Paris n.d.

**Brissac.** One of the finest châteaux of the region, in large part rebuilt by Marshal of France Charles de Coëssé (1610-20). Consists of two wings at right angles to each other. East wing with two 14th-century angle towers and a domed pavilion in Italianate style.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Gautier, *Histoire de Brissac*, Angers, 1920.

**Cunault.** Owes its origin to a monastery of the 9th century, of which there subsists the Romanesque church rebuilt in the second half of the 12th century. Tower (1100-50) decorated with arcatures. Long nave with aisles, of Poitevin type, whose first three bays carry Angevin vaults; choir with ambulatory; notable sculptured capitals.

**BIBLIOG.** Baronne Brincord, *Cunault: Ses chapiteaux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1937.

**Fontevrault.** Abbey founded in the 11th century. - Abbey church consecrated in 1119. Aisleless nave covered by four large cupolas on pendentives, the northernmost example of this vaulting system typical of Périgord; choir with ambulatory. Tombs of various Plantagenets: Henry II, Richard the Lion-Hearted, Eleanor of Aquitaine (late 12th cent.), among the oldest funerary monuments with recumbent figures. - Abbey buildings: Romanesque kitchen, octagonal in plan, originally with eight apsidioles (three have disappeared), each provided with a chimney; cloister and chapter house of the 16th century, the latter with a remarkable door (1543). - Outside the abbey, cemetery chapel of Ste-Catherine (1225), square in plan, with ribbed vaults and high central lantern of the 15th century.

**BIBLIOG.** L. Bosseboeuf, *Fontevrault*, Tours 1890.

**Saumur.** Site of an important monastery. The city passed to the French crown in the 12th century. - Chapel of St-Jean, with vaults of Angevin type (12th-13th cent.). - Church of Notre-Dame-de-Nantilly. Romanesque nave and apse (early 12th cent.); transept and south aisle in late Gothic style (15th cent.). - Castle overlooking the Loire, trapezoidal in plan, with polygonal angle towers (13th cent.); rebuilt in the late 14th century, altered in the 16th. Inner courtyard with stair turrets. Seat of the Musée d'Arts Décoratifs (medieval and Renaissance objects). - On Offard Island, Maison de la Reine de Sicile, with a sculptured wooden gable (15th cent.). - Town Hall, in flamboyant style, with corbeled octagonal turrets and machicolations (early 16th cent.). - Ecole de Cavalerie, by M. de la Voglie (1768). - Bridge of the 18th century. - In the environs, Church of Notre-Dame-des-Ardilliers, heavily damaged by fire in 1940. A rotunda with cupola (1656-95) precedes the nave.

**BIBLIOG.** Angers, Saumur, I, 1901, p. 3; H. Landais, *Saumur et sa région*, Saumur, 1959.

**Serrant.** Magnificent château rebuilt in 1546 after the designs of Philibert Delorme, in Renaissance style; altered in the 17th century. Includes three rectangular wings flanked by cupola-covered angle towers. Chapel in the style of J. Hardouin Mansart, with a monumental tomb of the Marquis and Marquise de Vaubrun, by A. Coy-

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 170

**Touraine.** Department of Indre-et-Loire. Very early the region became an art center of major importance, partly owing to the presence of the rich Abbey of St-Martin de Tours (Carolingian miniatures). It preserves numerous vestiges of pre-Romanesque churches and some of the oldest monuments of medieval military architecture (Langais). Romanesque churches show derivation from Poitevin types; early Gothic ones are generally covered with Angevin vaults. As early as 1239 the style of the great cathedrals manifested itself in Tours. A great artistic flowering took place in the late Middle Ages as Touraine became the favorite residence of the kings of France (Loire school, with Fouquet's paintings and Michel Colombe's sculptures). As a result, the Renaissance, too, found a particularly favorable environment in Touraine from the end of the 15th century (Amboise). Some of the most famous châteaux of the Loire were built during the reign of Francis I (Azay-le-Rideau, Chenonceau). The art of the 17th and 18th centuries is not so well represented.

**BIBLIOG.** C. de Grandmaison, *Tours archéologique*, Paris, 1870; H. Guerlin, *Les Châteaux de Touraine*, Paris, 1920; A. Hallays, *La Touraine*, Paris, 1930; R. Ranjard, *La Touraine archéologique*, Tours, 1930; G. Plat, *L'Art de bâtir en France des Romains à l'an 1100*, Paris, 1930. Tours, CAF, 1948.

**Amboise.** Christianized in the 4th century; fortified for some time already before it passed under royal dominion in 1434. - Church of St-Denis, with Angevin vaults and capitals showing animal and

plant motifs (12th cent.). - Château, partly destroyed, in flamboyant style, with early Renaissance decorative elements of 1496 and later. Main components: wing facing the Loire (1491), with towers and gallery; Louis XII wing, with round turrets; Tour des Minimes, with a spiral ramp; the Gothic Chapel of St-Hubert (1493), whose façade is decorated with a high relief representing the vision of the saint. - Town Hall, in Renaissance style (early 16th cent.). - Near Amboise, the small château of Clos-Lucé, in brick and stone (late 15th cent.), where Leonardo da Vinci died. - In the Forest of Chanteloup, Orientalizing pagoda of six stories by L.-D. Le Camus (1775-78).

**BIBLIOG.** L. Bosseboeuf, *Amboise: Le Château, la ville et le canton*, Tours, 1897; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 37; F. Lesueur, *Les Châteaux d'Amboise*, Paris, 1935; P. de Vaisière, *Le Château d'Amboise*, Paris, 1935.

**Azay-le-Rideau.** Church with portions that may be pre-Romanesque (decoratively patterned masonry). - Magnificent château (1518-20), already Italianate in taste, with a straight staircase, one of the earliest in France.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 51; C. Terrasse, *L'Art des châteaux de la Loire*, Paris, 1927, p. 120; P.-M. Auzas, CAF, Tours, 1948, p. 278; G.-M. Chauveau, *The Château of Azay-le-Rideau*, Paris, n.d.

**Beaulieu-lès-Loches.** Of the Romanesque abbey church consecrated in 1007 there subsist walls of the nave and portions of the transept; a 12th-century bell tower with stone spire also survives. The present edifice, utilizing parts of the Romanesque one, was built after the Hundred Years' War. Inside, a Virgin of Sorrows, of wood (15th cent.). - Church of St-Laurent, with elegant Angevin vaults (13th cent.).

**BIBLIOG.** J. Vallery-Radot, *Tours, CAF*, 1948, p. 126.

**Candeau.** Large church probably erected on the spot where St. Martin died. Choir with aisles, 12th century; nave and aisles (whose axis deviates from that of the choir), 13th century, covered with Angevin vaults. Lateral north porch with a central pillar statuary on the theme of the Last Judgment, the most notable example of Gothic sculpture in Touraine (late 13th cent.).

**BIBLIOG.** Angers, Saumur, I, CAF, 1910, p. 39.

**Champigny-sur-Veude.** Splendid château of the Bourbon family, of which there subsist the 16th-century entrance pavilion, in Renaissance style, and the chapel. Chapel (1507-94) with an aisleless nave decorated with heraldic emblems; porch with Corinthian and Ionic orders; external arcaded galleries along the sides; large stained glass windows (1543) with representations of the Bourbons.

**BIBLIOG.** L. Bosseboeuf, *Le Château et la Sainte-Chapelle de Champigny-sur-Veude*, Tours, 1881; E. Pépin, *Champigny-sur-Veude et Richelieu*, Paris, 1928.

**Chenonceau.** One of the first Renaissance châteaux in France (PL. 398; VIII, PL. 437), in the style of Chambord. Donjon of the 15th century, vestige of the fortress of the Marques family. Rectangular main structure (1513 ff.) with angle turrets, to which Philibert Delorme (1556-59) added a long two-storied building supported by five arches rising from the Cher River. Inside notable paintings and furnishings.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 81; C. Terrasse, *Le Château de Chenonceaux*, Paris, 1928.

**Chinon.** Celtic settlement; then Roman castrum; one of the chief French strongholds throughout the Middle Ages. - Church of St-Mexme, with a pre-Romanesque nave and a narthex of the 11th century surmounted by two Gothic towers. - Church of St-Maurice. Nave of the 12th century with Angevin vaults; south aisle added in the 16th century. Romanesque bell tower with high stone spire. - Church of St-Etienne (1477-83), with a flamboyant portal. - Large castle, about 435 yd. long and 75 yd. wide, that consisted of three contiguous fortresses. There subsist a Romanesque tower with Angevin vaults; numerous towers of the 13th century; remains of the Grand Logis, dating back mainly to Charles VII. - Many houses of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, often half-timbered. - Musée du Vieux Chinon.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Pépin, *Chinon*, Paris, 1924; R. Crozet, *Tours, CAF*, 1948, p. 342.

**Cravant.** Church with a 9th-century nave.

**BIBLIOG.** R. Crozet, *Tours, CAF*, 1948, p. 364.



**Langeais.** Castle comprising a rectangular Romanesque donjon, built in 994 by the count of Anjou Fulk Nerra, and an edifice of the reign of Louis XI with three big towers and well-preserved interior. Now constitutes a museum.

**BIBLIOG.** L. Boussebauf, *Langeais et son château*, Tours, 1893; F. Leaneur, Tours, CAF, 1948, p. 378.

**Le Liget.** Ruined charterhouse of which there survive a large portal in rococo style and the Chapel of St-Jean (12th cent.), circular in form, decorated with late Romanesque murals (scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin).

**BIBLIOG.** M. Thibout, Tours, CAF, 1948, p. 173.

**Loches.** The town grew around a fortified monastery. Castle with a 12th-century rectangular donjon and a curtain wall with round towers. In the courtyard, Church of St-Ours, with an 11th-century nave covered in the late 12th century with two pyramidal vaults; towers with spires surmounting the crossing and the façade; large Gothic porch. Logis Royal (14th-16th cent.), in flamboyant style, with a loggia facing the courtyard; in an adjoining tower, tomb of Agnès Sorel, a Burgundian work probably by Jacques Morel (15th cent.). - In the town, half-timbered houses (15th cent.) and Renaissance Town Hall (16th cent.) by Jean Baudouin (Beaudouin).

**BIBLIOG.** J. Valléry-Radot, Loches, Paris, 1954.

**Mettray.** In the neighborhood, exceptional dolmen 36 ft. long and 12 ft. high.

**Montrésor.** Former collegiate church (1520-30), containing the tomb of the Bastarnays with three recumbent effigies in marble (Loire school, early 16th cent.). - Castle comprising a double curtain wall with towers and a small château of the time of Louis XII.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Valléry-Radot, Tours, CAF, 1948, p. 198.

**Tavant.** Church of the late 11th century; crypt decorated with 12th-century frescoes.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Moyrand, *Les Fresques de l'église de Tavant*, Tours, 1938.

**Tours (anc. Caesardunum).** Capital of the Turoni about the beginning of our era; important bishopric and theological center throughout the Middle Ages; favorite residence of the kings of France. - Of the large double-aisled Basilica of St-Martin there subsist a tower forming a porch on the ground story (middle 11th-14th cent.) and the south tower of the façade (12th cent.). Cloister with Renaissance decorations, by Bastien François (1529). - St-Gatien, Gothic cathedral begun from the apse in 1246 after the plans of Etienne de Mortagne; completed in the 15th-16th century with the façade, whose towers were crowned in 1507 and 1547. Admirable series of stained-glass windows in the choir (second half of 13th cent.); tomb of the two sons of Charles VIII, with a sarcophagus in Renaissance style (1500-06) and recumbent figures and angels of the school of M. Colombe. Late Gothic cloister and chapter house (15th cent.). - Church of St-Julien (13th cent.), with a Romanesque tower. - Church of St-Saturnin (15th cent.), with a nave vaulted in wood. - Chapelle des Minimes (now Lycée chapel), of 1630, with rich woodwork. - Remains of Gallo-Roman wall, an amphitheater, and a circular monument, probably a temple. - Half-timbered and brick houses, 15th century. - Hôtel de Pierre de Puy (late 15th cent.), of brick and stone. - Hôtel Gouin (15th cent.), redone about 1520 in Renaissance style. - Fontaine de Beaune (1511), elegant structure executed from the designs of M. Colombe. - Former archiepiscopal palace (now mus.), of the early 17th century, enlarged in 1755 in classicizing style; portal of the late 18th century. - Fine stone bridge over the Loire by Bayeux (1765-79), opening on the semicircular Place Choiseul (18th cent.). - Musée Archéologique: Gallo-Roman, medieval, and Renaissance collections. - Musée des Beaux-Arts (in the former archiepiscopal palace); paintings by Rigaud, Largillière, Boucher; two predellas by Mantegna from S. Zeno in Verona. - Library with Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts. - In the environs, church of Saint-Symphorien (15th cent.), with Renaissance portal (1531). Remains of the château of Plessis-lès-Tours (PL. 390), in brick and stone (late 15th cent.).

**BIBLIOG.** C. de Grandmaison, *Tours archéologique*, Paris, 1879. P. Vitry, *Tours et les châteaux de Touraine*, Paris, 1905; F. Salet, *La Cathédrale de Tours*, Paris, 1949; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 682.

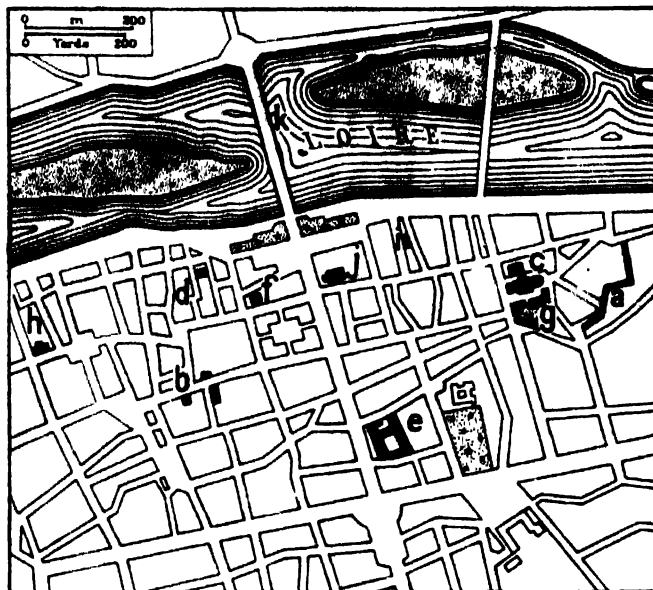
**Ussé.** Château of the 15th-16th century (altered in the 17th), with windows in flamboyant style and some Italian decorative ele-

ments; chapel of 1520-38, Gothic in structure, Italian Renaissance in ornamentation.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 172; J. Valléry-Radot, Tours, CAF, 1948, p. 326.

**Villandry.** Renaissance château with three wings around a courtyard, built about 1532 next to a square donjon of the 14th century. The 16th-century gardens have been reconstituted. Fine collection of Spanish paintings and sculptures.

**Orléanais.** Two regions are included here: Orléanais proper (dept. of Loiret) and Blésois (dept. of Loir-et-Cher); for Chartres and the surrounding area, see Ile-de-France. Carolingian architecture and the architecture of the 11th century have left precious relics at Germigny and Orléans. The greatest Romanesque monument of



Tours: city plan. (a) Remains of Gallo-Roman wall; (b) new Church of St-Martin and towers of the destroyed St-Martin; (c) Cathedral; (d) St-Saturnin; (e) Lycée and former Chapelle des Minimes; (f) Hôtel Gouin; (g) former archiepiscopal palace (Musée des Beaux-Arts); (h) Notre-Dame-la-Riche; (i) Musée Archéologique; (j) St-Julien; (k) stone bridge.

the region is the church of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire; exceptional cycles of Romanesque mural painting are preserved in the valley of the Loire. Gothic architecture was influenced alternately by Ile-de-France and Anjou. During the Renaissance the region shared in the great artistic flowering that produced the châteaux of the Loire (Blois). Representative of the art of the 17th and 18th centuries are the wing at Blois built by F. Mansart (under Louis XIII) and the urban planning in Orléans, in the style of J.-A. Gabriel.

**BIBLIOG.** Blois, CAF, 1925; Orléans, CAF, 1930.

**Beaugency.** Town on the Loire. - Church of Notre-Dame, influenced by Ile-de-France Gothic style of the 13th century; wooden vaults of the 17th century. - Rectangular donjon of the 11th century, one of the oldest in France. - Town Hall of about 1526. Fine panels of 17th-century embroidery.

**BIBLIOG.** Orléans, CAF, 1930, p. 322.

**Beauregard.** Château built about 1545, in the style of Serlio; later enlarged. The chapel (destroyed) was decorated with frescoes by Niccolò dell'Abate.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 53.

**Blois.** Of Merovingian origin; medieval county; favorite residence of French sovereigns throughout the Renaissance. - Church of St-Nicolas (formerly St-Lomer). Ambulatory, transept, and lantern, 1138-86; nave and aisles, façade and towers, about 1210. Monastery buildings in classicizing style (1669-1723). - Church of St-Saturnin. Vestiges of an 11th-century structure; entirely rebuilt from the 15th

to the 17th century. Portals in flamboyant style (16th cent.). Renaissance side chapel (1528). Cemetery of St-Saturnin, with timber-roofed galleries (16th cent.). - Cathedral of St-Louis, begun about 1520, incorporating a Romanesque tower. Reconstruction, begun in 1679, characterized by persistence of Gothic style. - Church of St-Vincent-de-Paul (former Jesuit church), in classicizing style but with Gothic features, built after the plans of Father E. Martellange (1626-71). - The château, at the confluence of the Loire and the Arrou, is a complex of buildings of various periods, disposed around an irregular courtyard. Some towers of the curtain wall and the Salle des Etats, with a central row of columns and wooden vaults, are of the 13th century. A new wing of brick and stone, with arcaded gallery, was begun in 1440 under Charles d'Orléans. The wing that provides the entrance to the château was built under Louis XII (1498-1503); also of brick and stone, with flamboyant decorations, it has an arcaded gallery (already in Renaissance style) facing the courtyard and an equestrian statue of the king (redone) over the portal. In 1519 Francis I, with the help of various architects, among them Jacques Sourdeau and perhaps Domenico da Cortona, began the great adjacent wing in a style inspired by the Lombard Renaissance; the exterior façade has two upper stories of loggias; the courtyard façade has a projecting spiral staircase in an octagonal cage. Finally under Gaston d'Orléans, during the reign of Louis XIII, a general reconstruction in classicizing style was undertaken after the designs of F. Mansart; only the southwest wing, housing a monumental stair well was completed. The apartments, which have been restored, shelter an important collection of paintings. - Hôtel d'Alluye (ca. 1508), built in imitation of the Louis XII wing of the château. Toward the courtyard, galleries decorated with medallions. - Hôtel Sardini, of the early Renaissance. Oratory with remarkable murals. - Former episcopal palace (now Town Hall), after the plans of Jacques Gabriel (early 18th cent.).

BIBLIOG. F. Lesueur, *L'Evêché de Blois*, Blois, 1909; F. and P. Lesueur, *Le Château de Blois*, Paris, 1914-21; F. Lesueur, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 9; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 55.

Chambord. One of the most important châteaux of the Loire valley (PL. 398), begun in 1519 under Francis I. Rectangular plan (512 x 384 ft.); big cylindrical angle towers; massive central main building containing a magnificent staircase (I, PL. 387) in the form of a double helix and crowned with dormer windows, chimneys, spires, and lantern turrets. Ornamentation inspired by the Lombard Renaissance.

BIBLIOG. F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 68; P. Schommer, *Le Château de Chambord*, Paris, 1958; H. Guerlin, *Le Château de Chambord*, Paris, n.d.

Chaumont-sur-Loire. Château, square in plan, composed of three wings (the fourth is destroyed): a Gothic one (1465-81) with a big angle tower; two of the early 16th century, with an entrance gate fortified by two towers at the angle where these wings meet. Early example of decoration in the Italian manner.

BIBLIOG. L. Basseboeuf, *Le Château de Chaumont*, Tours, 1906; F. Lesueur, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 454; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 79.

Cheverny. Château built in a vast park by the architect Jacques Boyer about 1634. Square pavilions with domes linked by two wings to a central structure. Grand staircase ornamented with bas-reliefs. Interior: tapestries, wood paneling with paintings by a native of Blois Jean Mosnier (1640-56). Orangery of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 480; M. Blancher-Le Bourhis, *Le Château de Cheverny*, Paris, 1950.

Cléry. Basilica of Notre-Dame (ca. 1449-85), vast and harmonious edifice built mainly under the auspices of Louis XI, who was buried there (1483); statue of the king by Michel Bourdin (1617), replacing one destroyed by the Huguenots; Chapel of St-Jacques (1518), in Renaissance style.

BIBLIOG. L. Jarry, *Histoire de Cléry et de l'église collégiale et chapelle royale de Notre-Dame de Cléry*, Orléans, 1899.

Germigny-des-Prés. Church, the most important Carolingian monument in France (III, PLs. 50, 51), built in the late 8th century by the Visigoth Theodulf, counselor of Charlemagne, and reconstructed in the 19th century. Central plan; originally four apses. In the main apse, mosaic with a blue ground representing the ark of the covenant. Remains of stucco wall decoration.

BIBLIOG. J. Hubert, *Orléans*, CAF, 1930, p. 534; A. Khatchatrian, *Notes sur l'architecture de l'église de Germigny-des-Prés*, Cahiers Archéologiques, 1954, p. 161.

Gien. Château, called Anne de Beaujeu's (1494-1500), with walls of red and black bricks forming a lozenge pattern. - Large stone bridge of the 16th century over the Loire.

BIBLIOG. M. Beaulieu, *Petits hôtels de la Renaissance classique à Gien*, B. Monumental, 1937, p. 219.

Lavardin. Village with old houses. - Church of St-Genest, of the 11th century. Nave with square piers and a wooden vault. Murals of the 12th century: Last Judgment and Baptism of Christ. - Church of St-Gildéric (1037-47), in ruins. - Remains of a large Gothic castle with a rectangular donjon of the Romanesque period.

BIBLIOG. Abbé Plat, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 315.

Ménars. Château begun in 1646, continued by J.-A. Gabriel and J.-G. Soufflot about 1764. Rectangular structure with lateral pavilions. Splendid French park.

BIBLIOG. F. Lesueur, *Ménars: Le Château, les jardins*, Paris, 1913; J. Chavigny, *Le Château de Ménars*, Paris, 1954.

Montargis. Church of the Madeleine. Gothic nave with aisles (13th cent.); fine Renaissance choir with ambulatory and chapels (1540-1608), perhaps by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau. - Town Hall with museum of paintings; in the garden, series of mullioned windows of the 12th century (from a demolished house).

BIBLIOG. E. Jarry, *Orléans*, CAF, 1930, p. 190.

Montoire. Romanesque Chapel of St-Gilles, on a trilobed plan; in the three apsidal half domes, famous 12th-century frescoes.

BIBLIOG. Abbé Plat, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 293; R. Gérard, *Saint-Gilles de Montoire*, Paris, 1935.

Orléans. On the emplacement of the Gallic city of Cenabum, conquered by Caesar in 52 B.C.; bishopric from the 3d century; important political center during the Middle Ages (councils and coronations); besieged by the English during the Hundred Years' War; several times occupied by the Huguenots in the 16th century. Notwithstanding heavy damages sustained during World War II, the city retains an 18th-century aspect. - Church of St-Aignan. Crypt with ambulatory belonging to a church of 980-1020; upper church in flamboyant style. - Cathedral of Ste-Croix, begun with the apse in 1287 on the emplacement of two previous edifices; building continued until the 18th century. Façade with two towers by Jacques Gabriel and L.-F. Trouard. Woodwork in the choir (1702-06) designed by Gabriel and carved by Jules Deguillons. - Church of St-Euverte, begun about 1170; rebuilt in the 15th century, revaulted in the 17th. - Church of Notre-Dame-de-Recoissance (1513-19), one of the first Renaissance churches in France. - Remains of a late imperial city wall. - House where Joan of Arc lived in 1429 (badly damaged during the war). - Salle des Thèses, former university library with cross-rib vaulting (late 15th cent.). - Former town hall (1503-13), with Renaissance features. - Houses dating from the reigns of Francis I and Henry II. - Cemetery of the 16th century, with a monumental portal and timber-roofed galleries. - The heart of the city owes its appearance to urban planning dating from the reign of Louis XV. A square with pavilions leads into an arcade-bordered street (partly rebuilt after the war), designed by J. Hupeau, who also planned the bridge over the Loire (1751-58) that prolongs the street. - Musée Historique: magnificent ancient bronzes, including the famed Gallo-Roman boar discovered at Neuvi-en-Sullias. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: bust of Chancellor de Morvilliers by G. Pilon; French works of the 18th century: Boucher, Drouais, Perroneau, busts by Jean Pigalle. - Library with Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts from Saint-Benoit.

BIBLIOG. G. Cheneveau, *Sainte-Croix d'Orléans*, 3 vols., Paris, 1921; P. Vitry, *Le Musée d'Orléans*, Paris, 1922; Orléans, CAF, 1930, p. 9; F. Lesueur, *Saint-Aignan d'Orléans*, B. Monumental, 1937, p. 169.

Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher. Church of the 12th century, partly Romanesque in character but with Gothic vaults; sculptured capitals. - Houses of the 14th to 16th century. - Renaissance Town Hall. - Château rebuilt in the 16th century under the Beauvilliers.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, *Blois*, CAF, 1925, p. 378.

Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire. Abbey church, one of the most important Romanesque monuments in France, begun in 1065. Porch, surmounted by a tower, with sculptured capitals. Deep choir with aisles, over a crypt of the second half of the 11th century; apse with

ambulatory; nave and aisles of the mid-12th century. North side portal with 13th-century sculptures (tympanum, statue-columns). In the choir, tomb of Philip I; fine stalls (1413) in the nave.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, Orléans, CAF, 1930, p. 560; J. Banchereau, L'Eglise de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et Germigny-des-Prés, Paris, 1930; G. Cheneau, L'Abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Paris, 1931.

Sully-sur-Loire. Vast castle comprising buildings of various periods. Donjon of the late 14th century, rectangular structure with a steep pointed roof, four round angle towers, and a fortified entrance. Perpendicular to the donjon, long wing consisting of two buildings (one of the 16th-17th cent., the other modern) connected by an entrance pavilion.

BIBLIOG. M. Dumolin, Orléans, CAF, 1930, p. 657.

Vendôme. Church of the Trinité. Romanesque transept with Angevin vaults; isolated 12th-century bell tower with spire; nave of the 15th century with clerestory; imposing flamboyant façade. Choir stalls of the 15th century; Renaissance choir screen; stained glass of the 12th and 13th centuries. - Abbey guesthouse of the 13th century. - City gate of the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. Blois, CAF, 1925, p. 240; G. Plat, L'Eglise de la Trinité de Vendôme, Paris, 1934.

Berry. Departments of Cher and Indre. Served by the great crossroads of Avaricum (Bourges), capital of Aquitania Prima, the region enjoyed considerable importance in the Gallo-Roman period. The numerous Romanesque churches follow the Benedictine plan or belong to a type that fused characteristics of northern and southern architecture. In the 13th century the Gothic Cathedral of Bourges was one of the major centers of dissemination of the Ile-de-France style. In the late 14th century and in the early 15th the patronage of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, and of Charles VII stimulated a great artistic development; many private residences date from then.

BIBLIOG. G. Hardy and A. Gandillon, Bourges et les abbayes et châteaux du Berry, 2d ed., Paris, 1926; Baron Hennequin de Goutel, Châteaux de la Loire, 2e du Berry, Paris, 1930; E. Hubert, Le Bas Berry, Paris, 1930. Bourges, CAF, 1931; R. Crozet, L'Art roman en Berry, Paris, 1932; F. Deshoulières, Les Eglises de France: Cher, Paris, 1932; S. Pajot, La Sculpture en Berry à la fin du Moyen Âge, Issoudun, 1942; H. Soulange-Bodin, Châteaux du Berry, Paris, 1946.

Bourges (anc. Avaricum). Capital of the Bituriges; a bishopric from the 3d century. Under the dukes of Berry it became an art center renowned throughout Europe. The old town preserves the regular Roman plan and considerable portions of the Gallo-Roman wall with brick coursing (4th cent.); houses have been erected over certain sections of it. - Cathedral of St-Etienne, begun about 1190. Nave with double aisles (I, PL. 386); no transept; large crypt. Main façade with five portals; in the central tympanum, grandiose Last Judgment (IV, PL. 464); left portion of façade and north tower rebuilt in 1508-24. On the portals of the lateral façades (vestiges of an anterior Romanesque edifice), statue-columns of the second half of the 12th century. Famous set of stained-glass windows of the 13th century (VI, PL. 290) (in the choir [VI, PL. 297], large figures of prophets and apostles; in the ambulatory and apsidal chapels, episodes from sacred history) and of the 15th (in the side chapels, figures under architectural canopies from the workshops of Jean de Berry and figures of donors of the end of the century). In the crypt, recumbent statue of Jean de Berry by Jean de Cambrai, transferred from the destroyed palace chapel. - Church of St-Pierre-le-Guillard, of Burgundian type (13th-14th cent.). - Hôtel Jacques Cœur (PL. 381), outstanding example of Gothic secular architecture (1443-51), erected on remains of the Gallo-Roman wall. Big courtyard with arcades and stair turrets decorated with anecdotal sculpture. Large rooms with monumental chimney pieces; wooden vaulting in the form of an inverted keel. Chapel vault painted with angels in the style of Fouquet. - Many late Gothic and Renaissance houses, including half-timbered ones. - Hôtel des Echevins, late 15th century. - Hôtel Lallemant, in Gothic style, with Renaissance decorative elements (early 16th cent.). - In the Hôtel Jacques Cœur, important collection of medieval paintings and sculptures, including remains of the rood screen (13th cent.) of the Cathedral and figures of mourners from the tomb of Jean de Berry (15th cent.). - Musée du Berry, in the Hôtel Cujas (1515); pre-Roman and Gallo-Roman objects; collection of paintings.

BIBLIOG. A.-T. de Girardot, Histoire et inventaire du trésor de la cathédrale de Bourges, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de France, XXIV, 1850; A. Boinet, La Cathédrale de Bourges, Paris, 1911; P. Gauchery and A. de Grosaouvre, Notre vieux Bourges, Bourges, 1912; Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 9. A. Saint-Supéry, Saint-Etienne de Bourges, Nevers, 1954.

Brinay. Church with Romanesque frescoes related to Anglo-Norman art, representing the life of Christ and the labors of the months.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 346.

Châteaumeillant. Site of a walled Gallic *oppidum*. - Church of St-Genès, 12th century. Nave with aisles; east end of Benedictine type with an apse and six apsidioles.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 225.



Bourges: plan of the center of the city. (a) Remains of Gallo-Roman wall; (b) outline of medieval wall; (c) Cathedral; (d) St-Pierre-le-Guillard; (e) Ecole des Beaux-Arts; (f) Hôtel Lallemant; (g) Hôtel Cujas, with the Musée du Berry; (h) Town Hall; (i) Hôtel Jacques Cœur.

Déols. Seat of an abbey. - Scanty remains of the 12th-century abbey church: high bell tower with stone spire; fragments of a carved tympanum in the lapidary museum of Châteauroux.

BIBLIOG. J. Hubert, L'Abbatiale Notre-Dame de Déols, B. Monumental, 1927, p. 5; J. Hubert, L'Abbaye de Déols et les constructions monastiques de la fin de l'époque carolingienne, Cahiers Archéologiques, 1937, p. 155.

Henrichemont. City founded by Sully in 1608, built according to a regular plan by S. de Brosse. Central square with eight radiating streets.

BIBLIOG. C. Gauchery, L'Architecture en Berry sous le règne de Henri IV..., Mémoires de l'Union des sociétés savantes de Bourges, 1949-50, p. 77.

Issoudun. Medieval stronghold. - Cylindrical donjon (Tour Blanche) of the time of Philip Augustus (1202). - Late Gothic belfry and hospital; in the latter, hall decorated with two monumental trees of Jesse in high relief.

BIBLIOG. J. Jugand, Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu d'Issoudun, Issoudun, 1881; A. Chevalier, Issoudun, Issoudun, 1934.

Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Church of the 11th-12th century with a modern wooden vault; 15th-century chapel. - Ruins of a castle sumptuously rebuilt by Jean de Berry (1367-90); reproduced in the *Très Riches Heures* of Chantilly.

BIBLIOG. A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry, Paris, 1894; Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 329.

**Meillant.** Castle of the 14th century, transformed in flamboyant style, with Renaissance elements, by Charles II d'Amboise (1500-10). Polygonal stair turrets.

BIBLIOG. M. Dumolin, Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 154.

**Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre.** Church of the 11th century consisting of a nave and a rotunda encircled by an aisle, in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem; capitals with foliage and figures.

BIBLIOG. R. Michel-Dansac, Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 521.

**Noirlac.** Abbey, one of the finest existing examples of Cistercian architecture. Large church with a straight east end (1150-13th cent.); chapter house, refectory, storehouse, 12th-13th century; cloister, 15th century.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, Bourges, CAF, 1931, p. 175. R. Crozet, *L'Abbaye de Noirlac et l'architecture cistercienne en Berry*, Paris, 1932.

**Valençay.** Vast château. North wing with a square donjon (ca. 1540) in the center; towers with domes; west wing of the 17th century with gallery; courtyard of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, *Le Château de Valençay*, Paris, 1930.

**Vic (or Vicq).** In the church, imposing series of 12th-century murals in Languedocian style, with a rich iconographic program (Christ as judge, kings, prophets, Virtues and Vices, life of Christ, crucifixion of St. Peter).

BIBLIOG. J. Hubert, Bourges, CAF, p. 556.

**Bourbonnais.** Department of Allier. This region, where influences from Burgundy and Auvergne mingle, is rich in Romanesque churches. In the late Middle Ages, under the dukes of Bourbon, it became a notable art center.

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913; Allier, CAF, 1938; M. Génémont and P. Pradel, *Les Eglises de France: Allier*, Paris, 1938.

**Bourbon-l'Archambault.** Of Gallic origin; Roman watering place; cradle of the Bourbon family and capital of their fief. - Romanesque church with a portal showing Burgundian influence. - Castle, in ruins, with three cylindrical towers of the 13th century (raised in the 14th) connected by a curtain wall; high lookout tower of the 14th century. - Royal bathing establishment (early 17th cent.), now occupied by a museum of folk art.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, *Souigny et Bourbon-l'Archambault*, 2d ed., Paris, 1935. P. Gélis-Didot, *Le Château de Bourbon-l'Archambault*, Moulins, 1947.

**Châtel-Montagne.** Former priory dependent on Cluny. - Romanesque church (12th cent.), with a vast porch; nave with aisles and false triforium; deep choir with ambulatory; central bell tower.

BIBLIOG. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 391.

**Châtelay (anc. Corde).** Site of a Gallo-Roman *oppidum*. - Church of the 12th century with barrel vaulting. Apse decorated with an arcature; on the vault, painting of Christ among the Evangelists (13th cent.?).

BIBLIOG. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 176.

**Ebreuil.** Former abbey church. Porch surmounted by bell tower, 12th century; nave, 11th century; choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France; murals of the 12th and 15th centuries.

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 100.

**Gannat.** Town built on an approximately circular plan. At its center, Ste-Croix, Gothic church with portions dating from the 12th century (apse and part of transept); nave with aisles and false triforium, 13th century; side chapels, 15th-16th century; in the treasury, Carolingian Gospel book. - Church of St-Etienne, built in several campaigns in the Romanesque period. Remains of fortifications and a castle with curtain wall and four angle towers (15th cent.). - Houses of the 15th and 16th centuries.

BIBLIOG. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 304.

**Hérissou.** Ruins of a castle of the 13th-14th century. - Remains of the medieval city wall and gates. - Houses of the 15th and 16th centuries, such as the Hôtel Mousse and the so-called "Synagogue."

BIBLIOG. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 184.

**Huriel.** Romanesque church of Notre-Dame (12th cent.), once dependent on the Abbey of Déols. Porch; wide nave with an open timber roof; octagonal central bell tower; apse and apsidioles. - Rectangular donjon of the 12th century.

BIBLIOG. P. Pradel, *Saint-Désiré et Huriel*, Moulins, 1935; Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 43.

**Lapalisse.** Renaissance château with Gothic portions; tapestries of the late 15th century; chapel of the mid-15th century with funerary statues of the Chabannes.

BIBLIOG. R. de Quirielle, *Le Château de La Palisse*, Moulins, 1904.

**Montluçon.** City of feudal origin, until the 16th century part of the direct domain of the Bourbons. - Church of St-Pierre, 12th century. Aisleless nave with timber covering; east end with apse and apsidioles. Fine stone statue of the Magdalen (15th cent.). Church of Notre-Dame, with a choir of the 14th century. *Pietà* (15th cent.) and polyptych with scenes from the life of the Virgin (early 16th cent.). - Castle incorporating a building of the 15th-16th century with a polygonal turret and two rectangular towers (houses a ceramic mus.).

BIBLIOG. J. Clément and P. Pradel, *Montluçon et ses richesses d'art*, Montluçon, 1932.

**Moulins.** Its development began with the establishment of the duchy of Bourbon (1327), of which it became the capital in the late 15th century. - Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Remarkable choir (1468-1507) in flamboyant style with an interesting rectangular ambulatory. Nave and façade built in the 19th century. Stained glass (15th-16th cent.) with portraits of the dukes of Bourbon. Famous triptych by the anonymous painter known as the Master of Moulins (1498). - Church of St-Pierre, in flamboyant style. - Chapel of the former Convent of the Visitation, by Claude Collignon (1648-55), containing the mausoleum of Henry II de Montmorency (1652) by F. Anguier, T. Regnaudin, and Thibault Poissant; in an adjoining room, paintings in the style of Le Sueur. - Of the castle there subsists a square donjon of the 14th century and the fine Pavillon of Anne de Beaujeu, with an arcaded gallery, one of the first expressions of the Renaissance in France (late 15th cent.). The pavilion houses the Musée Départementale et Municipal, with Gallo-Roman statues, medieval sculptures, and the 12th-century Bible of Souigny with miniatures. - Half-timbered houses of the 15th century; Renaissance houses. - Belfry of 1455; upper portion rebuilt in 1655; clock with automata. - Former Jesuit college (now Courthouse), in brick and stone (1656). - Mansions of the 18th century (Prefecture). - Monumental city gate of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. J. Locquin, *Nevers et Moulins*, Paris, 1913; J. Clément, *La Cathédrale de Moulins*, Moulins, 1923; A. Guy, *La Cathédrale de Moulins*, Moulins, 1950.

**Néris-les-Bains (anc. Aquae Neri).** Roman watering place, preserves remains of a theater and of three pools. - Romanesque on late imperial foundations, with an octagonal central bell tower.

BIBLIOG. M. Prou and F. Deshoulières, *L'Eglise de Néris*, B. Monumental, 1922, p. 72. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 9; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 910.

**Saint-Désiré.** Romanesque church of Poitevin type (11th-12th cent.). High nave and aisles; apse raised over a crypt and connected with the choir by stairs; four apsidioles.

BIBLIOG. P. Pradel, *Saint-Désiré et Huriel*, Moulins, 1935.

**Saint-Menoux.** Town clustered around a Romanesque church of Burgundian style, with a narthex of the 11th century; nave with aisles; square central bell tower; choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels; fine capitals.

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 24; Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 105.

**Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule.** Site of a Burgundian abbey of the 6th century. - Church of Ste-Croix. Narthex of the 10th century with a modern façade; choir, on a deviating axis, with ambulatory

and chapels (12th and 14th cents.); nave with triforium and a timber vault, redone in the late Middle Ages. Cloister of the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. J. Clément, *L'Eglise de Saint-Pourcain*, B. de la Société d'émulation... du Bourbonnais, 1907, p. 467; P. Pradel, *L'Apparition de l'art gothique en Bourbonnais*, B. Monumental, 1936, p. 402.

Souvigny. Former priory dependent on the Abbey of Cluny; famous pilgrimage center preserving the tombs of SS. Mayeul and Odilon. — Priory church of St-Pierre, 11th–12th and 15th centuries. Nave with double aisles; two transepts; choir with ambulatory and chapels; nave and choir vaults redone about 1450; façade of the 15th century; funerary chapels (15th cent.) of the dukes of Bourbon: the southern one with the tomb of Louis II de Bourbon (d. 1410), the northern one with that of Charles I de Bourbon (d. 1456) by Jacques Morel. Remains of the cloister, 15th–16th century. Entrance to the priory, 1690. In the lapidary museum, Romanesque column with signs of the zodiac. — Church of St-Marc, in the Romanesque style of Burgundy.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, *Souvigny et Bourbon-l'Archambault*, 2d ed., Paris, 1935.

Vichy (anc. Aquae Calidae). Its waters were known already in Roman times. It was fortified in the 10th century. — Church of St-Blaise, of the 12th century, heavily altered. — Tower of the 14th-century city wall. — Pavillon Sévigné, in brick and stone (17th cent.; in great part restored). — Bathhouses of the 19th century.

BIBLIOG. A. Mallat, *Vichy à travers les siècles*, 2 vols., Vichy, 1890–94.

Auvergne. Departments of Puy-de-Dôme and Cantal. The region was artistically important already in the Celtic era (Gergovia) and under the Romans (pottery of Lezoux). Lower Auvergne developed a particular type of Romanesque church. In Upper Auvergne the styles of Poitou and Languedoc were disseminated. Gothic art, first appearing in the late 12th century, triumphed in the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand, one of the cathedrals due to Jean Deschamps. In the 15th and 16th centuries half-timbered and stone houses and mansions were built in great number.

BIBLIOG. A. de Rochemonteix, *Les Eglises romanes de la Haute-Auvergne*, Paris, 1902; Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913; Clermont-Ferrand, CAF, 1924; P. Balme, *Eglises romanes d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1955.

Aurillac. Church of St-Géraud, rebuilt in 1643, interesting example of the survival of the Gothic style; completed in the 19th century. — Houses of the 12th and 13th centuries. — Important museum of painting and sculpture.

BIBLIOG. R. Grand, *Recherches sur l'art roman à Aurillac*, Aurillac, 1907; A. Durand, *Aurillac*, Aurillac, 1946.

Clermont-Ferrand (anc. Augustonemetum). Very important Gallo-Roman center (see GALLO-ROMAN ART), capital of the Arverni; bishopric from the 4th century. — Remains of an ancient temple. — Church of Notre-Dame-du-Port, typical example of the regional Romanesque style, built about 1170, with galleries, ambulatory, central bell tower side portal with sculptural decoration (late 12th cent.); remarkable capitals adorned with figures. — Cathedral of Notre-Dame, begun in 1248 by Jean Deschamps with the choir and ambulatory; continued during the 14th century; completed by Viollet-le-Duc with a façade surmounted by two towers with spires. Stained glass of the 13th century. — St-Pierre-des-Minimes, with a dome (1630). — Fountain of Jacques d'Amboise (1515), with Renaissance decoration. — Hôtels de Fontfeyde, Savaron, etc., of the early 16th century. — Musée Du Ranquet (in the Hôtel de Fontfeyde): folk art. — Musée Bargoin (or des Beaux-Arts): archaeological collections; paintings.

BIBLIOG. H. Du Ranquet, *La Cathédrale de Clermont*, 2d ed., Paris, 1928.

Effiat. Château rebuilt under Antoine Coëffier (1627). Monumental portal; façade with pilasters; *cour d'honneur*. Rooms adorned with paintings and monumental chimney pieces. French park.

BIBLIOG. P. Balme, *Une Demeure historique: Effiat*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1954.

Issoire (anc. Isiodorum). Church of St-Paul, in the Romanesque style of the region, with galleries, ambulatory, central bell tower, crypt, capitals with figures; façade of the 19th century.

BIBLIOG. C. Terrasse, *Clermont-Ferrand*, CAF, 1924, p. 80; H. and L. Du Ranquet, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Saint-Austremoine d'Issoire*, B. Monumental, 1935, p. 277.

Mauriac. Romanesque Church of Notre-Dame-des-Miracles. Octagonal central bell tower. Façade with two towers; on the tympanum, Ascension in Languedocian style. On the south flank, medieval funerary lantern.

BIBLIOG. P. Quarré, *Le Portail de Mauriac*, B. Monumental, 1939, p. 129.

Montferrand. Rebuilt according to a regular plan in the late 12th century, it preserves one of the finest groups of Gothic and Renaissance houses in France. — Church of Notre-Dame (late 14th cent.), of the southern type, with wide aisleless nave and side chapels. — Houses of the 12th–13th century with mullioned windows. — Mansions of the early 16th century with late Gothic and Renaissance courtyards, galleries, stair wells open to the exterior; decoration frequently Italianate.

BIBLIOG. H. Du Ranquet, *Les Vieilles pierres de Montferrand*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1936.

Mozac. Abbey founded about 681. — Church of St-Pierre, with a façade tower of the 11th century; nave and aisles, 12th century; choir and choir stalls, 15th century. Reliquary of St. Calmin, Limousin enamel work of the mid-12th century. — Remains of the abbey buildings (12th cent.; rebuilt in the 15th and 16th).

BIBLIOG. J. Bonnet, *Mozac*, Annonay, 1952.

Murol (or Murois). Castle of the 12th century with a vast polygonal curtain wall; rebuilt in the late 14th century by Pierre Celeyrol; reinforced with bastions in the 16th century. Two chapels near the circular donjon.

BIBLIOG. A. du Halgouët, *Clermont-Ferrand*, CAF, 1924, p. 208.

Orcival. Romanesque church of the mid-12th century; central bell tower slightly later. Choir over a spacious crypt. Seated Virgin (12th cent.), of wood with silver leaf.

BIBLIOG. H. Du Ranquet, *Clermont-Ferrand*, CAF, 1924, p. 384.

Riom. Site of a famous collegiate church in the 11th century; during the Middle Ages, capital of the duchy of Auvergne. — Church of St-Amable. Nave, aisles, and transept of the regional type, 12th century; apse of the early 13th century, showing Gothic influences from Ile-de-France. — Church of Notre-Dame-du-Marthuret. Wide nave with side chapels, late 14th century; fine Gothic façade, 15th century. Famous sculpture of the 15th century: *Virgin and Child with Bird*. — Ste-Chapelle, attached to the Courthouse, sole remnant of a castle of Jean de Berry, begun in 1376 by Guy de Dammartin. Stained glass of the 15th century. — Maison des Consuls, 1527–31. Façade with gallery and medallions of Italian inspiration. — Musée Francisque Mandet: important collection of paintings.

BIBLIOG. G. Desdèviès Du Dezert and L. Bréhier, *Riom, Mozac, Tournon*, Paris, 1932; Y. Thiéry, *Hôtels et maisons de la Renaissance à Riom*, B. Monumental, 1935, p. 435.

Royat. Romanesque Church of St-Léger, with aisleless nave and fortifications; capitals of the 10th century in the crypt. — Large cross with sculptures (1486).

BIBLIOG. G. Desdèviès Du Dezert and L. Bréhier, *Clermont-Ferrand*, Royat, Paris, 1910; H. Du Ranquet, *Clermont-Ferrand*, CAF, 1924, p. 362.

Saint-Flour. Important cathedral of the 13th–14th century, without decoration. Wooden Christ of the 15th century. — Houses of the 15th and 16th centuries. — Hôtel des Consuls, of the Renaissance. — Former episcopal palace of the 17th century.

BIBLIOG. A. Bouhounelle, *Saint-Flour et ses environs*, Paris, 1930.

Saint-Nectaire. Romanesque church of the regional type. Narthex with gallery. Façade with two towers. Romanesque seated Virgin of polychromed wood.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, *Clermont-Ferrand*, CAF, 1924, p. 265.

Thiers. Church of Le Moûtier. Remains of the 10th-century apse and 11th-century choir; nave of the mid-12th century with aisles and modern barrel vaulting. — Church of St-Genès, 12th century. Narthex; wide nave without galleries; cupola over the crossing. Fragments of early Romanesque mosaic representing animals. — Half-timbered houses and houses with sculptured wooden ornamentation.

(15th-16th cent.). - Musée Fontenille-Mondière: cutlery, furniture, costume.

BIBLIOG. Clermont-Ferrand, CAF, 1924, p. 287.

Tournœl. Ruins of a large castle with three contiguous curtain walls, a rectangular donjon of the Romanesque period, and a cylindrical one of the 13th century.

BIBLIOG. G. Desdèvises Du Dezert and L. Bréhier, Riom, Mozac, Tournœl, Paris, 1932; P. Balme, Le Château de Tournœl, Clermont-Ferrand, 1937.

Vic-le-Comte. Incorporated into a modern Gothic church, Chapel of Jean Stuart (John Stewart), dating from 1511, in a style midway between Gothic and Renaissance. Stained glass of the 16th century; sculptured altarpiece in the Italian manner (1520).

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, Clermont-Ferrand, CAF, 1924, p. 101.

Poitou. Departments of Deux-Sèvres, Vendée, Vienne. Region where many artistic currents have converged. It preserves important monuments from the period of Gallic evangelization (Poitiers). The characteristic religious architecture developed in the 11th and 12th centuries is illustrated in a large number of churches, several of which preserve notable series of mural paintings (Saint-Savin). The first Gothic churches show dependence on the Angevin type. In the 14th century artistic activity was greatly stimulated by Jean de France, Duc de Berry, who also bore the title of Comte de Poitiers.

BIBLIOG. Poitiers, CAF, 1903, Angoulême, 2 vols., CAF, 1912; R. Crozet, L'Art roman en Poitou, Paris, 1948; Poitiers, CAF, 1951.

Airvault. Romanesque Church of St-Pierre, richly decorated on the exterior. Angevin vaults of the 13th century. - Romanesque bridge.

BIBLIOG. Angers, Saumur, I, CAF, 1910, p. 110.

Angles-sur-Anglin. Excavations in a rock shelter near the village have brought to light remains of a Magdalenian III frieze in bas-relief, which must have been several dozen feet long. It is preserved in place and shows horses, ibexes, and bovinds, as well as female figures.

BIBLIOG. H. Breuil, Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art, Montignac 1952, p. 335.

Charroux. Ruins of a Romanesque church consecrated in 1096, with an octagonal rotunda surmounted by a tower and ringed by three aisles, in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Of the abbey buildings there subsist an entrance gate and the chapter house.

BIBLIOG. L. Serbat, Angoulême, I, CAF, 1912, p. 112, Poitiers, CAF, 1951, p. 356; R. Crozet, L'Ancien portail gothique de l'abbaye de Charroux, GBA, II, 1952, p. 149.

Chauvigny. Church of St-Pierre (12th cent.), in the Romanesque style of the region. Numerous carved and polychromed capitals. Central bell tower with arcatures. - Church of Notre-Dame. Apse and ambulatory, 11th century; nave and aisles, 12th century. Large mural of the 15th century representing the Bearing of the Cross. - Rectangular donjon of the 12th century reinforced by rectangular buttresses, the most important of the remains of a series of medieval fortresses.

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, Chauvigny et ses monuments, Poitiers, 1958.

Civray. Romanesque Church of St-Nicolas (12th cent.). Nave with aisles; transept with apsidioles; choir ending in a semicircular apse. Impressive two-storied façade with columns and statues (Christ with the Wise and Foolish Virgins, Virtues and Vices, the emperor Constantine on horseback). Big octagonal lantern. - Near the church, 15th-century house with turrets.

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, Le Décor sculpté de la façade de l'église de Civray, Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne, II, 1934, p. 97; J. Thirion, Poitiers, CAF, 1951, p. 331.

Fontenay-le-Comte. Grew around a castle built in the 11th century by the dukes of Aquitaine, counts of Poitiers. - Church of Notre-Dame, with a crypt and a portal adorned with statuary dating from the 12th century; rebuilt in the 15th and 16th centuries, with chapels decorated in the Italian manner. Big bell tower with spire, in Gothic style, by the Italian F. Le Duc (called Toscani). - Noteworthy among the many old houses is that of the poet André Rivaudeau, built in 1548,

with caryatids and a Renaissance well. - Château de Terre-Neuve, by Jean Morison (1595-1600). Façade adorned with terra-cotta statues, turrets, etc. - Fontaine des Quatre-Tias (1542), in Renaissance style, by Liénard de la Réau. - Hôtel de Villeneuve-Esclapon, with a portal surmounted by a Laocöon group dating from 1703. - Pont-Neuf, bridge over the Vendée (1775). - Musée Vendéen: ethnographic collections.

BIBLIOG. E. Boutin, Fontenay-le-Comte: Inventaire des constructions anciennes, Fontenay-le-Comte, 1947.

Luçon. Cathedral of Notre-Dame. North transept, late 11th century; nave and aisles, 13th-14th century; choir with ambulatory and a straight east end, late 14th century; porch, 17th century. - Cloister in late Gothic style (16th cent.). - Mansions of the 17th-18th century.

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, La Rochelle, CAF, 1956, p. 41.

Melle. Church of St-Hilaire, 12th century. Three aisles separated by quadrilobed piers; ambulatory and radiating chapels; admirable sculptured capitals; square central bell tower. - Church of St-Pierre, 12th century. Apse with external sculptural decoration. - Church of St-Savinien, also of the 12th century, with an aisleless nave (now a prison).

BIBLIOG. E. Lefèvre-Pontails, Angoulême, I, CAF, 1912, p. 70.

Montmorillon. On the Gartempe. - Church of Notre-Dame. Choir and transept of the 12th century; nave, on an axis diverging from that of the choir, covered with Angevin vaults. Crypt with a fresco of the early 13th century, perhaps representing the marriage of St. Catherine. - Former hospital with two chapels: an octagonal funerary chapel (Octogone de Montmorillon) of the late 12th century, with two stories and a ribbed cupola; the Romanesque former Church of St-Laurent, with a façade adorned by a sculptured frieze (infancy of Christ) stylistically linked to the Chartres workshops of the late 12th century.

BIBLIOG. Poitiers, CAF, 1951, p. 192.

Niort. Castle founded by Henry II of England. - Church of Notre-Dame (1491-1540), by M. Berthomé, in late Gothic style. Fine bell tower with spire (1500). - Big Romanesque donjons joined in the 15th century. - Thirteenth-century house. - Former town hall (now Musée du Pilori: lapidary collection), by M. Berthomé, in Renaissance style (1530-35). - Musée des Beaux-Arts: Near Eastern objects; tapestries; paintings.

BIBLIOG. J. Bily-Brossard, Le Château de Niort, Niort, 1958.

Oiron. Renaissance château begun before 1519 by Artus Gouffier, favorite of Francis I, to whom is due the first floor of the left wing; continued in 1544, with the addition of the great central staircase, which has two parallel ramps, and of the second floor of the left wing, adorned with medallions and emblems; further construction in the 17th century. Inside, paintings of the Fontainebleau school with scenes from the Aeneid (1549). Chapel with Italianate decorative elements, containing tombs of the 16th century with mourners and recumbent effigies.

BIBLIOG. F. Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927, p. 135; M. Dumolin, Le Château d'Oiron, Paris, 1931.

Poitiers (anc. Limonum). Capital of the Pictones; Christianized in the 3d century; residence of Visigothic kings; passed to England under Henry II Plantagenet, who fortified the city; united to France in 1203; university founded in 1432. Poitiers is one of the most interesting art centers in France. Besides vestiges of a Roman amphitheater, it preserves two monuments fundamental for Early Christian art in Gaul: the Hypogeum of Abbé Mellébaude in the Faubourg St-Saturnin (late 7th cent.), with sarcophagi and three crude bas-reliefs representing Evangelists and archangels; the Baptistery of St-Jean, which dates back to the 4th century and was rebuilt in the 7th with the addition of three apsidioles (it has mural paintings of the 12th cent., with figures of Christ and the apostles and the emperor Constantine on horseback). - Church of Notre-Dame-la-Grande (late 11th-12th cent.), notable example of the regional Romanesque style. Nave with high narrow aisles; ambulatory; central bell tower with conical crowning; façade flanked by turrets and covered with reliefs illustrating the Old and New Testaments. On the vault of the choir, vestiges of 12th-century painting. Deposition, in stone (1550), from the Couvent de la Trinité. - Collegiate church of St-Hilaire-le-Grand



Bell tower of about 1040, originally isolated, then incorporated in the northwest corner of the transept. In the early 12th century the choir with ambulatory was built, and the nave, after its width had been decreased by the creation of narrow aisles, was vaulted with cupolas. Near the church, former deanery (ca. 1517) in Gothic style but Italianate in its decoration. — Church of St-Porchaire. Porch surmounted by bell tower, late 11th century. Body of church, 16th century, divided into two aisles. Large sculptured altarpiece of the 17th-18th century. — Church of Ste-Radegonde, consecrated in 1099 (the porch surmounted by a bell tower, the crypt, and the choir with ambulatory date from this period). Aisleless nave of the 13th century covered with Angevin vaults. Portal in flamboyant style. — Church of Montierneuf, consecrated in 1096. Nave with aisles; choir with ambulatory. Façade and vaults restored in 1644. — Cathedral of St-Pierre, begun in the 12th century, built in the regional Romanesque style, with nave and aisles of nearly equal height, but with ribbed vaults. Tripartite façade (14th cent.) with central rose window and towers; tympanum with the Last Judgment, the Coronation of the Virgin, and scenes from the life of St. Thomas. Ample set of stained-glass windows of the late 12th century (scenes from the Old and New Testaments, famous Crucifixion), and of the early 13th century (medallions). Choir stalls of the 13th century, with representations of the deadly sins. — Jesuit chapel (1608-13), with a monumental baroque altarpiece incorporating a painting by L. Finson (1615). — Remains of the palace of the counts of Poitiers, with segments of the Gallo-Roman wall (3d cent.) that it utilized. Large hall of the late 12th-early 13th century with walls adorned by arcatures; one wall, rebuilt under Jean de Berry in the late 14th century, is occupied by a monumental triple chimney piece surmounted by two rows of windows, whose framework accommodates statues of Jean de Berry, Charles VI, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Jeanne de Boulogne, Duchesse de Berry. Donjon of the 12th century, rebuilt under Jean de Berry by Guy de Dammartin; it is a rectangular structure with four angle towers, whose buttresses carry statues. — Hall of former university (now mus.) with cross-rib vaulting (15th cent.). — Numerous houses of the 15th to 18th century: Hôtel Fumée, in flamboyant style; Hôtel Berthelot (1529); Hôtel de Jean du Moulin (16th and 17th cents.); Hôtel d'Aquitaine, formerly of the Knights of Malta (16th-18th cent.); house of Jean Beauce, in Renaissance style (1554). Musée de l'Echevinage (in the former university hall): prehistory; Gallo-Roman and Romanesque lapidary collections. — Musée des Beaux-Arts: antiquities, including a statue of Minerva of Hellenistic inspiration (1st cent. of our era), discovered in 1902; fragments of early Renaissance sculpture (friezes and medallions) from the destroyed château built near Vendœuvre by Admiral Bonnavet; paintings; tapestries. — Musée Rupert de Chievres (in an 18th-cent. mansion with a portal of 1671 from an Augustinian church): Babinet Collection of Renaissance drawings. — University library: valuable collection of manuscripts from the 8th to the 16th century.

BIBLIOG. Poitiers, CAF, 1903, pp. 1, 361, L. Magne, *Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers*, Paris, 1904, H. Labbé de La Mauvinière, *Poitiers et Angoulême*, Paris, 1908, A. Bonnet, *Les Stalles de la cathédrale de Poitiers*, Angoulême, II, CAF, 1912, p. 325; E. Maillard, *Les Sculptures de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1921, R. Crozet, *Poitiers*, Paris, 1948, Poitiers, CAF, 1951, p. 9; J. Hubert, *Le Baptistère de Poitiers*, Cahiers Archéologiques, 1952, p. 135.

Richelieu. Fortified city at the northern extremity of Poitou (now Indre-et-Loire), founded by the great cardinal whose name it bears; begun in 1625 after the plans of Nicolas II Lemercier. The castle was destroyed, but the city subsists in part, with church, city gates, mansions with fine portals, and market.

BIBLIOG. E. Pépin, *Champigny-sur-Veude et Richelieu*, Paris, 1928.

Saint-Maixent-l'Ecole. The town owes its origin to a monastery founded about 460. In 1224 Louis VIII had a castle built there, which is no longer extant. — Former Church of St-Léger, with a pre-Romanesque crypt. — Church of St-Maixent, Neo-Gothic reconstruction (1670-82) by F. Le Duc (called Toscani), who is also responsible for the adjoining monastery (now a military establishment). — Town Hall of the 18th century and numerous old mansions.

BIBLIOG. E. Lambert, *La Reconstruction de l'abbatiale de Saint-Maixent au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Revue Mabillon, 1946, p. 48; P. Hélot, *Les Eglises abbatiales de Saint-Maixent, de Celles-sur-Belle, et l'architecture poitevine*, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest, II, 1955, p. 141.

Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe. Large Renaissance church. Façade tower, transept, and choir with ambulatory, 1600-75. Nave with aisles built in two campaigns, from 1075 to 1115, with high pillars and a continuous barrel vault. High bell tower with a spire of the 14th century. Celebrated Romanesque paintings — among the most

important in Europe — on the nave vault, under the porch and in the room over it, and in the crypt.

BIBLIOG. E. Maillard, *L'Eglise de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe*, Paris, 1926; I. Yoshikawa, *L'Apocalypse de Saint-Savin*, Paris, 1939.

Limousin and Marche. Limousin: department of Corrèze and south of Haute-Vienne; Marche: department of Creuse and north of Haute-Vienne. The region has many Romanesque churches of Poitevin type; they are severe in style and often have lanterns, high bell towers over porches, and gables. The Gothic of Ile-de-France made its appearance in 1273 in the Cathedral of Limoges, one of the cathedrals built by Jean Deschamps. In the 13th century the workshops specializing in precious metals and enamels experienced an extraordinary flowering and gained world renown. A number of dismantled fortresses date from the Hundred Years' War (Chalusset). The Renaissance and the 17th century are but slightly represented.

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, L. Lacrocq, *Les Eglises de France: Creuse*, Paris, 1934.

Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne. Former abbey church of the 12th century. Nave with aisles and galleries; ambulatory; transept with a central octagonal tower; south lateral portal with Last Judgment, in the style of Conques. Chapter house of the 12th century. In the treasury, Romanesque Virgin covered with silver plate.

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 366; A. de Laborderie, *L'Eglise de Beaulieu*, R. de la Société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze, LIX, 1937, p. 127.

Bénévent-l'Abbaye. Romanesque church of the mid-12th century. Narrow aisles covered with transverse pointed barrel vaults; transept; ambulatory; lantern.

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 147; L. Lacrocq, *Bénévent-l'Abbaye*, Mémoires de la Société archéologique de la Creuse, 1920-30, p. 418.

Brive-la-Gaillarde. Gallo-Roman city; commune from the 12th century. — Church of St-Martin. Transept and choir of the 12th century, the latter rebuilt in the 18th; nave and aisles begun in 1310; modern façade and apse. — Gothic houses. — Hôtel de Labenche, decorated with busts (mid-16th cent.).

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 269.

Chambon-sur-Voueize. Romanesque Church of Ste-Valérie. Nave with aisles and modern vaults; transept with cupola and bell tower; ambulatory; porch surmounted by bell tower (13th cent.).

BIBLIOG. Allier, CAF, 1938, p. 230.

Le Dorat. Romanesque church of the 12th century. Nave with aisles; choir with ambulatory, over a crypt; transept with lantern; façade dominated by a massive bell tower.

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 170; M. Duchéin, *Note sur la chronologie de la collégiale du Dorat*, B. Monumental, 1954, p. 95.

Limoges (anc. Augustoritum). Near the site of the capital of the Galli Lemovices; Roman colony; powerful monastic center. — Cathedral of St-Etienne. Romanesque crypt and façade tower, the latter altered in the 14th century. Reconstruction undertaken in 1273 by Jean Deschamps in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France, with an ambulatory and radiating chapels. Work interrupted in 1327, resumed after the Hundred Years' War (1458-99) with the transept and the two adjoining bays of the nave, built in flamboyant style. Façade of north transept with lanceolate portal (1516-30). Nave finished in the 19th century. Interior: two 14th-century tombs of bishops, with traces of Italian influence transmitted through Avignon; 16th-century tomb with canopy of Jean de Langeac; former rood screen with reliefs representing the labors of Hercules (16th cent.). — Church of St-Michel-des-Lions (1364). Nave with aisles. Tall spire. Outside, as in Italian churches, two recumbent lions, from which the church derives its name. — Church of St-Pierre-du-Queyroix, of the 15th century, altered in the 16th, with a high Gothic spire dominating the façade. — Many medieval and Renaissance houses, especially in the Boucherie quarter. — Two medieval bridges over the Vienne: that of St-Etienne (ca. 1210) and that of St-Martial (13th cent.). — Former episcopal palace (Musée Municipal), erected in the 18th century by J. Brousseau.

BIBLIOG. R. Fage, *La Cathédrale de Limoges*, Paris, 1913; Limoges, Brive, 1921, p. 3.

**Le Moutier-d'Ahun.** Benedictine foundation of the Carolingian period. Church, partly in ruins, of which there subsist the 15th-century west portal and, of the Romanesque period, the choir and part of the transept with bell tower; famous especially for its wood furnishings (1673).

**BIBLIOG.** Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 132; L. Lacroix, *Les Eglises de France: Creuse*, Paris, 1934, p. 105.

**Obazine (or Aubazine).** Cistercian abbey church (1156-76), the western portion of whose nave no longer exists. Tomb of St. Stephen, in the form of a reliquary, with recumbent figure of the saint and scenes from his life (13th cent.); cupboard of the 12th century. - Chapter house of the 12th century.

**BIBLIOG.** Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 347.

**Saint-Junien.** Church consecrated in 1100. To the first period of construction belong the transept and most of the nave. The westernmost bay of the nave (slightly later) is covered by a cupola and surmounted by a tower, which, flanked by two turrets, forms the upper portion of the façade (12th cent.). The choir with aisles and straight east end is of the 13th century. Interior: tomb of St. Junien, with figures of Christ, the Virgin, and the apostles under arcatures (mid-12th cent.). - Church of Notre-Dame-du-Pont (second half of 15th cent.), rectangular in plan. - Bridge of the 13th century. - Renaissance houses.

**BIBLIOG.** Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 214; F. de Catheu, *La Collégiale de Saint-Junien*, Paris, 1948.

**Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat.** Medieval pilgrimage center. - Romanesque church with a magnificent bell tower with stone spire, forming a porch on the ground story; nave and transept, 11th-12th century; lantern; large choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels. At the side of the church, round chapel with an annular nave, modeled on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (ca. 1100-20).

**BIBLIOG.** R. Fage, *L'Eglise de Saint-Léonard*, B. Monumental, 1913, p. 41; Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 89.

**Solignac (anc. Solemniacum).** Site of an abbey founded in 631. Church, consecrated in 1143, one of the northernmost examples of the Périgord Romanesque style.

**BIBLIOG.** R. Fage, *L'Eglise de Solignac*, B. Monumental, 1910, p. 75.

**La Souterraine.** Romanesque church begun from the west in the mid-12th century with a massive porch surmounted by a bell tower; nave and aisles finished in the late 12th century; transept and choir with straight east end, 13th century.

**BIBLIOG.** Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 157.

**Tulle.** Abbey founded in the 7th century. - Cathedral of St-Martin. Nave with aisles and cross-rib vaults, 12th century; transept and choir destroyed. Porch surmounted by a bell tower with a spire of the 14th century. Cloister and chapter house of the 13th century. - Former Carmelite chapel, octagonal in plan, with a cupola (18th cent.). - Renaissance houses.

**BIBLIOG.** Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 313.

**Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois.** Departments of Charente-Maritime and Charente. The region was important in Gallo-Roman times (Saintes). It has a large number of Romanesque churches of Poitevin type, very rich in their decoration (Rioux, Rétaud); the Gothic churches follow the Angevin and Périgord types. Also numerous are funerary lanterns of the 12th and 13th centuries. The art of the Renaissance château was introduced through certain families attached to the court of Francis I. Eighteenth-century architecture is well represented, especially in La Rochelle.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Nodet, *Sur quelques églises romanes de la Charente-Inférieure*, B. Monumental, 1890, p. 362, Saintes, La Rochelle, CAF, 1894; Angoulême, 2 vols., CAF, 1912; J. George, *Les Eglises de France: Charente*, Paris, 1933; C. Connou, *Les Eglises de Saintonge*, 4 vols., Saintes, 1952-59; La Rochelle, CAF, 1956.

**Angoulême (anc. Eculisma).** Roman city of Aquitania; from 1373 appanage of the house of Orleans. - Cathedral of St-Pierre (PL. 378), begun from the west about 1105. Aisleless nave vaulted with cupolas, transept, choir without ambulatory, about 1130; façade with Last Judgment. Damaged in 1562 and 1568, it was several times restored;

the high north bell tower is a 19th-century reconstruction. - Former Cordelier chapel, 13th century. - Musée de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente: prehistoric, Roman, and medieval collections. - Municipal museum (in the former episcopal palace): important collection of paintings.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Labbé de La Mauvinière, Poitiers et Angoulême, Paris, 1908; Angoulême, I, CAF, 1912, p. 3; C. Daras, *La Cathédrale d'Angoulême*, Angoulême, 1942; T. Sauvel, *La Façade de Saint-Pierre d'Angoulême*, B. Monumental, 1945, p. 175.

**Aulnay-de-Saintonge.** Church of St-Pierre-de-la-Tour, of the 12th century. Deep choir with apse; nave flanked by narrow aisles; quadrilobed piers with sculptured capitals; square central bell tower. On the archivolt of the central façade portal, Virtues, Vices, Wise and Foolish Virgins; on the lateral tympanums, Christ between the Virgin and St. John and the martyrdom of St. Peter. Side portal with four richly sculptured archivolt. Sculptural decoration on exterior of apse.

**BIBLIOG.** E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Angoulême, I, CAF, 1912, p. 95; J. Chagnolleau, *L'Eglise d'Aulnay*, Grenoble, 1938; M. Aubert, *La Rochelle*, CAF, 1956, p. 316.

**Brouage.** Fortified town, now abandoned and largely in ruins. Wall with bastions and monumental gates constructed about 1630 on Richelieu's order by Pierre d'Argencourt. Checkerboard plan. Church of the 16th-17th century. Buildings of stone and brick (arsenal, powder magazine).

**BIBLIOG.** F. de Chasseloup Laubat, Brouage, Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1958.

**La Chaire-à-Calvin.** Rock shelter in the commune of Mouthiers (Charente) with a Solutrean frieze of horses in bas-relief bearing traces of painting.

**BIBLIOG.** P. David, *Frise de l'abri sous roche de La Chaire-à-Calvin, ou de "la Papeterie," commune de Mouthiers (Charente)*, Comptes-rendus de l'Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, 1929, p. 478; P. David, *La Chaire-à-Calvin*, B. de la Société préhistorique française, XLIV, 1947, p. 31; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 333.

**Fenioux.** Church. Aisleless nave of the Carolingian period with small stonework and fenestellas; vaults partly redone in the 12th century; portal and elegant bell tower with a conical spire, also 12th century; choir, 16th century. - Funerary lantern of the Romanesque period consisting of a sheaf of 11 columns with a pyramidal crowning.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Musset, *L'Eglise de Fenioux*, La Rochelle, 1896, La Rochelle, CAF, 1956, p. 304.

**Le Roc-de-Sers.** Rock shelter that has yielded a whole series of blocks sculptured in bas-relief belonging to a continuous frieze of the Upper Solutrean. The animals represented include horses, bison, two facing ibexes, a musk ox; there is also a small human figure.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Martin, *La Frise sculptée de l'atelier solutréen du Roc (Charente)*, Archives de l'Institut de paléontologie humaine, Mémoire, V, 1928; H. Martin, *Les Sculptures du Roc*, Préhistoire, I, 1932, p. 11; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 330.

**La Rochefoucault.** Castle with a Romanesque donjon incorporated into a late medieval wall; south and east wings rebuilt 1528-38. External façades in flamboyant style with tall dormer windows. Courtyard façades with three stories of arcaded galleries. Monumental stairway in the south wing.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 125; P. de La Tardière, *Le Château de La Rochefoucault*, La Rochefoucault, 1934.

**La Rochelle.** Known since 1023; formerly one of the major French ports. - Cathedral of St-Louis (1742-84), in Neo-Greek style, by Jacques and J.-A. Gabriel. - House known as that of Diane de Poitiers (ca. 1555), with a loggia, two stories of galleries, and a spiral staircase, built by Liénard de la Réau. - Splendid Town Hall (16th cent.). Courtyard façade with arcaded gallery, sculptured frieze, and allegorical figures (1595), by Pierre Faverneau. - The city preserves various streets with old houses and mansions, portions of Vauban's fortifications, as well as late medieval gates and towers along the old harbor. - Bourne (1760-85), with nautical decorations. - Musée des Beaux-Arts, with paintings: French, Flemish, etc. - Musée d'Orbigny-Bernon: minor arts; Oriental collection. - Muséum Lafaille et Fleuriau (in the botanical garden): ethnographic collections.

**BIBLIOG.** La Rochelle, CAF, 1956, p. 9; R. Crosset, *La Rochelle*, Paris, 1956.

Saintes (anc. Mediolanum Santonum). Capital of the Santones, a flourishing city by Caesar's time, it preserves remains of important ancient monuments: an amphitheater, aqueducts, a triumphal arch in honor of Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus. The city was a bishopric from the 3d century; it suffered repeated devastations in the course of its history. - Church of St-Eutrope. The vast crypt with ambulatory and radiating chapels and the original choir, now serving as nave, date in part from the late 11th century; transept and nave (the latter almost entirely demolished) of the 12th century; bell tower over north transept, 1478. - Church of Ste-Marie-des-Dames (Pl. 378), built on a Latin-cross plan, consecrated in 1047. Magnificent choir of the 12th century. Romanesque central bell tower with columns and a conical crown (12th cent.). On the façade, the Massacre of the Innocents, the elders of Revelation, etc. - Church of St-Pierre. Remains of the Romanesque transept, vaulted at either end with cupolas on pendentives. Massive façade; tower of the late 15th century. Lower portions of choir and ambulatory, early 16th century; nave, late 16th century. - Musée Archéologique: very important Gallo-Roman collections. - Musée des Beaux-Arts (in the Town Hall): notable Flemish works. - Musée Mestreau (in an 18th-cent. mansion): minor arts.

BIBLIOG. Angoulême, I, CAF, 1912, p. 342; M. Gouverneur, *L'Abbatiale de Sainte-Marie-aux-Dames de Saintes*, Saintes, 1940; M. Clouet, *Saintes, ville d'art*, Paris, 1949; La Rochelle, CAF, 1956, p. 97; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 650.

Périgord. Department of Dordogne. The region is very rich archaeologically and artistically. Along the valleys of the Vézère and the Beune are some of the most important prehistoric stations of western Europe (Les Eyzies area, Lascaux; see map, col. 518). Vesunna (Périgueux) was a notable Gallo-Roman city. The Romanesque churches of the region are characterized by their cupola-vaulted naves; the Gothic churches, less numerous and frequently fortified, are of the southern type, with aisleless nave. Noteworthy are the bastides, or fortified towns, founded by the French and English during the Hundred Years' War.

BIBLIOG. M. Vigié, *Les Bastides du Périgord*, Montpellier, 1907; R. Rey, *La Cathédrale de Cahors et les origines de l'architecture à coupoles d'Aquitaine*, Cahors, 1923; Périgueux, CAF, 1927; G. Padirac, *Châteaux de Périgord*, Paris, 1948; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, trans. M. E. Boyle, Montignac, 1952; J. Secret, *Les Eglises du Ribéracais*, Périgueux, 1958; P. Graziosi, *Palaeolithic Art*, New York, 1960.

Brantôme. Site of a celebrated abbey, perhaps founded by Charlemagne. - Of the abbey church of the late 11th century there subsists only a square bell tower with several tiers of arched openings, high applied gables, and a pyramidal crowning. Survivals of the abbey buildings include one gallery of a 15th-century cloister, a Renaissance garden pavilion with a bridge, and a main building with a remarkable 18th-century staircase, housing the Musée Bernard Desmoulin. - Houses of the 12th to the 15th century. - Renaissance Château de la Hérice.

BIBLIOG. F. Deshoulières, Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 338.

Cadouxin. Church of former Cistercian abbey, consecrated in 1154; nave with aisles; apse and apsidioles; imposing façade decorated with arcatures. Cloister in flamboyant style (ca. 1470).

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 176.

Cap-Blanc. Rock shelter near Les Eyzies. The wall carries life-size representations of horses in high relief, which can be dated with certainty as Magdalenian by means of industry found on the spot.

BIBLIOG. J.-G. Lalanne and H. Breuil, *L'Abri sculpté du Cap-Blanc à Laussel (Dordogne)*, *L'Anthropologie*, XXII, 1911, p. 385; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 282.

Les Combarelles. Cave near Les Eyzies, with a narrow gallery decorated chiefly with engravings. The only paintings are the head of a hind, in black, some red "tectiforms," and a group of small horses. Most of the engravings, about three hundred of which have been deciphered, belong to the early and middle phases of the Magdalenian. Equids predominate with 116 representations; then come bison (37), bears (19), reindeer, mammoths, felines, and wolves.

BIBLIOG. La Capitan and others, *Les Combarelles aux Eyzies (Dordogne)*, Paris, 1924; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 91.

Font-de-Gaume. Cave near Les Eyzies. A corridor 488 ft. long is adorned with about two hundred paintings that begin 256 ft. from

the entrance. The oldest figures, darker in color, are Perigordian, the rest Magdalenian. A great many bison are pictured, as well as horses and mammoths.

BIBLIOG. L. Capitan and others, *La Caverne de Font-de-Gaume*, Monaco, 1910; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 75.

Hautefort. Château built about 1640 on medieval foundations; wings with cupola-crowned angle towers; inner courtyard with gallery.

BIBLIOG. E. Gavelle, *Hautefort et ses seigneurs*, Toulouse, 1921; P. Vitry, Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 227.

Lascaux. Cave in the neighborhood of Montignac. The exceptional state of preservation and the quality of the paintings make this the most notable cave in France. Nearest the entrance is a large chamber decorated with enormous bulls, an imaginary animal, and numerous horses. Two branching galleries are adorned with paintings of horses, bison, and other animals; certain groups, such as a frieze of small horses and one of deer heads, are admirable. In a shaft is depicted a rhinoceros moving away from a man stretched out, surely slain, and a wounded bison. Representations of animals transpierced by arrows seem to offer evidence of the practice of sympathetic magic. The significance of certain latticed signs in different colors has eluded explanation. Numerous rock engravings, a completed survey of which has not been made, add interest to the cave.

BIBLIOG. F. Windels, *Lascaux Cave Paintings*, trans. C. F. C. Hawkes, New York, 1950; A. Laming, *Lascaux: Paintings and Engravings*, trans. E. F. Armstrong, Harmondsworth, 1959.

Laussel. About 6 miles from Les Eyzies. Important rock shelter, which has yielded, gathered in a kind of cell, many sculptured slabs dating back to the Perigordian. The most famous is the *Venus of Laussel*, an opulent female figure with large breasts; two other slabs represent a man in profile, in the attitude of a javelin thrower, and a second "Venus."

BIBLIOG. H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 279.

Limeuil. Deposit consisting of an archaeological stratum located on an escarpment, at the foot of a small cave. Together with stone implements of the Upper Magdalenian, about a hundred fifty limestone slabs were found, with engravings of animals, some of which may be counted among the masterpieces of Quaternary art (e.g., a grazing reindeer).

BIBLIOG. L. Capitan and J. Bouysonie, *Limeuil: Son gisement à gravures sur pierre de l'âge du renne*, Paris, 1924; P. Graziosi, *Palaeolithic Art*, New York, 1960, passim.

Monpazier. Bastide founded in 1284 by Edward I of England, exceptionally well preserved. Plan of great regularity. Church of the 14th-16th century; central square with Gothic arcades; many 13th-century houses.

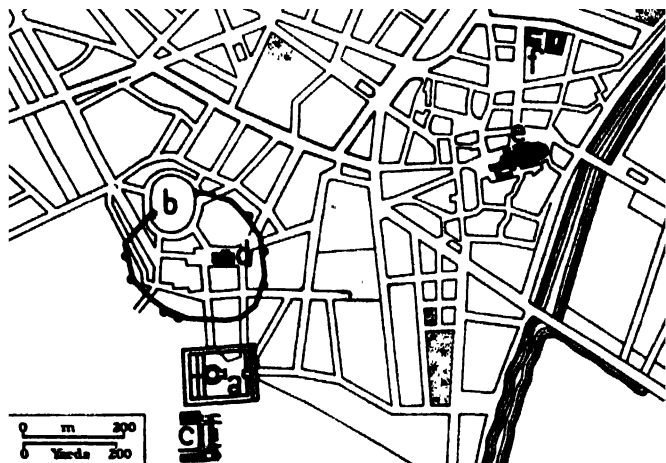
BIBLIOG. M. Vigié, *Les Bastides du Périgord*, Montpellier, 1907; G. Lavergne, Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 143.

La Mouthe. Near Les Eyzies, the first decorated cave discovered in Périgord. It shows deeply incised bovids, ibexes, horses, reindeer, and an engraved and painted prehistoric hut.

BIBLIOG. H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 293.

Périgueux (anc. Vesunna Petrucoriorum). Capital of Dordogne, former capital of Périgord, located on a wide esplanade overlooking the Isle River, in a region rich in iron ore. The Gallo-Roman city was the capital of the Petrucorii and succeeded an *oppidum* of this people on the Plateau de Boissière; it owed its name to the sacred spring Vesunna. Parts of the forum with a basilica have been found. To the north are the impressive ruins of a round temple, native in character but of the Gallo-Roman period, known as the Tour de Vésone, perhaps dedicated to Tutela Vesunna, the tutelary deity of the city; it had a rectangular enclosure, and the cella and its encircling portico were raised on a podium. In early imperial times the city did not have walls. In the late empire the quarter of the amphitheater was fortified with an enclosure incorporating it; some portions of this wall are still visible; one of the gates, the Porte de Mars, is known from a sketch. A bishopric from the 4th century and a renowned center of learning, the city was the site of the flourishing Abbey of St-Front. - Cathedral of St-Front, heavily restored

in the 19th century, comprising two structures: a church of 1120-70 on a Greek-cross plan, covered with five cupolas, and to the west of it, the remains of a basilica of the late 11th century, surmounted by a four-storied bell tower with a crown on a circular colonnade. Cloister of the 12th-15th century, transformed into a lapidary museum. - Church of St-Etienne-de-la-Cité, of the 12th century, partly demolished. Built on a rectangular plan and covered with cupolas; massive straight east end adorned with arcatures. - Château Barrière, fortified house of the 12th-15th century. - Romanesque and Gothic houses. - Remains of the episcopal palace, with early Renaissance



Périgueux: city plan. (a) Tour de Vésone; (b) amphitheater; (c) excavations of the forum and a basilica; (d) St-Etienne; (e) Cathedral; (f) Musée du Périgord and library.

ornamentation, and of the Chapel of St-Jean (1521). - Musée du Périgord: prehistory; lapidary collection; ancient and medieval sculpture; pain

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: Espér., II, 1908; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VI, Paris, 1920, p. 394; P. Barrière, *Vesunna Petrucoriorum*, Périgueux, 1930; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 440, 670. *Middle Ages and modern times*: J. Roux, *La Basilique Saint-Front de Périgueux*, Bordeaux, 1919; Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 9.

Pierre-Lévée. About half a mile from Brantôme, magnificent dolmen consisting of a horizontal block (16×8 ft.) placed on three vertical stones.

Sarlat. One of the most picturesque little towns of the region. - Cathedral of St-Sacerdot (or Serdot). Romanesque porch between two towers of the same period. Reconstruction begun in 1505, in Gothic style, by Pierre Esclanche; choir with apsidal chapels disposed in the form of a cross. Chapter house (now sacristy) of the 14th century. - Funerary lantern with Angevin vault. - Numerous Gothic and Renaissance houses: the Maison Plamon; the former episcopal palace; the former presidial court; the Hôtel de St-Aulaire; etc.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Deshoulières, Périgueux, CAF, 1927, p. 271.

*Rouergue and Quercy.* Departments of Aveyron, Lot, Tarn-et-Garonne. In the Gallo-Roman era the La Graufesenque area, near Millau, was an active and well-known center for the production of terra sigillata. The Romanesque architecture of Quercy is linked with that of Périgord; of Rouergue with that of Languedoc (the abbey church of Conques represents one of the greatest masterpieces of the style). Toulousan Romanesque sculpture had one of its first centers in Moissac. The development of Gothic art was hampered by the Hundred Years' War. Feudal fortifications, city walls, fortified churches, as well as medieval bridges, are preserved in rather large number. Numerous, too, are bastides (fortified towns) with regular layouts (Bretenoux). In the Renaissance the Loire style was combined with a heavier decorative manner. The classicizing art of the 17th and 18th centuries flourished especially in Montauban

**BIBLIOG.** L. Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, Paris, 1914. Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937. J. Vallier-Radot, *Les Eglises romanes du Rouergue*, B. Monumental, 1940, p. 5.

Assier. Church (1540-50) with a sculptured frieze representing forts and the main feats of arms of Galiot de Genouillac. In the first left-hand chapel, tomb with two statues of Galiot. Remains of a

sumptuous Renaissance château begun by Galiot after 1525. It was a vast quadrilateral with angle towers. The surviving west wing, in the Loire style, is decorated with medallions and friezes; it has a two-storied classicizing portico (1535).

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 48; Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 330.

Cahors (anc. Divona Cadurcorum). Capital of the Cadurci; famous in antiquity for its linen cloth; Early Christian bishopric. - Cathedral of St-Etienne, with an aisleless nave of the Périgord type (late 11th cent.). Altered in the 13th-14th century with the construction of a fortresslike façade consisting of a narthex surmounted by three contiguous towers. North portal, transferred from the façade, with an Ascension (ca. 1135; PL. 378) in Languedocian style. In the westernmost cupola of the nave, great cycle of paintings with figures of prophets (14th cent.). Cloister in flamboyant style (1420-1504). - Chapel of former Jesuit college (now Lycée Gambetta) in the late Gothic Toulousan style, with a hexagonal tower constructed of bricks (17th cent.). - Ancient thermae. - Bridge of Valentré (VI, PL. 303), over the Lot, begun in 1308, with three towers, the most complete example of a fortified bridge in France. - Remains of late medieval fortifications with towers and gates. - Tour de Jean XXII (14th cent.), remnant of the Palais Duèze. - Houses from the 13th to the 16th century, especially in the Badernes and Soubirous quarters. - Hôtel de Roaldes (ca. 1500), with late Gothic emblematic decoration of a type widespread in the region. - Archdeaconry of St-Jean. Courtyard with Renaissance decoration of the same type as that of the château of Assier. - Musée Municipal: archaeological, medieval, and Renaissance collections; paintings.

**BIBLIOG.** R. Rey, *La Cathédrale de Cahors et les origines de l'architecture à coupoles d'Aquitaine*, Cahors, 1925; Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 216.

Conques. Site of what was one of the oldest abbeys in France. There survives the magnificent Romanesque Church of Ste-Foy, begun between 1030 and 1065, continued at the end of the century. Nave with galleries; transept with aisles; apse with ambulatory; famous series of sculptured capitals; over the crossing, ribbed cupola of the 14th century. Façade with two towers; in the portal, grandiose Last Judgment in the style of central France (ca. 1140; PL. 377). - The treasury has some of the most famous pieces of French gold- and silverwork: the reliquary of Pépin d'Aquitaine (early 9th cent.); the statue of Ste Foy, of gold with jewels (985); the reliquary of Paschal II (1102). - Cloister of the late 11th century, the remains of which have been incorporated into a museum.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Bouillet, *L'Eglise et le trésor de Conques*, Mâcon, 1892; M. Aubert, Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 450; M. Aubert, *L'Eglise de Conques*, Paris, 1930; J. Tardion, *La Nouvelle présentation du trésor de Conques*, *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, I, 1955, p. 121.

Espalion. Romanesque church. Transept partly of the late 11th century, with vaults in either arm supported by a central pillar; polygonal apse externally decorated with an arcature; bell gable over the chancel arch. Tympanum of south portal with a rather crude Romanesque Last Judgment. Chapels added in the 15th century.

**BIBLIOG.** B. de Gauléjac, Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 445.

Figeac. One of the best-preserved medieval towns in France. - Former abbey church of St-Sauveur, 11th-13th century. Nave with aisles; transept; choir with aisles and ambulatory. Choir, north aisle of the nave, and vaults redone in the 17th century. Joined to the church, chapter house of the 14th-15th century with vaults supported on columns. - Church of Notre-Dame-du-Puy, of the 12th century, restored and altered in the 17th. Wide nave of Languedocian type; apse and two apsidioles. Façade of the 14th century. - Numerous houses of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, among them the late-13th-century mint, with arcades on the ground floor and a flat roof. - Bridge over the Célé, 13th century. - Musée du Vieux Figeac (in the former mint): lapidary collection; fragments of demolished houses, such as Renaissance door of Hôtel de Sully.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Deshoulières, Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 9; J.-R. Marboutin, *L'Eglise Saint-Sauveur de Figeac*, 1939.

Moissac. Great Benedictine abbey affiliated to Cluny in 1047 and one of the most important of the order. - Abbey church. Façade tower of 1120-50, whose ground story, forming a porch, and first story are covered by pre-Gothic rib vaults; aisleless nave of Languedocian type, 12th and 15th centuries; choir and apse, 15th century. The portal inserted in the mid-12th century in the south façade of the bell tower is one of the outstanding masterpieces of Romanesque

sculpture; of about 1120-25 are the tympanum with the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the lintel with rosettes, and the figures of Isaiah and St. Peter on the jambs; slightly later are the apostles on the dividing pillar and, at the sides of the porch, the scenes from the infancy of Christ, those of Avarice and Lust, and of Lazarus and the rich man. - Cloister with magnificent capitals and pillars decorated with figures - among the earliest examples attesting to the sculptural renaissance of the late 11th-early 12th century. - In the abbatial palace, museum with folk art.

BIBLIOG. E. Rupin, *L'Abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, Paris, 1897; A. Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*, Paris, 1910; M. Aubert, *Toulouse, CAF*, 1929, p. 404; M. Lafargue, *Les Sculptures... du cloître de Moissac*, B. Monumental, 1938, p. 195.

Montal. Château (1523-34) comprising two perpendicular wings flanked by towers. Toward the courtyard, Renaissance façades beautifully decorated with a long frieze, medallions with busts, and dormer windows with carved gables. Monumental staircase and chimney pieces; 16th-century furniture. Château restored and refurnished about 1908.

BIBLIOG. Limoges, Brive, CAF, 1921, p. 411; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 150.

Montauban. Abbey founded about 820; bastide founded by Alphonse Jourdain, Comte de Toulouse (12th cent.). Famous as a Protestant center. - Church of St-Jacques (15th cent.), with a brick octagonal tower in Toulousan ogival style. - Cathedral (1692-1739), by F. d'Orbay, classicizing in style, with two façade towers. - Bridge, 673 ft. long, by Etienne de Ferrière and Mathieu de Verdun (1303-16). - Square surrounded by galleries, noteworthy example of early-17th-century town planning. - Former episcopal palace (1658), in a ponderous adaptation of Louis XIII style. - Musée Ingres (in the former episcopal palace): notable collection of the artist's drawings and paintings, works by French romantics, by the sculptor E.-A. Bourdelle, etc.

BIBLIOG. R. de Mentque, *Le Vieux Montauban*, Montauban, 1944.

Najac. Church begun in 1258 by the master builder Bérenguer Jomel. Aisleless nave of southern type; high narrow windows that instead of glass have alabs pierced with quadrilobed openings; straight east end. - Ruined castle of the 12th and 13th centuries with three curtain walls; square Romanesque angle donjon; round donjon of 1253 with three stories covered by cross-rib vaults. - Many stone houses of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. - Fountain of 1344 with a 12-sided basin.

BIBLIOG. A. and E. Moliner, *Najac en Rouergue*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1881; Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF, 1937, p. 170.

Pech-Merle. Vast cave in the commune of Cabrerets (dept. of Lot) with Aurignacian drawings traced in clay with the fingers (female figures, mammoths); animals in black line (mammoth, oxen, bison); human hands outlined in black or red; spotted horses.

BIBLIOG. A. Lemozi, *La Grotte-temple du Pech-Merle*, Paris, 1929; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1932, p. 267.

Rocamadour. Famous pilgrimage center with numerous chapels, two of them of the 12th century. An Annunciation, which may be a 19th-century restoration of a Romanesque mural, appears on the exterior of the Chapel of St-Michel. - Remains of medieval ramparts and fortified gates. - Medieval houses.

BIBLIOG. E. Rupin, *Roc-Amadour*, Paris, 1904.

Rodez. Gallic city (Segodunum), called "Ruthena" by the Romans; bishopric from the 5th century. The most notable monuments from antiquity are the remains of an amphitheater, northwest of the Cathedral, and an aqueduct, which, restored, is still in operation. During the Middle Ages political conflicts between the Bourg, seat of the counts, and the Cité, the episcopal dominion, resulted in two independent communities, each with its own walls. - Cathedral of Notre-Dame, one of the southern edifices of Jean Descamps. Begun from the east in 1277, with an ambulatory in Ile-de-France style; continued in its western portions about 1430, with the collaboration of the sculptor Jacques Morel; nave finished about 1550. Nave flanked by aisles and chapels. Imposing façade, which, projecting beyond the city ramparts, was built with defensive apparatus and no portal; large rose window. North bell tower in flamboyant style (1513). Choir stalls (1478) by André Sulpice with Renaissance decoration. - Houses of the 16th century adorned with medallions. - Episcopal

Palace and former Jesuit chapel, 17th century. - Musée Fenaille: prehistoric, antique, and Renaissance collections. - Musée des Artistes Aveyronnais (or Mus. Denis Puech): paintings, chiefly modern.

BIBLIOG. L. Bousquet and B. de Gauléjac, *Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF*, 1937, p. 360; L. Balsan, *La Cathédrale de Rodez*, Rodez, 1954.

Saint-Antonin. Situated on the right bank of the Aveyron, one of the French towns richest in houses of the 12th, 13th, and following centuries. - Gothic bridge (altered). - Town Hall of the 12th century, restored by Viollet-le-Duc.

BIBLIOG. A. Cavaillé and others, *Guide illustré... du vieux Saint-Antonin*, Montauban, 1946.

Souillac. Church of the mid-12th century of Périgord type, with an aisleless nave covered by cupolas. On the reverse of the façade, remains of a portal of 1140: dividing pillar with animals and the figure of a prophet, in Toulousan style.

BIBLIOG. P. Pons, *Souillac et ses environs*, Souillac, 1923; M. Aubert, *Périgueux, CAF*, 1927, p. 261; G. Cany, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Souillac*, B. Monumental, 1951, p. 389.

Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Fortified city laid out according to a regular plan (1252-54) around a nearly square central plaza, which is surrounded by houses with arcades. - Church of Notre-Dame, begun in 1260. Polygonal apse, about 1327; aisleless nave with side chapels, 14th century. Construction continued about 1420 with the massive west bell tower forming a porch on the ground story. Choir stalls of 1473-87 by André Sulpice. Stained glass of the 15th century (restored). - Charterhouse founded in 1450. Chapel with porch and a nave of Languedocian type, chapter house, and small cloister in flamboyant style (1451-60). Large cloister of the late 15th century. - Chapelle des Pénitents-Noirs (1642-71), built on a quadrilobed plan, with a wooden dome. Sumptuous altarpiece of gilded wood. - Remains of houses of the 15th and 16th centuries (e.g., stair turrets).

BIBLIOG. Goffinet and B. de Gauléjac, *Figeac, Cahors, Rodez, CAF*, 1937, p. 90.

Guyenne. Departments of Gironde and Lot-et-Garonne. Guyenne was an English possession almost throughout the Middle Ages. Its Romanesque art has ties with that of Saintonge and Périgord; some of its Gothic monuments were influenced by the Cathedral of Bordeaux. Several important feudal ruins are remains of constructions undertaken by Pope Clement V, previously archbishop of Bordeaux (Villandraut), and the region preserves curious examples of fortified mills (Bagas, Blasimon, Barbaste). The Renaissance has left few traces, but Bordeaux is rich in 18th-century architecture.

BIBLIOG. Agen, Auch, CAF, 1901; J.-A. Brutails, *Etude archéologique sur les églises de la Gironde*, Bordeaux, 1912; G. Carrère, *Voyage en Agenais*, Toulouse, 1936; Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939.

Agen (anc. Aginnum). Capital of the Nitiobriges; bishopric from the 10th century; capital of Agenais. - Cathedral of St-Caprais. Large apse with radiating chapels and no ambulatory, 12th century; Romanesque transept to which cross-rib vaults were added in the 13th century; nave of the 13th century, vaulted in 1508. Chapter house with cross-rib vaulting (13th cent.). - Church of Notre-Dame-des-Jacobins, of Toulousan type, consisting of two aisles covered with cross-rib vaults (mid-13th cent.). - Cordelier church, of brick and stone, with a wide nave (mid-14th cent.). - House of the 14th century with large windows showing stone tracery. - Musée Municipal, established in three 16th-century mansions; archaeological collections, including a Venus from the excavations of Le Mas-d'Agenais; paintings by French primitives, by Goya, etc.

BIBLIOG. Agen, Auch, CAF, 1901, p. 1.

Bazas (anc. Cossium). Capital of the Vasates; bishopric. - St-Jean-Baptiste, Gothic cathedral begun in 1233, which to the northwest preserves the base of an 11th-century bell tower. Construction continued during the 14th century, with nave and aisles (no transept) and choir with ambulatory and five deep chapels. Except for the façade, almost entirely destroyed by the Huguenots in 1561; faithfully reconstructed according to the old plan from the late 16th century until 1635. Three façade portals with deep splay: on the tympanum, Last Judgment and stories of the Virgin and St. Peter (second half of 13th cent.). - Remains of medieval walls and towers.

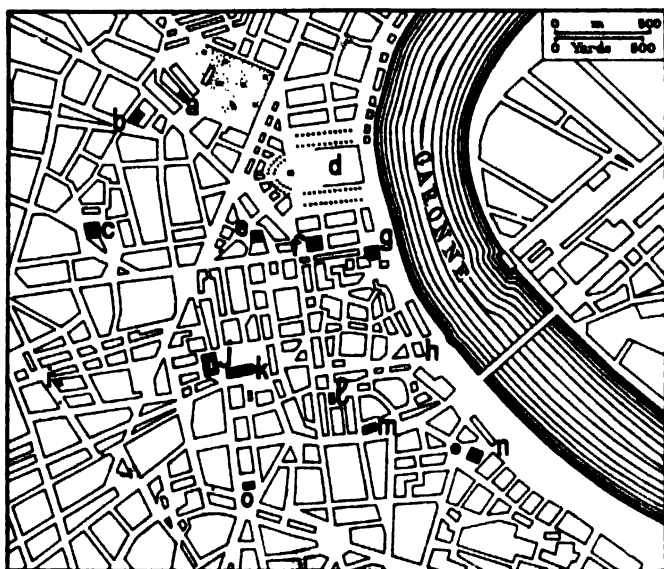
BIBLIOG. J. Vallery-Radot, *Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF*, 1939, p. 274.

Blaye. Important citadel overlooking the Gironde, rebuilt in the mid-17th century on medieval foundations, completed at the end of

the century by Vauban, with bastions, monumental gates, and a complete town plan, including a church, a hospital, and other public buildings. — Musée d'Histoire et d'Art, devoted to the Blaye region.

BIBLIOG. G. Loirette, Blaye, Saint-Sever, 1936.

Bordeaux (anc. Burdigala). Capital of the Bituriges Vivisci; from 370 to 508, capital of Aquitania Secunda. The Gallo-Roman period is represented by the remains of a 3d-century amphitheater (Palais Gallien) and segments of the late imperial wall; the huge colonnade (Piliers de Tutelle) of what had probably been a temple was demolished in the 18th century. The city enjoyed great prosperity under English occupation (1154-1453). In the 18th century it was an art center of foremost importance, and mid-town and along the Garonne it still presents the aspect it acquired at that time. — Church of St-Seurin. Crypt of the 11th century with Early Christian sarcophagi. Upper church of the 12th century, with nave formerly covered by cupolas; high aisles with transverse barrel vaults. South portal of the



Bordeaux: plan of the center of the city. (a) Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle; (b) amphitheater (Palais Gallien); (c) St-Seurin; (d) Place des Quinconces; (e) Notre-Dame; (f) Grand-Théâtre; (g) Bourse and Place de la Bourse; (h) Porte de Cailhau; (i) St-Bruno; (j) Town Hall; (k) Cathedral; (l) St-Paul; (m) Porte de la Grosse-Cloche; (n) St-Michel; (o) Ste-Eulalie.

13th century with representations of the Last Judgment and the Church and the Synagogue. — Church of Ste-Croix, of the 12th century, heavily restored. Richly decorated Romanesque façade of the Saintonge type. — Cathedral of St-André. Very wide Romanesque nave of Périgord type, with vaults of the 15th century; choir with ambulatory (13th cent.) in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France; transept surmounted by four towers. On the north flank, two great sculptured portals: one of the 13th century, related to the series of royal portals, with the Last Judgment, statues of Christ and of the apostles; the other, with statues of bishops, built under Clement V in the early 14th century. In the niches of the apse, more 13th-century statues. Near the Cathedral, large bell tower built under Bishop Pey-Berland (1440). — Church of St-Michel, in the Gothic style of Poitou, with nave and aisles of equal width. Portal of the 16th century with figures of sibyls. Separate bell tower by Jean Lebas of Saintes (1472-92); spire rebuilt in the 19th century. — Church of Ste-Eulalie, in the Gothic style of Poitou. — Church of St-Bruno (1620), with a majestic façade showing Italian influence. — Church of Notre-Dame, example of the architecture of the Counter Reformation. — Church of St-Paul, in rococo style. Luxuriously decorated interior; sculptures by G. II Coustou (1744). — The city preserves two powerful gates: the Porte de la Grosse-Cloche with towers (13th-15th cent.) and the Porte de Cailhau with machicolations (1494). Its commercial success in the 18th century permitted the realization of great town-planning projects, such as the circular Place de Tourny and, bordering the Garonne, the Place Royale (now Place de la Bourse), with the Customs House and the Bourse, a notable layout by Jacques and J.-A. Gabriel and C. Francin (1728-51); numerous mansions in Louis XV style also date from this period. In the late 18th century the city's urban development was directed by the architect Victor Louis, who designed, among other buildings, the Prefecture (former intendance) and the Grand-Théâtre (1773-80),

with a colonnade and, inside, a monumental branching staircase and a semicircular auditorium that has left its mark on the development of French architecture. Many buildings of similar character were erected: the Town Hall (former archiepiscopal palace) by J. Etienne and R.-F. Bonfin (1772-81), with a large courtyard surrounded by galleries; the Hôtels de Lalande (mus.), Labottière, and Bonnaffé, by E. Lacroix. A bridge of 17 arches built 1810-22 spans the Garonne. — Musée des Beaux-Arts: important paintings of the French, Italian, and Spanish schools. — Musée des Arts Décoratifs (from the Middle Ages to the 18th cent.), in the Hôtel Lalande. — Musée de la Marine.

BIBLIOG. C. Saunier, Bordeaux, Paris, 1909; L. Deshairs, Les Hôtels de Bordeaux, Paris, 1910; J.-A. Brutails, Saint-Michel de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1916; P. Courtesault, La Place Royale de Bordeaux, Paris, 1922; P. Courtesault, Bordeaux, cité classique, Paris, 1932; P. Courtesault, La Cathédrale de Bordeaux, Paris, 1935; Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 9; J. d'Welles, Le Grand-Théâtre de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1930; P. Brun, Les Eglises de Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1953.

Cordouan. Monumental lighthouse on a reef in the Gironde, built by Louis de Foix (late 16th cent.), altered and raised in 1788.

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, Le Phare de Cordouan, B. Monumental, 1955, p. 153.

Pair-non-Pair. Cave in the commune of Marcamps (dept. of Gironde). Numerous superposed and intersecting rock engravings of horses, mammoths, bovids, and bears, dated by stratigraphic evidence in the late Aurignacian and the early Perigordian.

BIBLIOG. F. Daleau, Gravures paléolithiques de Pair-non-Pair, Actes de la Société archéologique de Bordeaux, XXI, 1896, XXII, 1897; H. Breuil, Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art, Montignac, 1952, p. 319.

Petit-Palais. Little church of the 12th century. Aisleless nave. Remarkable façade, richly decorated with three tiers of arcatures (including some arches with polylobed archivolt) and with animal figures in the round.

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 156.

La Réole. Owes its name—derived from *regula*, "rule"—to a monastery founded in 970 and rebuilt in the 18th century. — Church of St-Pierre, late 12th-13th century. Aisleless nave; vast apse; transept with two chapels (14th-15th cent.). — Fortreaux of the 13th century, of which there subsist three round towers. — Late Romanesque Town Hall with a ground story divided into two aisles by columns and a vast second-story room with mullioned windows.

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 255.

Saint-Emilion. Built on the slope of a plateau. — Monolithic church excavated out of the rock in the early 12th century; divided into three aisles. Portal of the 14th century with the Last Judgment. Bell tower of the 12th century with a 16th-century spire. — Collegiate church with an aisleless Romanesque nave of Périgord type covered by cupolas; vast Gothic eastern portion divided into three aisles (13th cent.) apse of the 15th century. Transept portal with Christ in Majesty and the symbols of the Evangelists (early 14th cent.). — Ruined Cordelier monastery with remains of a church and a cloister (14th-15th cent.). — Romanesque house. — Rectangular donjon of the 13th century. — City ramparts describing a triangle (13th cent. and later).

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 171.

Uzeste. Former collegiate church with walls of the 12th century; rebuilt by Clement V (consecrated in 1313), with nave and aisles, choir with ambulatory and polygonal radiating chapels. On the tympanum of the south portal, Coronation of the Virgin. North bell tower with spire (16th cent.). Inside, recumbent statue of Clement V by Jean de Bonneval.

BIBLIOG. G. Brun, Uzeste et Clément V, ad ed., Bordeaux, 1899. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 301.

Gascony (Fr., Gascogne). Included here to simplify discussion is most of the area south of the Garonne: the departments of Landes, Gers (historical region of Armagnac), Basses-Pyrénées (Béarn, the Basque country), Hautes-Pyrénées, western Haute-Garonne. Near Saint-Gaudens is the prehistoric site of Aurignac, which gave its name to a whole paleolithic epoch. The Gallo-Roman and Early Christian periods are represented especially at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Lugdunum Convenarum). In the Middle Ages the Toulousan style dominated religious architecture; in the late 13th



century the influence of the Gothic style of Champagne made itself felt (Cathedral of Bayonne). Fortified cities of regular plan (bastides) were built in the 13th century, after the conquest of the region by the French crown (Montréjeau, the two Grenades, Fleurance, Boulogne, Plaisance-du-Touch, Mirande). One area stands apart, the Basque country, whose churches characteristically have two or three tiers of galleries around the nave, a disposition of Protestant derivation and large altarpieces of Spanish type.

BIBLIOG. Agen, Auch, CAF, 1901; Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939; V. Allègre, *Les Vieilles églises du Béarn*, Toulouse, 1932; E. Lambert, *L'Architecture religieuse dans le pays basque français*, Annales du Midi, 1952, p. 97; H. Polge, *L'Architecture religieuse du diocèse d'Auch*, Annales du Midi, 1934, p. 5.

Auch (anc. Elimberris, later Augusta Ausciorum). Capital of the Ausci; Early Christian bishopric. The old town, built amphitheater-wise on a steep incline, lies on the left bank of the Gers; the modern quarters are on the right bank. - Cathedral of Ste-Marie, begun in 1489, in flamboyant style, with the crypt and an ambulatory surrounded by radiating chapels; finished in the late 17th century. Renaissance façade (lower portions built 1560-62). Great set of stained-glass windows (ca. 1507) by Arnaud de Moles, considered the best of their time; 113 choir stalls carved by D. Bertin and others (1515-51); choir screen by P. Souffron (1609). - Noteworthy old buildings (15th cent. and later), such as the Town Hall (1760-70), which contains a theater, and the Prefecture. - Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie: pre-Columbian pottery; dolls. - Musée Gascon. - Musée des Archives Départementales.

BIBLIOG. H. Castéra, *La Basilique Sainte-Marie d'Auch*, Auch, 1929; J.-R. Marboutin, Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 172.

Bayonne (anc. Lapurdum). In the late 3d century, headquarters of a Roman cohort; fortified in the 4th century. Part of possessions of the dukes of Aquitaine; subsequently passed under English dominion. Important harbor, largely artificial. - Cathedral of Ste-Marie, on the site of a Roman temple, begun from the east after 1258, with ambulatory and five radiating chapels; nonprojecting transept; nave with aisles, continued until the mid-15th century (see VI, PL. 300); façade towers of the early 16th century. In the Chapel of St-Jérôme, stained glass of 1531. Double portal of sacristy with sculptured tympanums and archivolta representing the Adoration of the Virgin and the Last Judgment. To the south of the church, Gothic cloister (13th cent.). - Remains of ramparts of various periods: Roman, with towers; medieval with the fort of Château-Vieux; Vauban's fortifications of 1680, including a square citadel with angle bastions. - Musée Basque (in the 16th-cent. Maison Dagourette): local history and folk art. - Musée Bonnat: paintings and drawings by French, Italian, Flemish, and Dutch masters and by Léon Bonnat himself.

BIBLIOG. A. Personnaz and Georges-Bergès, *Le Musée de Bayonne*, Paris, 1926; Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 507; E. Lambert, Bayonne, ville d'art, Bayonne, 1951.

Dax (anc. Aquae Tarbellicae, later Aquae Augustae). City that rose on the left bank of the Adour, known for its hot spring from antiquity. Capital of the Tarbelli, Roman colony; diocese and the seat of viscounts. The Gallo-Roman period has left a well-preserved portion of the city wall with round towers and a mosaic discovered in the foundations of the Church of St-Vincent-de-Xaintes (rebuilt in 1893). - Cathedral, rebuilt from 1646, completed in 1755. Aisleless nave; false triforium; transept; choir with ambulatory. Inserted in the north transept, sculptured portal of an anterior edifice (second half of 13th cent.). - In the environs, Saint-Paul-lès-Dax, with a church whose Romanesque apse, incorporated in a modern construction, is decorated on the exterior with a frieze of bas-reliefs (scenes from the New Testament).

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 372.

Gargas. This cave on the boundary of the communes of Aventignan and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, already well known for its abundant remains of Pleistocene fauna, is of great artistic interest as well. Its walls show numerous human hands, some of them mutilated, outlined in black or red, and some representations of animals traced on clay surfaces with the fingers.

BIBLIOG. E. Cartailhac and H. Breuil, *Les Peintures et gravures murales des cavernes pyrénéennes*, IV: Gargas, Aventignan, *L'Anthropologie*, XXI, 1911, p. 129; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 246.

Hagetmau (environs). Crypt of St-Girons (mid-12th cent.), sole remnant of an abbey church, with cross-rib vaults supported by marble

columns whose magnificent capitals are adorned with human figures, fantastic animals, and foliage.

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 365.

Lombes. Bishopric from 1317. - Cathedral of Ste-Marie, late 14th century, built of brick. Wide nave of Languedocian type with a single aisle. Powerful façade with an octagonal tower. Stained glass of the 16th century by Arnaud de Moles.

BIBLIOG. Abbé Lafont, *La Cathédrale de Lombes*, Samatan, 1929; Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 200.

Lourdes. Pilgrimage center from 1858. - Eglise du Rosaire, in Byzantinizing style, and, directly behind it, a two-storied basilica in 13th-century style (both, late 19th cent.). - Subterranean Basilica of St-Pie X, by P. Vago and others (1957). - Castle of the 14th-15th century, housing the Musée Pyrénéen.

BIBLIOG. F. Varzy, Lourdes, Paris, 1948; J. Chagnolleau, Lourdes, Paris, 1950.

Mirande. Fortified city of regular plan, founded in 1285 along the Baïse. - Church of Notre-Dame (early 15th cent.), with an aisleless nave. - Remains of the city wall. - Museum with important paintings.

Oloron-Sainte-Marie (anc. Iluro). Gallo-Roman city of Celtic-Iberian origin; bishopric from the 4th century. - Church of Ste-Croix, begun about 1070. Basilican plan with three apses. Over the crossing, cupola ribbed in a stellate pattern. - Church of Ste-Marie, famous for its 12th-century portal with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, allegorical figures, fantastic animals. Nave with aisles (13th cent.); choir with ambulatory and five chapels (14th cent.). - Remains of 14th-century fortifications.

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 415.

Orthez. Church of St-Pierre. Choir with cross-rib vaulting rectangular side chapels, and a three-sided apse (late 13th cent.); wide aisleless nave of Languedocian type (second half of 14th cent.). - Castle of 1242, of which there subsist segments of the double curtain wall and a pentagonal donjon raised in the 14th century. - Pont-Vieux, bridge with a central tower pierced by a door (14th cent.). - Houses of the 15th-16th century.

BIBLIOG. Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 391.

Pau. Grew around a castle; from 1479, capital of Béarn. - Castle rebuilt about 1370, with two curtain walls and a massive square angle donjon; enlarged in the mid-15th century; transformed (1528-35) in Renaissance style, with a decorated façade, monumental staircase, and *cour d'honneur*; heavily restored in the 19th century. Houses a museum (tapestries, furniture, folk art). - Musée des Beaux-Arts: paintings and sculptures.

BIBLIOG. F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 156; R. Ritter, *Le Château de Pau*, Paris, 1929; J. de Laprade, Pau et le Béarn, Paris, 1933.

Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (anc. Lugdunum Convenarum). The Roman city, founded in 72 B.C. by Pompey, developed near the Garonne at the foot of a hill. Systematic excavations have brought to light the forum with a temple, three thermal establishments, and a basilica adapted to commercial purposes in the late 1st or early 2d century and restored in the 4th century. Behind the temple rose trophies of the Augustan period (fragments in the mus.). Both a theater and an amphitheater existed; there are ruins of the first, and the emplacement of the second has been located. Of a city wall no traces have been found. In the late empire the population took refuge on the hill, which was defended by a wall with brick coursing (some segments subsist). Devastated by the Vandals in 408, annihilated at the time of Gundobald's revolt in 585, the city was to rise again in the 12th century. - Substructures of an Early Christian basilica (mid-4th cent.), 148 ft. long, with a narthex and a three-sided apse. - Cathedral. Nave with walls of the 11th-12th century; west portal with sculptured tympanum (Adoration of the Magi, mid-12th cent.), opening into a porch surmounted by a tower; eastern portion rebuilt in 1304 by the future Clement V with a vast Gothic choir surrounded by nine polygonal chapels; north chapel of the 15th century with stellar vault, sheltering the tomb of Bishop Hugues de Châtillon with figures of mourners (15th cent.); choir stalls, 1535; stained glass, 1538. Treasury with works of the 12th to the 14th century. Cloister with sculptured capitals and a pillar with the four Evangelists (early 12th cent.; partly rebuilt in the

late Middle Ages). — In the environs, at Valcabrère, 11th-century church of basilican plan, with rectangular piers reinforced, toward the nave, by pilasters; late Romanesque portal with statue-columns.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: Espér. II, 1908, IX, 1925, XIII, 1940; R. Lizop, *Les Convenae et les Consoranni* (Comminges et Couserans), Toulouse, Paris, 1931; R. Lizop and others, *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France*, XXI, 1947; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 327, 496, 537, 648, 808. *Middle Ages and modern times*: M. Dieulafoy, *Basiliques chrétiennes de Lugdunum Convenarum*, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1914, p. 59. Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 263; M. Villotte, *La Renaissance et un groupe de stalles du Midi*, Lille, 1930; P. Lavedan and R. Rey, *Luchon, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges*, Toulouse, 1931; J. Hubert, *L'Architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1952, n. 46.

**Saint-Jean-de-Luz.** On the Atlantic. English dominion in the 12th century. — Church (1558) of Basque type. Rectangular hall with three tiers of galleries; timber vault. — Place Louis XIV with the Town Hall (1657) and the Château Lohobique with a turreted façade (1635). — Maison de l'Infante (17th cent.), in red brick and stone.

**BIBLIOG.** Dax, Bayonne, CAF, 1888, p. 110; P. Dop, *L'Eglise de Saint-Jean-de-Luz*, Bayonne, 1932.

**Saint-Sever.** Near Bordeaux. — Vast church built prior to 1072. East end of Benedictine type with a stepwise placement of three apsidioles on either side of the apse (this last rebuilt in the 17th cent.); very original disposition of elevated galleries in the transept; triforium (which had disappeared) restored in the 20th century; modern façade. — Monastery of the 17th century, now Town Hall. — Former Jacobin church with a 17th-century cloister.

**BIBLIOG.** J.-A. Brutails, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Saint-Sever*, B. Archéologique, 1900, p. 5; Bordeaux, Bayonne, CAF, 1939, p. 345.

**Simorre.** Finest fortified church in the region (1304), altered in the 15th century, restored by Viollet-le-Duc. Noteworthy carved choir stalls (1492–1519) and stained glass (14th–16th cent.); remains of 15th-century murals.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Clermont, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Simorre*, Auch, 1928.

**Languedoc.** Former province of great extent, in which two regions are recognized: Upper and Lower Languedoc.

**a. Upper Languedoc.** Departments: eastern Haute-Garonne, Tarn, Western Aude; to these may be added the Pays de Foix (dept. of Ariège). In this primordial art center of southern France sculpture flourished in the marble workers' shops until the 8th century; it revived in the 11th century, heralding Romanesque art. The Romanesque churches are in general very simple in structure; the Gothic churches, of brick, belong to a particular type, with aisleless nave flanked by chapels (Albi), many of them fortified at the time of the Albigensian conflicts. Also characteristic are the castle of the counts of Foix in the Pyrenees area (Foix, Lordat, Montaner).

**BIBLIOG.** J. de Lahondès, *Les Eglises romanes de la vallée de l'Ariège*, B. Monumental, 1877, pp. 513, 703; J. de Lahondès, *Les Eglises des pays de Foix et de Couserans*, B. Monumental, 1883, p. 288; J. de Lahondès, *Les Eglises gothiques de l'Ariège*, B. Archéologique, 1898, p. 456; R. Roger, *Quelques églises fortifiées de l'Ariège*, Foix, 1901; R. Rey, *Les Vieilles églises fortifiées du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1925; Toulouse, CAF, 1929; R. Rey, *L'Architecture gothique du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1934; R. Rey, *La Sculpture romane languedocienne*, Paris, 1936; M. de Bévotte, *La Sculpture à la fin de la période gothique dans la région de Toulouse*, d'Albi et de Rodez, Paris, 1936; V. Allègre, *L'Art roman dans la région albigeoise*, Albi, 1943; V. Allègre, *Les Richesses médiévales du Tarn*, Toulouse, 1954.

**Albi.** Capital of the Albigeoise; bishopric from the 3d century; in the 12th–13th century, one of the centers of the Manichaean heresy. — Church of St-Salvi, 12th–13th century. Nave with aisles. On the north flank, bell tower with a Romanesque base, continued in Gothic style — Cathedral of Ste-Cécile (Pl. 381), begun in 1282, completed in the late 14th century, built of brick — a masterpiece of Languedocian Gothic architecture. Wide nave with deep side chapels; fortified exterior. Sumptuous decoration in the interior: rood screen, choir screen, and stalls in flamboyant style, with statues; fresco of the Last Judgment (14th cent.) on the west wall; Italianate rinceaux and medallions on the vaults; stained glass of the 14th century and later. — Romanesque bridge, of brick. — Former episcopal palace with a rectangular donjon flanked by angle towers (second half of 13th cent.). — Town Hall, Maison Enjalbert, and Hôtel Reynès, 16th century — Musée Toulouse-Lautrec (in the former episcopal palace); works by the painter and other modern artists.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Laran, *La Cathédrale d'Albi*, Paris, 1911, Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 362; E. Mâle, *La Cathédrale d'Albi*, Paris, 1950.

**Carcassonne** (anc. Carcasso). Its position as a natural stronghold gave it great military importance, and it was repeatedly besieged and occupied. In 1247, when the dwellings of the upper town (the Cité) were razed, the inhabitants moved to a lower-lying site on the left bank of the Aude; there a new city was built on a checkerboard plan that is still in evidence today. *Upper town*: The Cité, though restored by Viollet-le-Duc, remains an exceptional example of medieval military architecture, with its Visigothic bastions restored in 1130, an exterior wall of 1240 finished by Philip the Bold (with towers and gates), and the rectangular castle surrounded by a moat with a barbican (now seat of an archaeological mus.). — Church (former Cathedral) of St-Nazaire. Romanesque nave with aisles; choir begun about 1269 in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France; ample transept with rectangular chapels; polygonal apse. Group of statues of the early 14th century; tomb of Bishop Radulphe, mid-13th century; rose windows in the transept and stained glass in the choir, 14th century. — Medieval bridge over the Aude (altered). *Lower town*: Churches of St-Michel and of St-Vincent, in the Gothic style of Languedoc, the second with vaults of the 18th century and west portal with statues. — Musée des Beaux-Arts: paintings; ceramics.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Poux, *La Cité de Carcassonne*, 3 vols., Toulouse, 1931–38.

**Castres** (anc. Castra Albiensium). Benedictine abbey; from the 14th century, bishopric. — Cathedral of St-Benoît (1678–1718), a late example of southern Gothic style. — Hôtel de Naxrac (16th cent.), in Renaissance style. — Former episcopal palace (1666) designed by J. Hardouin Mansart, now housing the Musée Goya (with four of his paintings and other important works).

**BIBLIOG.** L. de Lacger, *Histoire de Castres*, Albi, 1937.

**Cordes.** Bastide founded in 1222, particularly flourishing in the 14th century. — Church of St-Michel. Straight east end of the 13th century; nave with side chapels, 15th century; bell tower of the 14th century. — Remains of fortifications. — Well-preserved medieval center with Gothic houses and a 14th-century covered market (repaired).

**BIBLIOG.** C. Portal, *Histoire de la ville de Cordes*, Albi, 1902; Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 454.

**Foix** (anc. Fuxum). Grew around an oratory founded by Charlemagne. — Church of St-Volusien. Aisleless nave of the early 12th century; 14th-century choir in the regional style, with rectangular radiating chapels; cross-rib vaults redone in the 17th century. — Remains of the castle of the counts of Foix: two square towers of the 12th–14th century; cylindrical donjon, some stories of which are covered with cross-rib vaults.

**BIBLIOG.** Pamiers, Foix, CAF, 1884; B. Lemée, *Le Château de Foix*, 1956.

**Niaux.** Cave about 2 miles from Tarascon-sur-Ariège. At the end of a gallery that is more than 550 yd. long, and at many points of imposing dimensions, there is a sort of chamber, almost circular in shape, called the "Salon Noir," with 25 representations of bison, 16 of horses, one of a deer, and 6 of ibexes. The figures are outlined in black; the purity of design is remarkable. On the ground, in areas protected from trampling, can be seen Magdalenian figures traced in the clay, especially a handsome fish and a bison.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Breuil, *Les Peintures et gravures pariétales de la caverne de Niaux* (Ariège), B. de la Société préhistorique de l'Ariège, V, 1950, p. 9; H. Breuil, *La Caverne de Niaux: Compléments inédits sur sa décoration*, B. de la Société préhistorique de l'Ariège, VII, 1952, p. 11; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 179.

**Le Portel.** Cave in the commune of Loubens (dept. of Ariège) with numerous pictures of animals — especially horses and bison — but also human figures, dating from the Aurignacian-Perigordian and Magdalenian. A few representations utilize the natural contour of the rock face.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Vézian, *La Grotte du Portel*, B. de la Société préhistorique du Languedoc, II, 1945, p. 2; H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art*, Montignac, 1952, p. 221.

**Saint-Lizier** (anc. Lugdunum Consorannorum). Bishopric from about 450 until the Revolution. — Former cathedral. Choir, apse, and transept (the last opening on two pre-Romanesque apsidioles), 12th century; nave on a deviating axis, 12th–15th century; octagonal brick bell tower of Toulousan style. Cloister built about 1216 in archaizing style, with coupled colonnettes on the ground story; 15th-century second story covered with a timber roof. — Imposing remains of late imperial walls. — Former episcopal palace, 1655–80. — Hospital of the mid-18th century.

**BIBLIOG.** Toulouse, CAF, 1929, p. 235.

Toulouse (anc. Tolosa). Capital of the Volcas Tectosages in the late empire; seat of an abbey from the late 4th century; from 419 to 506 capital of the Visigothic kingdom. Important art center in the Merovingian period (Church of La Daurade, destroyed in the 18th cent. and replaced by another building); numerous monuments of the Romanesque period and of the Renaissance — a golden age for the city, which was the home, then and later, of distinguished sculptors, painters, and artisans. Prevailing building material: brick. — Basilica of St-Sernin. Though the façade with towers remained unfinished, this church constitutes a perfect example of the so-called "pilgrimage church," with galleries, double aisles, and transept with aisles. Begun in the late 11th century; choir consecrated in 1096; nave partly built before 1118; crypt, mid-12th century, redone with cross-rib vaults; central octagonal bell tower, early 12th-late 13th century, with five tiers of arcades, the last two with pointed arches — a type that was to be imitated throughout the region. Products of the sculptural renaissance of the late 11th century, of which the Abbey of St-

brick end, of the first, a cloister (14th cent.). — Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Dalbade. Wide aisleless nave with side chapels, mid-15th century, enlarged in the 16th century. Flamboyant portal. — Church of St-Pierre (1607-12), with 18th-century painting and sculpture. — Church of Notre-Dame-la-Daurade (1773-90), in neoclassical style, by P. Hardy. — Brick house with mullioned windows (13th cent.). — Behind the Capitole (town hall), square donjon with angle turrets (1525-29), by P. de Naves and L. Clari, crowning by Viollet-le-Duc. — Hôtel Castel, 15th century. — Many splendid 16th-century mansions, such as the Hôtel Bernuy (now Lycée) with a street façade (1504) by G. and J. Picart and A. Cayla and a courtyard (1533) by L. Privat with Renaissance porticoes and loggias; Hôtel du Vieux-Raisin, with caryatid-decorated windows (first quarter of 16th cent.); Hôtel d'Assézat (1555-58; PL. 397), with superposed classical orders, by J. Castagné. — Of the 17th century: Maison de Pierre (Hôtel de Bagis), transformed in 1611-15 with a heavily ornamented stone façade but preserving a door with caryatids by N. Bachelier (1931); Hôtel des Chevaliers de Malte (1685), by J.-P. Rivalz the Elder. — Neoclassical period: former archiepiscopal palace (now Prefecture) by C.-A. d'Aviler (late 17th cent.); Capitole (town hall), with an Ionic façade by G. Cammas (1750-53). — Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture (Musée des Augustins), one of the most important in France: Romanesque capitals from the cloisters of St-Sernin and of La Daurade, of the cloister and chapter house of the Cathedral (early 12th cent.); 14th- and 15th-century sculptures (apostles from the Chapel of Rieux; a seated Virgin known as *Notre-Dame de Grace*); 17th-century paintings of the regional school: J. Chalette, Tournier, the Rivalzes, etc. — Musée St-Raymond: archaeological, medieval, Renaissance collections; clocks. — Museum in the botanical garden: prehistory and ethnography. — Musée Paul Dupuy: drawings; minor arts; folk art. — Musée Georges Labit: Oriental art. — Bibliothèque Municipale, rich in Gothic manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. H. Rachou, *Catalogue des collections de sculpture et d'épigraphie du musée de Toulouse*, Paris, 1912; J. de Lahondès, *Les Monuments de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1920; Toulouse, CAF, 1920, p. 9; R. Rey, *La Cathédrale de Toulouse*, Paris, 1929; A. Auriol and R. Rey, *La Basilique de Saint-Sernin, Toulouse*, 1930; H. Rachou, *Pierres romanes, Toulouse*, 1934; C. Paul-Duprat, *Le Décor sculpté des hôtels toulousains de la première Renaissance*, GBA, II, 1937, p. 5; M. Lafargue, *Les Chapiteaux du cloître de la Daurade, Toulouse*, 1940; E. Lambert, *L'Eglise et le couvent des Jacobins de Toulouse*, B. Monumental, 1946, p. 141; E. Lambert, *La Cathédrale de Toulouse. Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France*, 1947, p. 137; P. Mesplé, *Vieux hôtels de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1948.

Les Trois-Frères and Le Tuc-d'Audoubert. Two intercommunicating caves near Montesquieu-Avantès (IV, PL. 261). In 1912 the sons of Comte Bégouën, exploring the subterranean course of the Volp, came upon a chamber containing two now famous bison modeled in clay (Tuc-d'Audoubert). Les Trois-Frères was discovered a few years later. It contains countless engravings of great purity of design but hard to interpret. Of particular interest is the figure, 30 in. high, of a "sorcerer," wearing an animal skin, his face covered by a mask with antlers.

BIBLIOG. H. Bégouën and H. Breuil, *Les Cavernes du Volp*, Paris, 1958.

b. *Lower Languedoc*. Departments of Hérault, eastern Aude, Gard; former province of Roussillon (dept. of Pyrénées-Orientales). The region preserves vestiges of ancient civilizations — Italic, Greek, Iberian (Enserune, Iron Age). Part of ancient Narbonensis, which was colonized by the Romans about 120 B.C., it also preserves Gallo-Roman edifices of foremost importance (Nîmes, Pont du Gard). Its medieval monuments include early Romanesque churches (Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa), many fortified Romanesque and Gothic ones, cloisters with marble capitals, numerous secular buildings (Pézenas). An affinity to Catalan art marks the sculpture and painting of the Pyrenean area (Elne). In Narbonne and elsewhere the Gothic of Ile-de-France and Champagne gained firm hold. Through the possession of Roussillon by the kings of Majorca in the 14th and 15th centuries Mediterranean influences made themselves felt in Perpignan. A decidedly Italianate character permeates the architecture of the Renaissance and the 17th century. The 17th and 18th centuries saw considerable building activity in Montpellier.

BIBLIOG. E. Bonnet, *Antiquités et monuments du département de l'Hérault*, Montpellier, 1905; Carcassonne, Perpignan, CAF, 1906; Toulouse, CAF, 1929; M. de Dainville, *Monuments historiques de l'Hérault*, Montpellier, 1933; P. Lavedan, *L'Architecture gothique religieuse en Catalogne*, Paris, 1935; M. de Dainville, *Les Eglises romanes du diocèse de Montpellier*, Montpellier, II, 1937, p. 310; E. Bonnet, *Répertoire archéologique du département de l'Hérault*, Montpellier, 1938; Montpellier, CAF, 1950; M. Durliat, *La Sculpture romane en Roussillon*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Perpignan, 1952; Roussillon, CAF, 1954.



Toulouse: plan of the center of the city. (a) St-Sernin; (b) Jacobin church; (c) Notre-Dame-du-Taur; (d) Notre-Dame-la-Dalbade; (e) Musée St-Raymond; (f) Pont-Neuf; (g) former Hôtel Bernuy (Lycée); (h) Hôtel du Vieux-Raisin; (i) former archiepiscopal palace (Prefecture); (j) Hôtel d'Assézat; (k) Hôtel des Chevaliers de Malte; (l) Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture; (m) Capitole (town hall); (n) Cathedral.

Sernin was one of the first centers: the south portal (Porte Miégevillie) with tympanum representing the Ascension; an altar of 1096; marble niches in the ambulatory, with Christ in Majesty, angels, and apostles.

Cathedral of St-Etienne, rebuilt in 1211, with a very wide aisleless nave covered with low-springing cross-rib vaults. Choir built after 1275 and displaced northward in relation to the nave, testifies to the late influence of the northern cathedrals; cross-rib vaults of the 17th century. — Jacobin monastery. Church (1260-1315) built of brick, divided into two aisles by a row of high slender columns supporting clusters of ribs; octagonal tower. Chapel of St-Antonin (1326-47), covered with painting of Italianate character (medallions on the vaults) of the 14th and 15th centuries (VI, PL. 369). Cloister and a chapter house with high vaults, 14th century. — Church of Notre-Dame-du-Taur. Aisleless nave of the 14th century; wide eastern portion with chapels of irregular plan, 15th century. Façade with a bell gable pierced by two rows of pointed arches and flanked by turrets. — Of the Augustinian and Cordelier monasteries there subsist bell towers of

Agde (anc. Agathe). Greek, then Roman, colony. — Romanesque Cathedral of St-Etienne, built of black lava on a T plan, with a large aisleless nave, a transept, and no apse; powerfully fortified with a tower raised in the Gothic period. — Remains of Greek walls.

BIBLIOG. P. de Gorse, *Monographie de la cathédrale Saint-Etienne d'Agde*, Toulouse, 1922.

Aigues-Mortes. City with a checkerboard plan founded by St. Louis, who built the cylindrical Tour de Constance (ca. 1249), with two superposed vaulted rooms. The city wall, begun in 1272, was completed under Philip the Fair; it has five large gates flanked by towers, as well as angle and other towers.

BIBLIOG. J.-C. Roux, *Aigues-Mortes*, Paris, 1910; A. Fliche, *Aigues-Mortes et Saint-Gilles*, Paris, 1950.

Arles-sur-Tech. Abbey church, not oriented, some parts of which may date from the 9th century (linteled main portal); western apse with Lombard bands, nave and aisles, 1046 (vaults of the 12th cent.); two lateral towers (only one completed) begun in the second half of the 11th century; in the apse, frescoes of 1157 (seraphim, archangels). Cloister with coupled colonnettes (1261–1303). Chapter house of the 14th century. — Church of St-Sauveur, with a Gothic nave.

BIBLIOG. Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 347.

Beaucaire (anc. Ugernum). Across the Rhone from Tarascon. Of note are the castle, of which some walls and a triangular donjon survive (13th–14th cent.); the Town Hall (1679–83), by J. Hardouin Mansart, with a monumental staircase; and, among religious edifices, the Romanesque Chapel of St-Louis (early 13th cent.) and the churches of St-Paul, formerly of the Cordeliers (14th cent.), and of Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers (early 18th cent.), in rococo style, by the Avignon architect J.-B. Franque. The town also has fine old mansions; in the 17th-century Hôtel du Roure is the Musée du Vieux Beaucaire.

BIBLIOG. Nîmes, CAF, 1897, p. 92. A. Kleinclausz, *La Provence*, Paris, 1930.

Béziers. Prehistoric settlement on the top of the hill now occupied by the old town; Celtic city (Baeterrae); in Caesar's time, colony of veterans of the Seventh Legion (Colonia Julia Septimanorum Baeterrae); bishopric from the late 3d century. — Church of St-Nazaire. Crypt of the 9th–10th century; Romanesque choir; reconstruction of 1215 completed during the 14th century, with a large apse, nave with side chapels, façade with fortified towers; choir decorated with painting and sculpture in the 18th century. Sacristy of the mid-15th century with a stellar vault. Cloister of the 14th century housing a lapidary museum. — Church of St-Jacques. Polygonal apse in Provençal Romanesque style with ornamentation inspired by antiquity. Building enlarged in the late 12th century; side chapels of the 15th century; important alterations in the 18th and 19th centuries. — Remains of a Roman theater. — Town Hall, 1742. — Former episcopal palace by C.-A. d'Aviler (late 17th cent.). — Theater (1844), with terracotta bas-reliefs on theatrical themes by David d'Angers. — Musée du Vieux Biterrois et du Vin, in a former Dominican church. — Musée Fabrégt; paintings; archaeological collections.

BIBLIOG. Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 323.

Elne (anc. Illiberis, later Helena). Early Romanesque Cathedral of Ste-Eulalie, begun about 1042, with nave and aisles, no transept, apse and apsidioles; lateral façade tower decorated with arcatures and Lombard bands; fortifications of later date; Gothic side chapels. Cloister with coupled colonnettes and pillars (1172–86); tomb with the recumbent figure of a bishop (late 12th cent.).

BIBLIOG. J.-A. Brutails, *Monographie de la cathédrale et du cloître d'Elne*, Perpignan 1887. Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 135.

Ensérune (anc. Ansedunum?). On a height that dominates the plain of Béziers. Remains of an *oppidum* of the Iron Age, continuously occupied from the 6th century B.C. to the 1st century of our era, at which time it was abandoned, attest Iberian and Hellenic influences on an indigenous Celtic substratum. Excavations have revealed successive stages of settlement, the first (6th cent.) marked by the use of silos for the storage of food and by the absence of an enclosing wall; the second (late 5th–3d cent.), by the substitution for silos of doliums inserted in the ground, within the dwelling, by the erection of an enclosure built of huge stones, segments of which subsist, and by the first appearance in Gaul of stone columns in dwellings (4th–3d

cent.); the third (from the second half of the 3d cent.), by the influence — superficial rather than fundamental — of Roman building methods. A necropolis has yielded large quantities of pottery: Greek, Italic, and Iberian. Significant remains testify to the practice of incineration and the holding of funerary banquets. — Archaeological museum with arms, Celtic jewelry, coins, rich collection of pottery.

BIBLIOG. Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 290; J. Jannoray, *Ensérune: Contribution à l'étude des civilisations préromaines de la Gaule méridionale*, Paris, 1955.

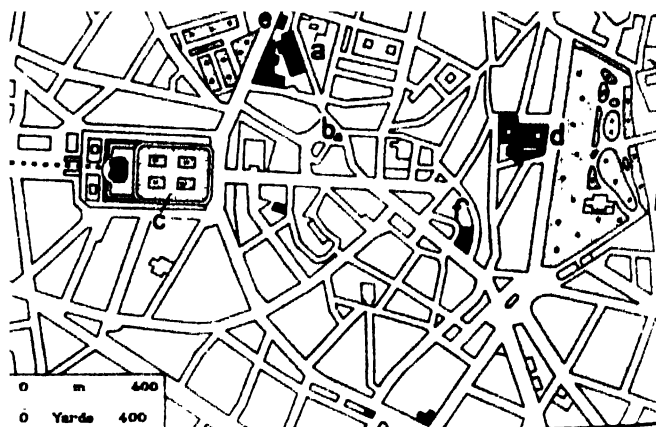
Fontfroide. Cistercian abbey about 9 miles from Narbonne, founded in the late 11th century. — Church of the second half of the 12th century. Nave with aisles; transept; apse and two apsidioles (all three polygonal) separated by rectangular chapels; south chapels of the 15th century. Chapter house with vaults supported by columns (early 13th cent.). Cloister of the second half of the 13th century, partly altered in the 17th.

BIBLIOG. C. Boyer, *L'Abbaye de Fontfroide*, Carcassonne, 1932; Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 425.

Maguelone (or Maguelonne). Formerly an islet, emplacement of ancient Magalona; bishopric from the 6th century. — Cathedral of St-Pierre. Of the reconstruction undertaken about 1030–60 there subsists only the ruined south lateral tower. Apse with apsidioles opening on the transept, which has early cross-rib vaults (first half of 12th cent.); aisleless nave and western gallery, late Romanesque period. Fortified façade; portal with sculptured tympanum revealing Provençal influence.

BIBLIOG. Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 60.

Montpellier. Documented since the 10th century; arose from the union in 1349 of two separate districts, one episcopal, the other seigniorial; important port; two-thirds destroyed during the civil conflicts of the 17th century. — Cathedral of St-Pierre, founded in 1364 by Pope Urban V and built by the Avignon architects Bernard de Manse and Bertrand Nougayrol. Wide nave with side chapels in Languedocian style. Façade of fortresslike appearance with two towers and a projecting porch. Restorations and alterations, 17th–19th century. — Tour des Pins, remnant of the medieval city wall. — Former episcopal palace (now School of Medicine), of the 14th century, altered in the 18th. — Numerous 17th-century mansions recalling Genoese palaces, with colonnades along the courtyard façades and interior stucco decoration (Hôtels de Lunaret, de Manse, de Castries). — Promenade du Peyrou (17th–18th cent.), after the designs of C.-A. d'Aviler, J.-A. Giral, and Jacques Donnat. Triumphal arch by D'Aviler and F. d'Orbay; equestrian statue of Louis XIV; harmonious water tower



Montpellier: plan of the center of the city. (a) Cathedral and School of Medicine, with the Musée Atger. (b) Town Hall; (c) Promenade du Peyrou and water tower. (d) Musée Fabre. (e) Tour des Pins; (f) Hôtel de Lunaret

by Giral. — Hôtel St-Côme, with an anatomical amphitheater by J.-A. Giral (1752–57). — Reconstructions of the 18th century: the Town Hall, the Hôtels de St-Etienne and de Villeneuve-Bargemon — Musée Fabre (in the Hôtel de Massilian), one of the richest museums in France, with paintings representing practically every European school, especially the French: Poussin, Aved (*Portrait of Mme Crozat*), David, Courbet (*The Bathers*, *Bonjour M. Courbet*), Delacroix (*Women of Algiers*), Ingres, Brazeille; sculptures by Houdon; important collection of drawings. — Musée de la Société Archéologique, in the

Hôtel de Lunaret. - Musée Atger (in the School of Medicine): drawings and paintings, especially of the 18th century. - Museum of medieval casts in the Faculté des Lettres. - Museum of Romanesque art in the crypt of the destroyed Church of Notre-Dame-des-Tables. - In the environs, Château de la Piscine, in late-18th-century archaizing style.

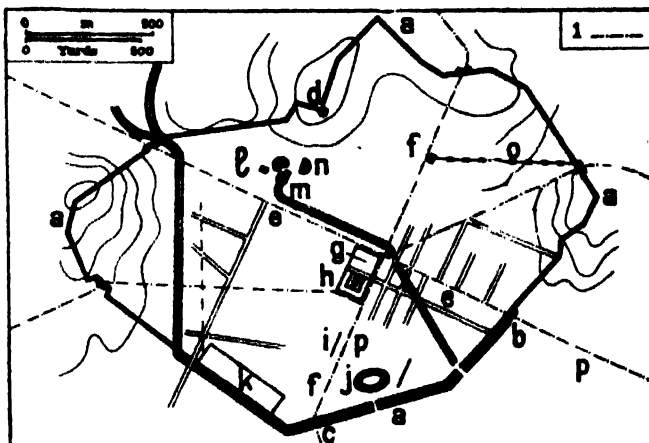
BIBLIOG. E. Bonnet and A. Joubin, *Montpellier aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1912; A. Joubin, *Le Musée de Montpellier*, 2 vols., Paris, 1926-29; A. Leenhardt, *Vieux hôtels montpelliérains*, Bellegarde, 1935; A. Fliche, *Montpellier*, Paris, 1938; Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 9.

Narbonne (anc. Narbo Martius). A seaport in antiquity, situated along the Via Domitia and a canal derived from the Aude; now, owing to alterations in the coastline about 7 miles from the sea. The colony of Narbo Martius, founded by the Romans about 120 B.C. near a Gallic oppidum (ruins on the Hill of Montlaurès), became the capital of Narbonensis and the chief harbor west of Italy; there was a new influx of settlers in 46 B.C. Neither wall nor monuments survive from the republican period. The city developed under the empire but had a rival in the port of Marseilles; in the 2d century it was devastated by fire. The position of the forum is known, and the substructures of the capitol and an amphitheater have been uncovered; some subterranean horrea also subsist. In the late empire the city had an enclosure of reduced circumference, whose foundations were doubtless used for the Visigothic wall, of which traces survive. It was a bishopric from the 3d century, part of the Visigothic kingdom from 413 to the late 7th century, a viscounty until 1509, when it passed to the crown. - Cathedral of St-Just. Excavations have brought to light remains of a cathedral of the 5th century. Of the cathedral of 890 there subsist the base of a bell tower and some sculptured slabs (in the Musée Lapidaire). The present edifice, more to the north, built by Jean Deschamps (1286), is in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France: east choir with ambulatory and polygonal radiating chapels; two towers flanking the choir. Work was stopped in 1354, before a nave was built. Stained glass of the 13th-14th century; tomb of Cardinal de la Jugie (14th cent.); high altar with baldachin (1694). Cloister of the second half of the 14th century. Chapter house (now Chapelle de l'Annonciade) divided into three aisles. Treasury with medieval ivories, tapestries, etc. - Church of St-Paul-Serge, erected partly over an early Christian necropolis, of which there subsist many marble sarcophagi with figures and ornaments. Choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels (ca. 1230) in Champenois style; nave of the 14th-15th century. - Church of Lamourguier (now mus.), with Romanesque vestiges. Wide nave with a timber covering and side chapels, mid-13th century; choir of the late 13th century. - Former archiepiscopal palace, on Roman and Visigothic foundations, presenting certain similarities to the Papal Palace at Avignon. Incorporates Romanesque structures, a four-storied donjon of the late 13th-early 14th century, and a council chamber with central pillars, which dates from the second half of the 14th century. - Numerous old houses, such as the Maison des Trois-Nourrices (second half of 16th cent.) with windows adorned by caryatids. - In the former archiepiscopal palace, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire and Musée Régional de l'Histoire de l'Homme (prehistoric and Gallo-Roman collections). - Musée Lapidaire, in the Church of Lamourguier.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: Espér., I, 1907, IX, 1925, XII, 1947; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VI, Paris, 1920, p. 348; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1934, p. 483, 1958, pp. 128, 272, 308, 640; P. Helén, *Les Origines de Narbonne*, Toulouse, 1937; V. Perret, *Le Capitole de Narbonne*, Gallia, XIV, 1956, p. 1; L. Sigal, *Les Premiers temps chrétiens à Narbonne d'après l'archéologie*, Narbonne, 1947. *Middle Ages and modern times*: L. Narbonne, *La Cathédrale Saint-Just de Narbonne*, Narbonne, 1901; Carcassonne, Perpignan, CAF, 1906, p. 65; Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 433.

Nîmes (anc. Nemausus). The Gallic city of Nemausus, capital of the Volcae Arecomici, became a Latin colony about 30 B.C. Augustus endowed it with an ample wall, over a mile long, which is partly preserved, together with gates (Porte d'Auguste, Porte de France; PL. 471) and what probably served as a watchtower, the Tour Magne (PL. 472). The spring whose god Nemausus gave the city its name still flows over some of its ancient basins; near it rises the so-called "Temple de Diane," presumably a remnant of thermae. Water was brought to the city from the spring of Eure by an aqueduct whose bridge built in the Augustan period — the famous Pont du Gard — is one of the great monuments of the Roman world (PL. 474); a *castellum divisorium* (water tower) can still be seen in the city. Two other monuments of the Augustan period are excellently preserved: the amphitheater (long axis, 436 ft.) and the temple known as the Maison Carrée, consecrated to the grandsons of Augustus. The emplacement of a basilica dedicated by Hadrian to Plotina, known from literary sources, has not been located; neither has the late imperial wall. The area was converted to Christianity in the late 3d century. It

became a Visigothic, then a Saracen possession, later a viscounty. - Cathedral of Notre-Dame-et-St-Castor, in large part rebuilt, preserves a Romanesque façade with a north tower fortified in the late Middle Ages. - Renaissance Town Hall. - Jardin de la Fontaine, laid out in 1745 by the architect E. Dardalhon; incorporates Roman constructions. - Fountain in a square with sculptures by J. Pradier (19th cent.). - Musée des Beaux-Arts: paintings. - Musée du Vieux Nîmes. - Musée Archéologique: Gallic and Latin inscriptions, bas-



Nîmes: plan of the ancient city. Key: (1) location of the ancient streets. - (a) Walls, (b) Porte d'Auguste; (c) Porte de France; (d) Tour Magne; (e) decumanus maximus; (f) cardo maximus; (g) forum; (h) Maison Carrée; (i) district of the thermae; (j) amphitheater; (k) circus; (l) so-called "Temple de Diane"; (m) nymphaeum with the sanctuary of the sacred spring; (n) theater; (o) aqueduct and castellum divisorium; (p) Via Domitiana (after Gremer, 1958).

reliefs, statues, architectural fragments, coins, objects of daily use. - Some objects are exhibited in the Maison Carrée.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: Espér., I, 1907, IX, 1925, XII, 1947; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VI, Paris, 1920, p. 339; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 314, 1958, pp. 143, 388, 517, 612, 988; E. Espérandieu, *L'Amphithéâtre de Nîmes*, Paris, 1933; R. Naumann, *Der Quellbesirk von Nîmes*, Berlin, 1937; Louis, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine*, VIII, Gard, Paris, 1941. *Middle Ages and modern times*: R. Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles*, 5th ed., Paris, 1929.

Perpignan. Documented only from the 10th century. - Church of St-Jean-le-Vieux. Transept and base of south tower, 1025; second-story chapel of tower with a gallery opening on the transept, 11th-12th century (subsequently altered); nave with high aisles, early 13th century. South portal with Romanesque sculpture. - Church of St-Dominique. Wide nave with chapels, 13th-14th century. Cloister of the 15th century, later provided with a second story. - Cathedral of St-Jean, begun in 1324; planned with aisles but completed without; side chapels; large apse flanked by polygonal chapels; work slowed down in the late 14th century, resumed in 1414; late medieval stellar vaults over the arms of the transept. Marble retable of Catalan style (late 16th cent.); gilded-wood retable of Spanish style (1703); curious late Gothic crucifix, probably a German importation. Chapter house with a central pillar (15th cent.). - Palais des Rois de Majorque, begun about 1276 in Gothic style, on a rectangular plan; enlarged in the 14th century. Large central courtyard with arcades and a two-storied chapel of the 14th century; angle towers; mullioned windows on an exterior façade; gate of the late 16th century. Large room with a timber covering on diaphragm arches. - Castillet, brick fortress of about 1360, rebuilt in the late 15th century. - Loge de Mer, of 1397, enlarged in 1540; built in imitation of Italian town halls, on a rectangular plan, with arcades on the ground story. - Former courthouse (now Palais de la Deputation), of 1458, in Aragonese style, with windows subdivided by colonnettes. - Town Hall (second half of 16th cent.), with an arcaded courtyard, in the middle of which is Maillol's *Méditerranée*. - Fortifications, mainly of the 16th century, to which Vauban made some contributions. - On the Place de la Loge, bronze *Venus* by Maillol. - Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, with works by the master. - Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires du Roussillon. - Library with medieval manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. P. Ponsich, *Saint-Jean-le-Vieux de Perpignan*, Etudes Roussillonaises, 1953, p. 105; Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 9.

Pézenas. Of Gallic origin; Roman colony (Piscenae). The old center with houses and streets of the 13th to the 18th century is pre-

served intact. - Church of St-Jean, mid-18th century. - Hôtel de La-coete, with a 15th-century stairway. - Maison des Consuls (1552), with a façade in Louis XV style and a belfry of 1693. - Hôtel St-Germain, with a façade of the 16th century. Seat of the Musée Vul-liod St-Germain. - Hôtel de Landes de St-Palais, with a stairway of the early 17th century. - Hôtel d'Alfonce (17th cent.). Courtyard with loggias. - Hôtel Malibran (17th cent.), with a façade of 1730.

BIBLIOG. A.-P. Allès, *Guide historique et archéologique de Pézenas*, Pézenas, 1912; Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 219.

Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. Church with a crypt in part dating back to the 11th century, altered after 1116 with the addition of aisles and cross-rib vaults of Lombard type. Upper church of the 12th century, of whose ambulatory and radiating chapels only the substructures subsist. Façade (III, PL. 390) with three portals, magnificently ornamented with columns, statues, and reliefs (12th-13th cent.). - Near the church, Romanesque house with a lapidary museum.

BIBLIOG. A. Fliche, *Aigues-Mortes et Saint-Gilles*, Paris, 1950; M. Gouron, *Montpellier*, CAF, 1950, p. 104; R. Hamann, *Die Abteikirche von St. Gilles*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1955.

Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert. Town of abbatial origin, dominated by the ruins of the Castle of Verdus. - Church belonging to the first phase of the Romanesque style. Nave with aisles and cruciform piers, mid-11th century (westernmost bay of nave somewhat earlier); transept, apse, and apsidioles, late 11th century. Lateral walls externally decorated with Lombard bands. Exterior of apse with niches forming an arcade. Porch (second half of 12th cent.) surmounted by a bell tower (15th cent.). Interior: sarcophagus with figures, an example of 7th-century Pyrenean art; marble altar with Christ in Majesty and the Crucifixion (mid-12th cent.). Romanesque cloister, formerly two-storied. - Remains of fortifications and old houses. - About 2 miles away, bridge over the Hérault dating from the first half of the 11th century.

BIBLIOG. Montpellier, CAF, 1950, p. 156

Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa. Site of an abbey founded in 879 with a curious group of churches, in part dating back to about 1000. The nave and aisles, transept, and rectangular choir of the main church date from the late 10th century; the passage with apsidioles framing the choir and a high bell tower with Lombard bands were built between 1011 and 1047; the vaulting is posterior. To the west of this church is a crypt of the first half of the 11th century, with a rotunda whose vault rests on a central pillar; at one time it was surmounted by a trilobed chapel. The Romanesque cloister was dismembered in the 19th century; some of its capitals are in museums in France and in the United States. Still in place is the portal of the abbot's residence, with figures of SS. Peter and Paul and animal and plant decorative motifs (ca. 1150).

BIBLIOG. J. Puig y Cadafalch and G. Gaillard, *L'Eglise Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, B. Monumental, 1935, p. 353; E. Fels and R. Louis, *Eglises carolingiennes de Cuxa*, BAFr, 1943-44, p. 48; P. Ponsich, *Les Origines de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, *Etudes Roussillonnaises*, 1952, p. 7. Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 299.

Salses (or Salces). Castle (1497-1504) built by the engineer Ramirez at the time of the Spanish occupation — one of the first modern fortresses; in stone and brick, on a rectangular plan; five-storied donjon; outworks with wavelin.

BIBLIOG. Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 406.

Serrabone. Augustinian abbey. - Small Romanesque church. Vaulted nave built in small stonework, prior to 1082; apse, transept with apsidioles, and massive northwest tower, mid-12th century. Richly decorated gallery supported by columns (second half of 12th cent.) placed across the nave in modern times. North portal with sculptures.

BIBLIOG. Roussillon, CAF, 1954, p. 247.

Uzès (anc. Ucetia). Bishopric from the 5th century - Church of St-Théodori (1645-60), with late Gothic vaults and classicizing decoration. Of the Romanesque church destroyed by the Protestants there survives a graceful cylindrical bell tower, at one time isolated. - Church of St-Etienne (1765-78), with Ionic orders and a curved façade. - Château du Duché, in the form of a quadrilateral (14th cent.). Imposing 12th-century donjon (crowning redone) on Roman foundations. Renaissance wing with three superposed orders. - Former episcopal palace (1671), with stucco-decorated rooms. - Hospital of the 18th century. - Town Hall of 1773. Courtyard with arcades.

BIBLIOG. J. Puget, *Uzès*, Paris, 1929.

Valmagne. Cistercian abbey founded in 1138. - Church built after 1252 in the style of Ile-de-France and Champagne. Choir with ambulatory and seven chapels; transept; nave with aisles; porch. Cloister (14th cent.) with an octagonal fountain. Chapter house of the 13th century with a Renaissance vault.

BIBLIOG. M. Aubert, *Montpellier*, CAF, 1950, p. 233.

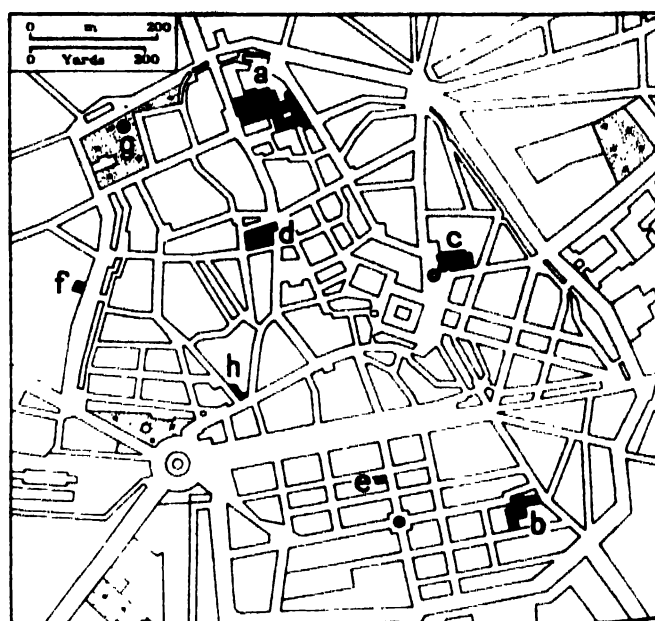
Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. The city owes its origin to a Benedictine abbey founded in the late 10th century on Mont Andeon, a height dominating it, which was once surrounded by water and the site of a prehistoric settlement. - Church of Notre-Dame, built in 1333. Wide nave of Languedocian type with side chapels; choir formed out of the first story of what was once a separate helfry. Tomb of Cardinal Arnaud de Via (14th cent.); monumental Virgin of polychrome ivory (14th cent.). Cloister of the 14th century. - Val-de-Bénédiction, charterhouse begun in 1356 around a palace of Innocent VI dating from 1342-52; enlarged in 1372; partly rebuilt in the 17th century. There survive the pontifical chapel, with frescoes of the school of Matteo di Giovanetti da Viterbo (1352-62), representing the life of St. John the Baptist; the church, consisting of two naves; a small Gothic cloister and two large ones rebuilt in the 17th century; the classicizing entrance gate by F. de La Valenière (1649). - Tour Philippe-le-Bel built about 1302 to defend a bridge over the Rhone; raised about 1360. - On Mont Andeon, Fort of St-André. Entrance flanked by two towers (14th cent.) whose ground stories have stellar vaults. - Numerous late medieval houses. - Municipal museum: monumental tomb of Innocent VI (d. 1362); *Coronation of the Virgin* by Enguerand Charonton (1435; PL. 384), a masterpiece of Gothic painting.

BIBLIOG. F. Benoit, *Villeneuve-lès-Avignon*, Paris, 1930.

Provence. Departments of Bouches-du-Rhône, Var, Basses-Alpes. Provence is the region in France richest in archaeological remains — Celto-Ligurian (Entremont, Roquepertuse), Greek (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Saint-Blaise), Roman (Arles), Early Christian (baptisteries of the 5th cent.). Also notable are the Romanesque churches, characterized by fine stonework, narrow naves, and classicizing decoration, and the castles built in the late Middle Ages by the counts of Provence and King René, surnamed "the Good" (Tarascon). The early 17th century was a period of building activity throughout the region, and especially at Arles.

BIBLIOG. O. Teissier, *Monuments historiques du Var*, Draguignan, 1901; J. Formigé, *Les Monuments romains de Provence*, Paris, 1924; R. Doré, *L'Art en Provence*, Paris, 1930; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932; J. Valléry-Radot, *Le Domaine de l'école romane de Provence*, B. Monumental, 1945, p. 5; A. Villard, *Art de Provence*, Grenoble, 1957.

Aix-en-Provence (anc. Aquae Sextiae). Site of a Roman stronghold, of which there subsists a portion of the wall as well as remains of aqueducts, thermae, and villas. The city enjoyed periods of particular



Aix-en-Provence. plan of the center of the city. (a) Cathedral and former archiepiscopal palace (Musée des Tapisseries); (b) St-Jean-de-Malte and Musée Granet; (c) Ste-Marie-Madeleine; (d) Town Hall; (e) Musée Paul Arbaud; (f) St-Jean-Baptiste; (g) Tour de Toureluco; (h) St-Jérôme.



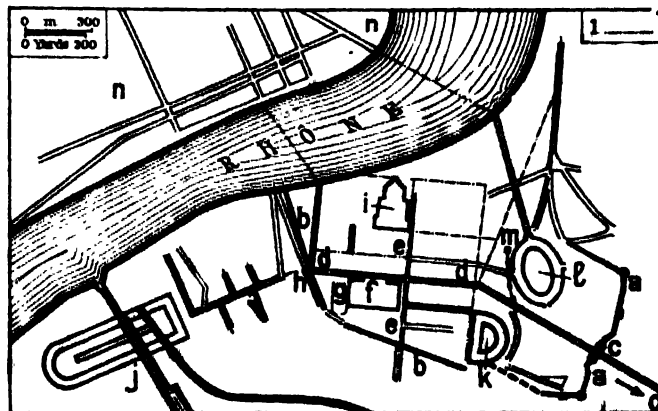
splendor under the counts of Aragon and Anjou in the 12th and 13th centuries, under King René (1442-80), and as capital of the province, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. - Cathedral of St-Sauveur. On the right flank, octagonal baptistery of the 5th century. Nave of 1103, rebuilt in the 13th century, and completed with an apse in 1285; south aisle in Provençal Romanesque style, with ribbed central cupola; side chapels and façade with bell tower, mainly of the 15th century. Leaves of the main portal with prophets and sibyls by Jean Guirmand of Toulon (1504). Interior: Nicolas Froment's *Triptych of the Burning Bush*, with portraits of King René and his wife, Jeanne de Laval, one of the most celebrated 15th-century paintings of the French school; 17 Flemish tapestries of 1511. Romanesque cloister with sculptured capitals. - Gothic Church of St-Jean-de-Malte, built on a Latin-cross plan about 1285. Cross-rib vaults; fortified apsidal tower; modern façade. - Ste-Marie-Madeleine, former Dominican church (1691-1703). Central cupola. Façade of 1835-60. *Annunciation* of the mid-15th century. - The city owes its aristocratic aspect to its numerous secular buildings of the 17th and 18th centuries, Italian, and specifically Genoese, in taste, such as the Town Hall, the former archiepiscopal palace and the former corn exchange, the Hôtels de Letang-Parade (1650), d'Eguilles (1675), de Simiane, de Grimaldi (1680; after the designs of Puget), d'Estienne de St-Jean, the Pavillon de Vendôme (1665-69) by J.-C. Rambot and P. Pavillon, the Hôtels d'Arbaud, d'Espagnet, d'Agut (1676; with caryatids in the style of Puget), and, in Louis XV style, the Hôtels d'Albertas and de Panissé (1739). - Numerous fountains of the 17th and 18th centuries. - Musée Granet, one of the major French museums, with works by de Champaigne, Rigaud, Largillière, Houdon, etc. - Musée du Vieil Aix, in the Hôtel d'Estienne de St-Jean; Musée des Tapisseries et de l'Ameublement Ancien, in the former archiepiscopal palace; Musée Dobler, in the Pavillon de Vendôme; Musée Paul Arbaud; Czanne's studio.

BIBLIOG. L.-H. Labande, *Saint-Sauveur d'Aix*. B. Archéologique. 1912, p. 280; E. Aude, *Le Musée d'Aix-en-Provence*, Paris, 1921; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 9; L. Deshaies, *Aix-en-Provence: Architecture et décoration*, Paris, n.d.

Arles (anc. Arelate). Already before the Roman era there were settlements at the apex of the Rhone delta: Rhodanousia and Theline, Hellenic trading stations dependent on Marseilles. Arelate, located on the left bank, must have been, judging from its name, a Celtic foundation. In the late 2d century B.C. Marius created a direct communication with the sea by means of a canal, the *fossae Marianaë*. The Roman colony was founded in 46 B.C. by the father of Emperor Tiberius, and the city acquired a wall. During the early empire Arelate became the chief city of Provence; at this time various aqueducts were built, of which the remains can still be seen (Barbegal). The well-preserved theater (provenance of the *Venus of Arles*, now in the Louvre) is of the Augustan period; the amphitheater (PL. 473), built on the foundations of the city wall, must be later. There subsists an obelisk from the spina of the circus. An ample cryptoporticus follows the perimeter of the forum, next to which are found the remains of a religious building with hemicycle. In the late empire the city was surrounded by a smaller enclosure, of which segments and some towers survive. The *Thermes de la Trouille* (baths), along the Rhone, are from the time of Constantine, during whose reign Arles was an imperial residence. Early Christian art is well represented in the necropolis of Les Aliscamps (Alyscamps), with sarcophagi piled up in several layers, and by the apse (5th-6th cent.) of a church near the former Abbey of St-Césaire. - Church of St-Trophime, with walls of nave showing small stonework of the late 8th century. Transept of the late 10th century with a cupola whose base is pierced by windows; over it, four-storied square bell tower of the 12th century. High nave and aisles rebuilt in the 12th century; choir of 1454-65 with ambulatory and irregularly placed chapels; side chapels of the 14th century and later. The portal, of the late 12th century, constitutes one of the most famous sculptural ensembles of Romanesque art: statues of saints in high relief placed between columns; friezes with figures and scenes; on the tympanum, Christ in Majesty with the symbols of the Evangelists. Cloister (I, PL. 385) begun in 1183; two sides in Romanesque style with slender coupled columns and pillars with figures (PL. 375); the other two sides of the 14th century. - Church of St-Honorat-des-Aliscamps, in the celebrated necropolis. Remains of the Carolingian nave; apse and crypt of about 1175. Romanesque central bell tower, octagonal in shape. - Church of Ste-Anne, with a wide nave and side chapels, erected about 1620 in Gothic style (now a mus.). - Hôtel du Viguiier, late Middle Ages. - Hôtel de Laval-Castellane, in Gothic style, early 16th century, with a façade of the mid-17th. - Town houses with Renaissance portals showing Italian influence. - Town Hall (1673-84), built after plans modified by J. Hardouin Mansart. Belfry of 1543-53. - Musée Lapidaire d'Art Chrétien (in a Jesuit chapel of 1648); sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th centuries. - Museon Arlaten: minor arts; paintings. - Musée Lapidaire

d'Art Païen (in the former Church of Ste-Anne): mosaics, statues, reliefs, inscriptions.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: Espér, I, 1907, IX, 1925, XII, 1947; L.-A. Constans, *Arles antique*, Paris, 1921; L.-A. Constans, *Arles*, Paris, 1928; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 280, 1958, pp. 157, 201, 515, 613, 743, 983; F. Benoit, *Le Musée lapidaire d'Arles*, Paris, 1936. *Middle Ages and modern times*: R. Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Paris, 1929; L.-H. Labande, *L'Eglise Saint-Trophime d'Arles*, Paris, 1930; F. Benoit, *L'Eglise Saint-Honorat-des-Aliscamps*, B. Monumental, 1938, p. 353; F. Benoit, *Les Sarcophages paléochrétiens d'Arles et de Marseille*, Gallia, sup. V, 1954; F. Benoit and others, *Villes épiscopales de Provence*, Paris, 1954.



Arles: plan of the ancient city. Key: (l) location of the ancient streets. - (a) Wall of the 1st cent. B.C.; (b) wall rebuilt in the late empire; (c) Porte de la Redoute; (d) decumanus maximus; (e) cardo maximus; (f) forum and cryptoporticus; (g) remains of a religious building with hemicycle; (h) Tour du Fabre, with Roman foundations; (i) Thermes de la Trouille; (j) circus; (k) theater; (l) amphitheater; (m) aqueduct and castellum divitorium; (n) necropolis; (o) toward the necropolis of Les Aliscamps (after Grenier, 1958).

Les Baux. Ancient city situated on a rocky spur of the Alpilles, important for vestiges of the Neolithic period, of a triple-walled Celto-Ligurian oppidum, and of a fortified medieval town. - Remains of a castle, including a rectangular donjon of the 13th century. - In the upper town, ruins of a Romanesque church altered in the course of the centuries; houses and mansions of the 15th and 16th centuries, among them the Hôtel de Manville of 1572. - In the lower town, so-called "Pavillon de la Reine Jeanne," a hexagonal garden pavilion (1581) in Renaissance style.

BIBLIOG. F. Benoit, *Les Baux*, Paris, 1928.

Entremont. Situated on a plateau less than 2 miles from Aix-en-Provence. Oppidum of the Galli Salluvii and of their king Teutomalus, vanquished by Sextius Calvinus in 123 B.C.; thereupon abandoned for Aquae Sextiae (Aix). The mortarless Gallic ramparts with rectangular towers rounded at the corners are well preserved. Excavations have brought to light stone projectiles from the siege of 123 B.C.; groups of dwellings with streets perpendicular to each other, houses with a shared roof and external staircases, and, most significant, a sanctuary with important fragments of funerary sculpture (in the Musée Granet at Aix): remnants of an equestrian group, statues of defunct warriors, hands laid on "severed heads," bas-reliefs with heads of the defunct, steles with sockets for the display of skulls. After the statues of Roquepertuse, these are the most ancient discovered in France; the technique is Greek, but the style, however "Mediterranean," is essentially indigenous. The vestiges of Entremont are exclusively pre-Roman.

BIBLIOG. Espér, I, 1907; F. Benoit, *L'Art primitif méditerranéen de la vallée du Rhône*, new ed., Aix, 1955; F. Benoit, *Entremont*, Aix, 1957.

Fréjus (anc. Forum Julii). Situated on the Argens River, 2½ miles from the sea. By 31 B.C. Forum Julii had an artificial harbor, for it is known that the fleet captured at the Battle of Actium was sent there (the harbor continued in use until the 17th cent.). The city wall, which dated from the establishment of a colony of veterans at the beginning of Augustus' reign, proved too large — the military port declining rapidly as Rome secured ascendancy on the seas; segments of it subsist, with towers and a gate in the form of a half-moon (Porte des Gaules). Other remains: a large segment of wall with brick coursing, presumably a fragment of a thermal hall (probably

4th cent.), and ruins, of an aqueduct, of a sort of lighthouse, of a theater (diam., 269 ft.), and of an amphitheater (long axis, 371 ft.) built at the edge of the city. There are no traces of a late imperial wall. The city was a bishopric from the dawn of the Christian Era. - Baptistery (late 4th-early 5th cent.), octagonal in plan, with an internal arcade on columns each of whose eight arches opens into an apsidiole; cupola on an arcaded drum with windows. - Adjoining Cathedral (late 12th cent.), in Provençal style. Narthex with bell tower; early cross-rib vaults over the nave; only one aisle. Cloister (13th cent.), one side of which retains a second story; painted ceiling of Islamic inspiration. Chapter house of the 13th century. - Former episcopal palace (early 14th cent.), with survivals of Romanesque style. - Archaeological museum with inscriptions, sculptures, etc.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: A. Donnadiou, *La Pompéi de la Provence: Fréjus, Forum Julii*, Paris, 1927; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 298, 1938, pp. 100, 606, 734; P. Cousin and others, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine*, II, Var, Paris, 1932; A. Donnadiou, *Fréjus, le port militaire du Forum Julii*, Paris, 1935. *Middle Ages and modern times*: J.-C. Roux, *Fréjus*, Paris, 1909; J. Formigé, *Le Baptistère de Fréjus*, BAFr, 1925; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 244; F. Benoit and others, *Villes épiscopales de Provence*, Paris, 1954.

**Ganagobie.** Priory of the order of Grandmont. Church of the 12th century with a sculptured portal framed by a festoon motif. Remains of the priory buildings, including a chapter house and refectory of the early Gothic period.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Arnaud d'Agnel, *Notice d'archéologie sur Ganagobie*, B. Archéologique, 1910, p. 314.

**Marseilles (Fr., Marseille; anc. Massalia).** Founded in the 7th-6th century B.C. by Greek navigators; later, ally of Rome. A supporter of Pompey, Massalia in 49 B.C. was taken by Caesar, who enriched



Marseilles: plan of the center of the city. (A) Site of the ancient Greek city. (a) St-Victor; (b) old and new cathedrals of La Major; (c) Fort of St-Jean; (d) Town Hall; (e) Arc de Triomphe; (f) Château Borély, with the Musée Archéologique; (g) Musée des Beaux-Arts and Musée Grobet-Labadie; (h) Hospital.

**Arelate (Arles) and Forum Julii (Fréjus) at its expense.** The city is one of the oldest centers of Christianity in France. - Church of St-Victor. The crypt, so-called "Oratoire de la Madeleine," was excavated from the rock in the early 5th century. Adjoining it is a tiny basilica of the 5th century, also subterranean, with nave flanked by aisles (one of which retains its ancient groined vaults) and an atrium with columns. These structures are incorporated in an 11th-century subterranean church with cruciform piers (vaults redone) and arcades decorated with rinceaux. The upper church has an 11th-century side porch with cross-rib vaults of Lombard style; vaulted nave and aisles of the 13th century; transept and square apse built by Pope Urban V in 1363. The exterior was fortified in the 15th century. - Old Cathedral of La Major. Remains of a baptistery of the 5th century. Of the 12th-century church there subsist the transept, surmounted by a ribbed cupola, and the apse, of Provençal type, with a ribbed half cupola. Among the furnishings, a Romanesque altar dedicated to the Virgin and one dedicated to St. Lazarus by the sculptor F. Laurana (1475-81), one of the first manifestations of Renaissance style in France. - New Cathedral of La Major (1852-93), by Léon Vaudoyer, in Neo-Byzantine style. - Remains of Roman walls and storehouses. - Fort of St-Jean, at the entrance of the harbor, with a

square tower of 1447. - Town Hall (1665-72), in Genoese style. - Hospital of the late 17th century. - Arc de Triomphe, 1825. - The old quarter by the harbor has been replaced by highly modern residential blocks by A. Perret. - On the Boulevard Michelet, a housing unit for 1,600 persons by Le Corbusier (Cité Radieuse, 1946-52; I, PL. 388). - For the University, School of Medicine and Pharmacy by R. Egger (1959). - Musée Archéologique (in the Château Borély, 1766-78), rich in relics of the Mediterranean civilizations. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: important paintings; works by Puget, Daumier, etc. - Musée Grobet-Labadie: paintings; minor arts. - Musée Cantini (in the Hôtel de Montgrand, 1694): furniture; ceramics; paintings. - Musée du Vieux Marseille.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Benoit, Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 157; J.-A. Gibert, *Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille*, Paris, 1932; F. Benoit, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*, Paris, 1936.

**Montmajour.** Former Benedictine abbey. Church on two levels: lower church of 1150 comprising a transept and a round chapel with a semicircular ambulatory opening on five radiating chapels; upper church of the 12th century with a short wide aisleless nave, a transept with a lantern, and a large polygonal apse covered by a half dome decorated with vertical bands. Cloister in Romanesque style with a wall-niche tomb of the counts of Provence (12th cent.). Refectory and other buildings also Romanesque. New construction undertaken in 1703, after the plans of P. II Mignard. - Chapel of St-Pierre, rough structure of the 10th-11th century partly excavated from the rock and comprising two naves. Capitals with interlace decoration. - Chapel of Ste-Croix (second half of 12th cent.), quadrilobed in plan, with a narthex and a high cupola. - Rectangular donjon of the 14th century.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Benoit, *L'Abbaye de Montmajour*, Paris, 1928.

**Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer.** Famous pilgrimage center on a former islet near the mouth of the Petit-Rhône. Church of the mid-12th century (PL. 375), built, as tradition has it, on the spot where the Holy Women and Lazarus disembarked. Aisleless nave prolonged toward the west in the 15th century; apse with Romanesque capitals; crypt of the 15th century; fortified exterior.

**BIBLIOG.** M. Chaillan, *Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*, Aix, 1926; F. Benoit, *L'Eglise de Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*, B. Monumental, 1936, p. 145.

**Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume.** Celebrated pilgrimage center in the Middle Ages. Church of Ste-Madeleine, begun in 1295; major portion built in the 14th century. Nave with aisles and side chapels; apse and two apsidioles in Champenois style, polygonal in form; western bays and façade of the 15th-16th century. Stucco, marble, and wood decoration of 1684-92. Under the church barrel-vaulted crypt of the late 4th century, containing Early Christian sarcophagi with reliefs and Early Christian engraved plaques. Sacristy of 1300. Chapter house of the 14th and cloister of the 15th century.

**BIBLIOG.** G. Doncieux, *Les Sarcophages de Saint-Maximin*, Annales du Midi, 1894, p. 352; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 207; E. Chatel, *Crypte de l'église de Saint-Maximin*, Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne (Aix, 1954), Vatican City, Paris, 1957.

**Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (anc. Glanum).** The ruins of Glanum are south of Saint-Rémy, on the road to the Alpilles. A prehistoric settlement preceded its foundation by the Massaliots, transmitters of Hellenic culture, who, making use of a neighboring quarry, built the little city whose southern portion has been brought to light. Three structural phases have been recognized; the first from the 4th century to 120 B.C., the second from 120 to 49 B.C., the third from 49 to the late empire. To the first two belong the houses with peristyle, to the third, the Gallo-Roman remains: houses, streets, thermae (several times altered), a large esplanade with porticoes, the podiums of two contiguous temples, a small triumphal monument with hemicycle, a theater, numerous richly decorated architectural fragments, the sanctuary of a spring, a sanctuary of Hercules, etc. There was no enclosing wall. Descending toward Saint-Rémy, one sees two monuments, the so-called "Antiques," that mark the pomerium of the ancient city: an arch of the Augustan period adorned with trophies and, preserved nearly intact, a three-storied mausoleum decorated with scenes of battle, which belonged to the family of the Julii (PL. 470). Glanum was abandoned in the late empire when the inhabitants descended to Saint-Rémy, where excavations have uncovered thermae and in one of the rooms, a baptistery, of which the vertical portions are partly preserved. - Saint-Rémy has two rich archaeological museums: the Musée des Alpilles, in the Hôtel Mistral de Mondragon ca. 1550, with the products of earlier excavations and a folk art section; the Centre Archéologique, in the Hôtel de Sade (15th-16th cent.), with later finds: statues, busts, Gallic and Latin inscriptions,

and a rich collection of objects of daily use. - Also notable: Church of St-Paul-de-Mausole, in Provençal Romanesque style. Nave with aisles; polygonal apse; two-storied bell tower with a short stone spire; 17th-century façade. Cloister and priory buildings of the 12th-13th century. - Small museum dedicated to Van Gogh.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: Espér, I, 1907, IX, 1925, XII, 1947; H. Rolland, *Les Fouilles de Glanum*, Gallia, sup. I, 1946; excavations of 1945-47, Gallia, VI, 1, 1948; of 1951-52, XI, 1, 1953; of 1947-56, sup. XI, 1958; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 481. *Middle Ages and modern times*: Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 251; H. Rolland, *Le Baptistère de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence*, Gallia, I, 2, 1943; E. Leroy, *Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, Saint-Rémy*, 1948; J. Hubert, *L'Architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Âge en France*, Paris, 1952, no. 4.

**Silvacane.** Former Cistercian abbey. Church with nave, aisles, and transept, 1175-1230. Chapter house, 1210-30. Cloister, 1250-1300. Refectory, 15th century.

**BIBLIOG.** J. Albanès, *L'Abbaye de Silvacane*, *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 1882, p. 164; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 123.

**Tarascon-sur-Rhône.** Settlement of the Massaliots, then Roman castrum. - Church of Ste-Marthe, consecrated in 1197, from which period there subsist the Romanesque south portal with classicizing decoration and the first bays of the nave; remainder of nave and aisles, polygonal apse, and side chapels, 13th-14th century; apsidal chapels of the 17th century. In the crypt, Renaissance tombs of Jean de Cosca (d. 1476) and St. Martha (16th cent.). - Imposing castle (PL. 385) of the 14th-15th century in the form of a quadrilateral square tower facing the river and, on the opposite side, two round towers, in one of which is a two-storied chapel. - Town Hall of 1648. - Despite the damage inflicted by the bombardment of 1944, Tarascon retains picturesque streets and old quarters.

**BIBLIOG.** Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 262.

**Le Thoronet.** Cistercian abbey. Church of 1150-75 with nave and aisles, transept, and straight east end; apsidal bell tower with a short stone spire. Cloister (1175-early 13th cent.) with an octagonal lavabo.

**BIBLIOG.** F. Bérard, *Etude historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye du Thoronet*, Avignon, 1884; F. Roustan, *Monographie de l'abbaye du Thoronet*, Toulouse, 1924; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 224.

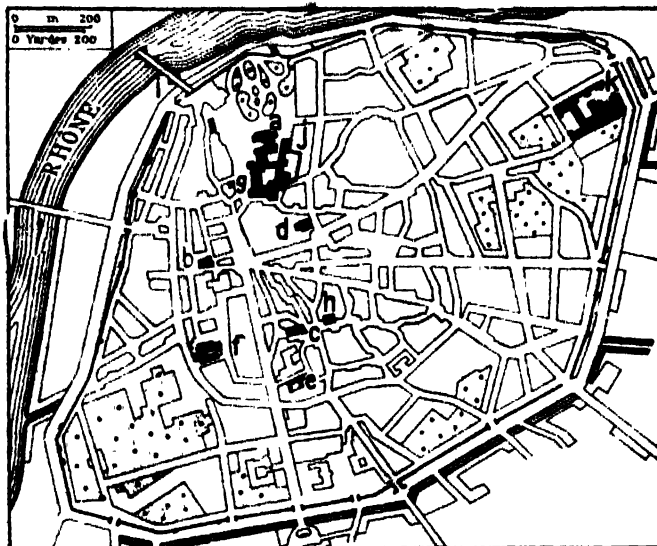
**Toulon.** The old town, though it suffered severe damage in World War II, preserves many of its monuments. - Former Cathedral of Ste-Marie-Majeure. The western portion of the nave is of the 12th century; the rest of the edifice, in Neo-Gothic style, is of the mid-17th century. Bell tower of 1740. - Church of St-Louis, neoclassical edifice of the late 18th century (heavily damaged). - Town Hall with two caryatids by Puget (1656), survivals of a structure of 1606, which has been entirely rebuilt. - Monumental gate (1738) of the Arsenal Maritime, by J. Maucoeur. - Museum with paintings. - Near Toulon is the impressive Tour de la Mitre (1514-24) by G. A. della Porta, begun under Louis XII to defend the approach to the military port.

**BIBLIOG.** P. Maurel, *Histoire de Toulon*, Toulon, 1943.

**Comtat Venaissin.** Department of Vaucluse. Very rich in Roman monuments and in medieval religious architecture; unique center of Franco-Italian culture in the 14th century, owing to the transfer of the papal see to Avignon from 1305 to 1403.

**Avignon (anc. Avennio).** The city occupies a natural stronghold on the Rhone. From 43 it was a Latin colony, later a Roman one. It was successively part of the kingdom of Arles and of the county of Provence. In the 12th-13th century it became a commune, under the suzerainty of the counts of Toulouse and of Provence. Besieged in 1226 by Louis VIII, it came under the rule of a bishop; it was ceded to the Holy See in 1274. In 1303 Boniface VIII founded a university there; and in 1305 Clement V, former archbishop of Bordeaux, made it the papal seat, which it remained until 1403. It was during this epoch that Avignon became one of the major cultural centers of Europe; its churches and the Papal Palace testify to its great past. - Church of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, in Provençal Romanesque style. Aisleless nave; ribbed central cupola; porch with a pediment inspired by antiquity, frescoed in the 14th century by Simone Martini (q.v.); side chapels of the 14th-15th century; apse, round side chapel, and balconies inside the church, 17th century. Romanesque bishop's chair; monumental tomb of Pope John XXII; sculpture by Puget and other works by baroque artists. - Church of St-Agricol, begun in 1320. Nave with aisles; vaulting of the 15th century; tower of the 16th century; portal in flamboyant style; on the south, circular chapel of the 18th century. - Church of St-Didier, 1325. Very wide nave of Languedocian type with side chapels. Bearing of the Cross (1488),

by F. Laurana, called to Avignon by King René. - Church of St-Pierre, rebuilt beginning 1358. Wide nave of Languedocian type. Façade of 1512 with carved wooden doors (1551) by A. Volard. In the choir, woodwork by F. Gallois (1634-59), M. Trentoul, E. and S. Laffamant (1667). Late Gothic and baroque sculptures. - Celestine church (late 14th cent.), with nave and aisles, transept, and choir built in the Gothic style of Ile-de-France; chapels of the 15th century. Cloister of the 15th century. - Chapel of the Visitation, with a cupola, by F. de La Valfenière (1632). - Chapel (now mus.) of former Jesuit college, built in 1620 by La Valfenière, in baroque style, with a rich façade. - Chapelle des Pénitents-Noirs, rococo. - Of the famous Bridge of St-Bénézet (1177), rebuilt in the 13th century, there subsist only 4 of 22 arches and the Romanesque chapel, comprising two levels, the upper with a Gothic apse of the 16th century. - The Papal Palace overshadows all other monuments in the city. It has high



Avignon: city plan. (a) Notre-Dame-des-Doms; (b) St-Agricol; (c) St-Didier; (d) St-Pierre; (e) former Jesuit chapel (Musée Lapidaire); (f) Musée Calvet; (g) former mint; (h) Hôtel de Berton de Crillon; (i) Bridge of St-Bénézet; (j) Papal Palace; (k) Hospital of Ste-Marthe.

walls, with arcatures and rectangular towers; the main entrance is surmounted by turrets (PL. 381). It consists of two blocks of buildings, the Palais-Vieux and the Palais-Neuf, each disposed on two adjoining sides of a large quadrangular courtyard. The austere Palais-Vieux of Benedict XII, by Pierre Poisson (1335), comprises a cloister, the Chapel of Benedict XII, the eight-storied Tour de Trouillas, the Wing of the Consistory, the superposed chapels of St-Jean and St-Martial, decorated under Clement VI with paintings by Matteo di Giovanni da Viterbo, the Tour des Anges, with the papal apartments. The elegant Palais-Neuf of Clement VI, begun in 1345 by Jean de Loubière, includes the wardrobe room, called the Chambre du Cerf, with scenes of hunting and fishing of the French school (VI, PL. 325), the Great Audience Hall, with cross-rib vaults supported by a central row of pillars, the vast Chapelle Clémentine above this hall, also with cross-rib vaults, a grand staircase, the Gallery of the Conclave. Near the Papal Palace is the Petit-Palais (1475) in Italianate style. - City ramparts with rectangular towers, begun in 1340, largely restored. - Clock tower of the 14th century raised in the 15th. - Hôtel de Baroncelli, 15th century. - Former mint (early 17th cent.) with Italianate façade decorations. - Hospital of Ste-Marthe, with an imposing façade of the 17th century. - Numerous mansions in Franco-Italian style, e.g., the Hôtel de Berton de Crillon (early 17th cent.) and the Hôtel de Villeneuve-Martignan by J.-B. Franque (mid-18th cent.). - Admirable example of neoclassical city planning by Franque. - Musée Lapidaire (in former Jesuit chapel): important remains of the Roman and Romanesque periods and of the 14th century; papal tombs. - Musée Calvet (in the Hôtel de Villeneuve-Martignan): 14th- and 15th-century paintings of the school of Avignon; works by the Mignards, the Parrocel, the Vernets, David, Chassériau, etc.; archaeological collection. In the library, manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries. - In the environs, Church of St Ruf, of which there subsists an apse in Provençal Romanesque style.

**BIBLIOG.** Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 6; A. Hallays, *Avignon et le Comtat Venaissin*, 3d ed., Paris, 1921; L.-H. Labande, *Le Palais des Papes et*

les monuments d'Avignon au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 2 vols., Marseille, 1925; G. Colombe, *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1927; J. Girard, *Le Musée d'Avignon*, Paris, 1931; F. Benoit, *Avignon au double visage*, Paris, 1940.

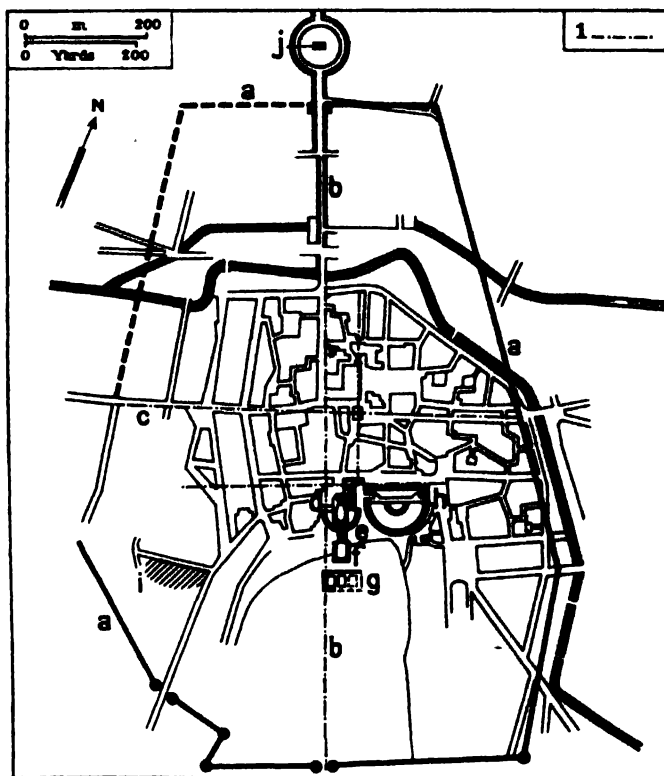
Carpentras (anc. Carpentorate). Of Celtic origin; bishopric from the 3d century until the Revolution; from 1229, capital of the Comtat Venaissin. It preserves a Roman triumphal arch (1st cent. of our era; PL. 476) with figures of captives and the remains of medieval fortifications (Porte d'Orange, 14th cent.). - Remains of old Romanesque cathedral, including one bay of the nave and choir with cupola; decoration inspired by antiquity. - New cathedral (now Church of St-Siffrein), in southern Gothic style, begun in 1405 and completed in the early 16th century. Flamboyant south portal. Façade and interior decoration of the 17th century. - Synagogue (1741), with valuable woodwork of the 18th century. - Former episcopal palace (1640-46), built by F. de La Valfenière in imitation of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. - Hospital (1750-60), by Antoine d'Allemand, with a pedimented façade. Interesting rooms (chapel, pharmacy, etc.). - Musée Lapidaire, in former Chapel of the Visitation. - Musée Duplessis: paintings; folk art. - Musée Bernus, with furnishings, in the 18th-century Hôtel Darmand-Châteauvieux.

BIBLIOG. Avignon, I. CAF, 1909, p. 288; A. Hallays, *Avignon et le Comtat Venaissin*, 3d ed., Paris, 1921.

Cavaillon (anc. Cabellio). Preserves a Roman triumphal arch. - Cathedral. Long Romanesque nave with classicizing decorations; choir vaulted with a cupola; polygonal apse; side chapels placed between the buttresses at a later period (the Chapel of the Sacrament has sumptuous 17th-cent. decorations); modern façade. Cloister of the 13th century. - Synagogue (1772-74), with rococo wood- and stucco-work. - Town Hall, mid-18th century. - Musée Archéologique.

BIBLIOG. Avignon I, CAF, 1909, p. 243.

Orange (anc. Arausio). On the Meyne. A Gallic *oppidum* occupied the Hill of St-Eutrope. The Roman colony was probably founded about 35 B.C. It had a wall approximately 2 miles long, of which the south gate subsists in part. Two important monuments are substantially preserved from this period; an arch (PL. 470) decorated with land and sea trophies and scenes of battle; a theater (diam., 338 ft.) of the first century with stage wall. Near the theater is



Orange: plan of the ancient city in relation to the modern layout. Key: (1) location of the ancient streets. - (a) Walls; (b) *cardo maximus*; (c) *decumanus maximus*; (d) forum (?); (e) hemicycle with podium of temple; (f) temple; (g) capitol; (h) theater; (i) area of the thermae; (j) arch (after Grenier, 1938).

the podium of a very large temple, which seems of later date and occupied what was probably one end of the forum. On the hill can be seen the substructures of the capitol. Hundreds of fragments belonging to various rural and urban cadastres, of which the most important is that established under Vespasian (77), have been found; they are preserved in the municipal museum. - Former cathedral of the Romanesque period, heavily altered in the 16th-17th century with the addition of side chapels. The apse, which threatened to collapse, was separated from the transept by a wall.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: Espér, I, 1907, IX, 1925, XII, 1947; R.-L. Châtelein, *Les Monuments antiques d'Orange*, Paris, 1908; J. Sautel, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine*, VII, Vaucluse, Paris, 1939; A. Pignaniol and J. Sautel, *Inscriptions cadastrales d'Orange (Vaucluse)*, Gallia, XIII, 1955, p. 5; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 172, 398, 646, 754. *Middle Ages and modern times*: Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 94.

Sénanque. Cistercian abbey. Church of the 12th century. Nave with aisles; semicircular apse flanked on either side by two semicircular apsidioles that open on a large transept and do not project on the exterior. Abbey buildings of the 12th century, partly rebuilt in the 17th.

BIBLIOG. M. Thibout and A. Dimier, *Sénanque*, Paris, 1946; M. Aubert, *L'Architecture cistercienne en France*, 2d ed., I, Paris, 1947, p. 199.

Vaison-la-Romaine (anc. Vasio Vocontiorum). On the Ouvèze. Capital and river port of the Vocontii, Vasio replaced an *oppidum* on a hill on the opposite bank of the river, which is to this day crossed by an ancient bridge. Excavations have brought to light the remains of various quarters with luxurious dwellings, of a vast portico, of thermae, of streets with shops, and of a theater built against a hill, which has been largely restored. At a greater depth have been found the remains of a more ancient city, probably dating from the late republic. The paving slabs of an ancient dock have been discovered, as well as sculptures, among them the *Diadoumenos* of the British Museum. There are no traces of a city wall. The exploration of Vaison is still incomplete, for excavations have not yet been undertaken in the heart of the city. - Former cathedral. Pre-Romanesque east end with an apse reached by steps and an episcopal chair; nave of the early 11th century; central cupola and aisles of the 12th century; classicizing decorations. Romanesque cloister. - Church of St-Quenin (PL. 375). Curious 12th-century east end, triangular on the exterior, incorporating a pentagonal apse and two semicircular apsidioles; nave of the 17th century. - Archaeological museum in the cloister of the former cathedral. Some of the finds of Vaison are in the Musée Lapidaire at Avignon.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: J. Sautel, *Vaison dans l'antiquité*, Avignon, 1926-43; J. Sautel, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine*, VII, Vaucluse, Paris, 1939; J. Sautel, *Vaison-la-Romaine*, Lyons, 1955; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 194, 484, 766. *Middle Ages and modern times*: Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 101.

County of Nice. Department of Alpes-Maritimes. The coastal cities, such as Antibes (Antipolis), preserve vestiges of Greek civilization. The art of the Middle Ages, of the Renaissance, and of the 17th and 18th centuries shows strong Italian, and especially Genoese, influences; the churches are rich in local paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries (J. Durandi and L. and A. Bréa).

BIBLIOG. Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932.

Cimiez (anc. Cemenelum). On a height dominating Nice, now a residential quarter of that city. The native *oppidum* rose on a slight prominence fortified by a mortarless stone wall, of which some traces subsist; the Roman city spread below, on the slope facing Nice. No Gallo-Roman wall exists. The amphitheater, well preserved and among the smallest known, was built in the 1st century and enlarged in the 2d or 3d. In the property of the Villa Garin de Cocconato is a vast complex of thermae, composed of two contiguous installations, with a hall for the distribution of water that is still standing (the so-called "Temple of Apollo"). A basilica and an octagonal baptistery were built over some of the more ancient constructions in the 4th century. An archaeological museum has been established in the Villa Garin. - Monastery of Cimiez. Church of the 14th-15th century with a Neo-Gothic façade. - On the slope of the hill, former Benedictine Abbey of St-Pons, with a fine baroque church, oval in plan.

BIBLIOG. R. Latouche, *Nice et Cimiez*, Mélanges Lot, Paris, 1925; P.-M. Duval, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Cemenelum (Cimiez, 1943)*, Gallia, IV, 1946, p. 77; F. Benoit, *Gallia*, XIV, 1956, p. 234; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, p. 299.

Grasse. The town, built on a hill, has some picturesque 13th-century quarters. - Former Cathedral of Notre-Dame, built in the

late 12th century in early Romanesque style but with cross-rib vaults over the nave. Nave and aisles separated by powerful round piers; galleries and choir of the 17th century. Chapel of the Sacrament, elegant construction of 1744. Large altarpiece of the school of L. Brea. — Incorporated in the Town Hall, remains of 13th-century episcopal palace with a square tower. — Place aux Aires, surrounded by 18th-century houses, some of them built over arcades. — Musée Fragonard (in the Hôtel de Cabris, 1773): paintings and drawings by the master; art of Lower Provence.

BIBLIOG. G. Doublet, *L'Ancienne cathédrale de Grasse*, 2 vols., Nice, 1907-09; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 355.

Iles de Lérins (anc. Lero). One of the two islands, Saint-Honorat, was an important monastic center during the Middle Ages. The modern abbey incorporates a cloister and a chapter house of the late 12th century. The castle, built on Gallo-Roman foundations, was used as a monastery: the rectangular tower is of the late 12th century, the rustication of the 14th; among the adjacent buildings, dating from the 13th century, is a cloister of two stories, the first with cross-rib vaults. Two chapels (10th-11th cent.) stand isolated; one is octagonal, the other is on a trefoil plan; both have cupolas.

BIBLIOG. H. Moris, *L'Abbaye de Lérins*, Paris, 1909; Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 367.

Nice (anc. Nicaea). Greek colony; Early Christian bishopric; in the 12th century, important commune allied with Pisa against the Genoese; in 1388 united with Savoy, whose fortunes it shared until the cession to France in 1860. — Noteworthy 17th- and 18th-century churches in Genoese style, with richly decorated interiors: St-Jacques (1607-50), in imitation of the Gesù in Rome, with a fine *Annunciation* of the late 17th century; Cathedral of Ste-Réparate (1650); Chapelle de l'Annonciation (late 17th cent.), with rich baroque furnishings; St-Augustin, with sumptuous baroque decoration; St-François-de-Paule (1736), with deep side chapels; the rococo Chapelle de la Miséricorde (1736), on an oval plan, with an altarpiece by Jean Miralheti or Miraillet (early 15th cent.). — Also notable: such magnificent palaces in the old town as the Palais du Sénat (18th cent.) and the Palais Lascaris (17th cent.), in Genoese style, and the Place Garibaldi (1750) with arcades. — Musée Masséna: important collection of Niçois primitives. — Musée des Beaux-Arts (Musée Jules Chéret): paintings.

BIBLIOG. R. Latouche, *Nice et Cimiez, Mélanges Lot*, Paris, 1925.

La Turbie (anc. Tropaeum Alpium). Situated on a mountainous ridge where the Via Julia Augusta crossed the Alps, at the frontier between Italy and Gaul. In 7-6 B.C. Augustus had a trophy built there, the dedication on whose base — reported by Pliny (*Natural History* III. xx) — enumerated the 45 Alpine tribes vanquished by him. The monument, almost 165 ft. high, consisted of a quadrangular base, a rotunda with columns and statues, and a stepped conical roof, which must have been surmounted by a statue of the emperor. Transformed into a fortress in the Middle Ages, it was partly destroyed in 1705, then served as a quarry. The excavations of 1905-09 recovered numerous fragments of the vertical members, which it was possible to restore. The Musée du Trophée des Alpes preserves sculptural fragments of the monument.

BIBLIOG. J. Formigé, *Le Trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)*, Gallia, sup. II, 1940.

Vence (anc. Vintium). Capital of the Nerusi, elevated to the rank of Roman city under Augustus; bishopric from the 4th century until the Revolution. The medieval walls are largely preserved. — Former cathedral in early Romanesque style, with 17th-century additions. In the western gallery, stalls by Jacotin Bellot (1455-60). — Château rebuilt in the 17th century. — In the environs, Chapelle du Rosaire (1950), by Matisse (q.v.).

BIBLIOG. Aix, Nice, CAF, 1932, p. 339; J. Daurelle, *Vence*, *Vence*, 1934.

Savoie (Fr., *Savade*). Departments of Savoie and Haute-Savoie. Mountainous region with relics of early Romanesque art (Church of St-Martin at Aime) and medieval castles; in general, artistically unoriginal; dependent on Italy through the court of Savoy (Chambéry, Annecy), whose campaign against Protestantism entailed construction of richly decorated churches.

BIBLIOG. A. Van Gennep, *La Savoie vue par les écrivains et les artistes*, Paris, 1913; C. Anthonioz, *Maisons savoyardes*, Chambéry, 1932.

Abondance. Former abbey. — Gothic church altered in subsequent periods. — Remains of the 14th-century cloister. Sculptured portal with the Coronation of the Virgin and statues of the Church and the

Synagogue. Late-15th-century frescoes of the Italian school, depicting the life of the Virgin. — Abbey buildings of the 17th century, with a little museum of sacred art.

BIBLIOG. M. Dumolin, *L'Abbaye d'Abondance*, B. Monumental, 1931, p. 227; R. Oursel, *L'Abbaye d'Abondance*, Vallesia, 1954, p. 183.

Annecy (anc. Bantua). Situated on Lake Annecy. Already in existence in 866; capital of the county of Genevois; from 1401 to 1860, possession of the house of Savoy. In 1535 it became the seat of the bishops of Geneva, driven out by the Reformation; in that year, too, the late Gothic Cathedral was built. — Church of St-Maurice, built by Cardinal de Brogny (1422-45). Aisleless nave; beautiful flamboyant windows in the apse; important works by Pourbus the Elder, Kraeck, etc. — The imposing castle dates essentially from the reconstructions of the 15th and 16th centuries by the Savoy family; it incorporates earlier towers and gates and has fine Renaissance rooms (Nemours apartment). — House of the 16th century decorated with busts. — In the Town Hall, museum with regional archaeological collections and a rich picture gallery.

BIBLIOG. R.-J. Gabion and others, *La Cathédrale d'Annecy*, Annecy, n. 6, 1956.

Chambéry. Originally castle of the counts of Savoy; their principal residence from the 14th century until 1562, when it was replaced by Turin. — Cathedral of St-François-de-Sales (1420-1585), with nave flanked by aisles and a flamboyant portal of 1522. — Ste-Chapelle (15th cent.), so called in 1502 when it received the Holy Shroud (transferred to Turin in 1578). Porch by Juvara. Stained glass of the 16th century. — Jesuit chapel of the 17th century in Italianate style. — Castle dating essentially from reconstruction of 1430. — Fontaine des Eléphants (1838), after the designs of P.-V. Sappey. — Musée Savoisien d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, in the former episcopal palace, with collections of regional interest. — Musée Benoît-Molin: notable paintings.

BIBLIOG. G. Pérouse, *Le Vieux Chambéry*, 2d ed., Mâcon, 1937.

Clermont. Splendid 16th-century château in the style of Bramante, built under Bishop Gallois de Regard; alterations in the 17th century. Courtyard surrounded by arcaded galleries.

Hautecombe. Former Cistercian abbey. Large Neo-Gothic church serving as funerary chapel of the house of Savoy, with numerous sculptures, most of them of the 19th century. Abbey buildings with granary of the 12th century.

BIBLIOG. C. Blanchard, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Hautecombe*, Chambéry, 1875; M. Aubert, *La "Grange d'eau" d'Hautecombe*, B. Monumental, 1954, p. 89.

Lémenc (anc. Lemincum). On a hill dominating Chambéry, now absorbed by the city; site of a Benedictine priory founded in 1029. Church with a crypt, perhaps of the 9th century, divided into three aisles and provided with a hexagonal baptistery; upper church of 1415-1513.

Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne. Important bishopric. — Cathedral (12th-15th cent.), with an early Romanesque crypt; tombs of the 14th-16th century; stalls carved by the Genevan P. Mochet (15th cent.). Cloister of 1452. — The city preserves remains of fortifications and old houses.

BIBLIOG. Chanoine Rostaing, *La Cathédrale de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne*, Belley, 1953.

Dauphiné. Departments of Drôme, Isère, Hautes-Alpes. The south is artistically dependent mainly on Provence; some Italian influence is also observable. In the late 16th-early 17th century building was encouraged by Constable Lesdiguières, to whom are due the Town Hall of Grenoble, the châteaux of Sassenage and Vizille, and the bridge over the Isère at Pont-de-Claix (1611). The fortifications at Briançon and Mont Dauphin are among Vauban's finest works.

BIBLIOG. J. Roman, *Répertoire archéologique du département des Hautes-Alpes*, Paris, 1888; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923.

Briançon (anc. Brigantio). In Gallo-Roman times, station on the road from Milan to Arles. Burned in 1624 and 1693; built anew in 1693 by Vauban, with magnificent ramparts, a church with two towers and central cupola (1703-18), and a parade ground. — At the foot of the citadel, gigantic statue of *France* by E.-A. Bourdelle.

BIBLIOG. A. Albert, *Biographie-bibliographie du Briançonnais*, 2 vols., Grenoble, 1891-95.



Crémieu. Commune founded in 1315. — Urban complex dating from the late Middle Ages: ramparts and fortified gates; church built against the ramparts. — Ruins of a castle of the 15th century. — Covered market (15th cent.) with three aisles and an open timber roof.

BIBLIOG. Baron de Marveaux, Crémieu, Saint-Chef, 1943.

Die (anc. Dea). Of Gallic origin; Roman colony; municipality from 1217; bishopric until the Revolution. — Former cathedral with Romanesque vestiges: portions of the walls, porch with sculptures (scenes from the Passion); largely destroyed in 1570, rebuilt in 1673 with a wide aisleless nave. — Roman gate (Porte St-Marcel) fortified during the Middle Ages; remains of late imperial city wall; Roman bridge. — Renaissance house near the cathedral.

BIBLIOG. J. Formigé, L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Die, B. Monumental, 1924, p. 243.

Embrun (anc. Eburodunum). In the late empire, capital of the province of Alpes Maritimae; archbishopric from the 4th century until the Revolution. — Former Cathedral of Notre-Dame, of the Romanesque period, built in two tones of stone. No transept; nave and aisles each terminated by an apse; cross-rib vaults of Lombard type; side porch with columns resting on lions, as in northern Italy. Treasury with medieval works in precious materials. — Rectangular donjon of the 12th century with four vaulted stories. — Gothic houses (13th and 14th cents.).

BIBLIOG. E. Escallier, Embrun, Grenoble, 1942; J. Vallery-Radot, Le Domaine de l'école romane de Provence, B. Monumental, 1945, p. 44.

La Garde-Adhémar. Church overlooking the Rhone, in Provençal Romanesque style, with archaic disposition of two facing apses. Nave with pointed barrel vaults; aisles; cupola surmounted by an octagonal bell tower. — Remains of ramparts and of a Renaissance château.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 91.

La Grande-Chartreuse. Mother house of the Carthusians, founded by St. Bruno in 1086. Important group of buildings, mainly of the 17th century, except for the large cloister divided into three sections by two central transverse galleries (begun in 1145, continued in the 13th cent., enlarged in the 16th) and two cemetery chapels of 1370 and 1386.

BIBLIOG. H. Lesbros, La Chartreuse, Paris, 1952.

Grenoble (anc. Cularo, later Gratianopolis). City in 379; bishopric; occupied by the Arabs in the 9th and 10th centuries; from 1451 seat of the Dauphiné parliament. — Church of St-Laurent. Crypt of the late 8th century with sculptured capitals. — Cathedral of Notre-Dame, of the 13th century but considerably altered. Nave with aisles and galleries. Against the modern façade, square brick bell tower of the 12th century forming a porch on the ground story. On the north flank, 13th-century chapel with cross-rib vaulting. Large ciborium in flamboyant style (15th cent.) in the choir. — Church of St-André (former chapel of the Dauphins' Palace), built in the 13th century, of brick; side chapels of the 15th century; south tower of the late 13th century; north portal in flamboyant style. Inside, the mausoleum of Bayard. — Church of St-Louis (1669), in classicizing style. — Courthouse (former Dauphins' Palace, then Palace of the Dauphiné Parliament), restored and enlarged in our time. Flamboyant entrance portal and chapel, late 15th century; east wing of 1539-62, in Renaissance style but with late Gothic details. Inside, admirable rooms with woodwork by Paul Jude (1521-24). — Town Hall (former Hôtel de Lesdiguières), late 16th century. — Musée des Beaux-Arts, built 1865-70 by C.-A. Questel. Works by Perugino, Veronese, Tintoretto, Zurbarán, Rubens; French paintings of the 19th and 20th centuries. — Musée Dauphinois: archaeological collections and regional art. — Stendhal museum and, in the same building, gallery of Dauphinois portraits.

BIBLIOG. M. Reynond and C. Giraud, Le Palais de Justice de Grenoble, Grenoble, 1889; M. Reynond, Grenoble et Vienne, Paris, 1907; P. David, La Cathédrale de Grenoble, Paris, 1939; J. Hubert, La Crypte de Saint-Laurent de Grenoble, Atti del II Convegno per lo studio dell'alto Medioevo, Turin, 1953, p. 327; J. Leymarie, Le Musée de Grenoble, Grenoble, 1955.

Grignan. Situated on a projection of Provence territory into Dauphiné. — Church of St-Sauveur (1535-43), by Jean Delanche, with an aisleless nave and cross-rib vaults; connected with the château by means of a terraced roof of the 17th century. — Château rebuilt in the 16th century and restored after the Revolution. Long façade

rebuilt in 1913. Courtyard with three wings: one of the early 16th century, with Gothic remnants, and two of 1545-50 in Renaissance style.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 133; F. Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927, p. 114.

Romans. Owes its origin to an abbey founded in 837; commune from 1160. — Church of St-Bernard. Nave of the 12th century with triforium and Gothic vaulting; transept and choir of the 13th century; side chapels of a later period. Portal (12th cent.), Italian in inspiration, with statues of apostles and lions. Series of tapestries with scenes from the Passion, of Brussels manufacture (1555). — Gothic and late Gothic houses. — Former palace of the archbishops of Vienne, early 16th century.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 146.

Saint-Antoine-en-Viennois. Mother abbey of the Anthonins, founded in 1070. Church begun from the east in the late 12th century, in a heavy Burgundian Gothic style; not completed until about 1465, with the façade. Deep choir flanked by two towers; nave with aisles and side chapels; triforium and clerestory passage along the nave and choir. Flamboyant façade whose three portals are decorated with sculptures by Antoine Le Moiturier (1461-64). In the second left-hand chapel, frescoes of the Avignon school, with scenes from the life of St. Anthony and a Crucifixion (ca. 1450).

BIBLIOG. H. Dijon, L'Eglise abbatiale de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné, Grenoble, Paris, 1902; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 164.

Saint-Chef. Romanesque abbey church of the 12th century. Transept gallery decorated with Romanesque frescoes showing Italian influence (on the vault, Christ in Glory). — Château of the early 16th century.

BIBLIOG. M. Varille and E. Loison, L'Abbaye de Saint-Chef, Lyons, 1929; P. Deschamps and M. Thibout, La Peinture murale en France, Paris, 1951, p. 49.

Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (probably anc. Augusta Tricastinorum). Former bishopric. — Former cathedral, one of the masterpieces of Provençal Romanesque architecture. Nave with aisles; central cupola; apse with classicizing decoration. Façade portal and cross-rib-vaulted side porch with richly sculptured archivolts. — Remains of medieval fortifications. — Medieval houses.

BIBLIOG. Avignon, I, CAF, 1909, p. 112.

Valence (anc. Valentia). On the left bank of the Rhone. Bishopric from the 4th century. — Cathedral of St-Apollinaire, consecrated in 1095, damaged during the Wars of Religion, rebuilt in Romanesque style in the early 17th century. Of the original building there subsist the apse with ambulatory and a portal with sculptured tympanum. — Small square funerary monument with cupola, 1548. — Remains of a Roman theater and walls of the late empire. — Renaissance houses decorated with busts and caryatids. — Museum in the former episcopal palace (mainly of the 18th cent.): Gallo-Roman remains; large collection of drawings by Hubert Robert.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 227; A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, Paris, 1958, p. 832.

Vienne (anc. Vienna, Colonia Julia Viennensium, Vienna Allobrogum). At the confluence of the Rhone and the Gère, in a hilly locality overlooking the two rivers. Capital and river port of the Allobroges, Vienne was a great indigenous city, the capital of a vast territory, where Grenoble and Geneva lie today. A Latin colony shortly after Caesar's death, it acquired, probably under Augustus, a wall of almost 3 3/4 miles that encircled the hills and terminated at the Rhone; the constructions were utilized in the medieval wall. Chiefly owing to some Romanized Gallic families, the city vied in splendor with nearby Lyons (Lugdunum). The position of the circus, on the bank of the Rhone, is marked by an obelisklike structure, still in place, that decorated the spina (PL. 472). Excavations have uncovered the theater (diam., 427 ft.); next to it has been located an odeum. The Temple of Augustus and Livia (89 × 49 ft.), preserved in its entirety, is the finest Roman sanctuary in Gaul excepting only the Maison Carrée of Nîmes. A theater where the mysteries of the cult of Cybele were performed was brought to light in the 1950s. At Sainte-Colombe and Saint-Roman-en-Gall — on the right bank of the Rhone — are remains of a large thermal establishment (Palais du Miroir) and of villas, which have yielded many statues and mosaics, including the especially notable one depicting the labors of the months.



There are no traces of a postulated reduced enclosure of the late empire. In addition to its Roman antiquities, Vienne also numbers some venerable Christian edifices. - Former Church of St-Pierre, with foundations of the 4th century in *opus reticulatum*; lateral walls of the 9th century decorated with antique columns. Of the Romanesque period: nave with aisles and an imposing bell tower forming a porch on the ground story. South portal with sculptured tympanum (12th cent.). - Church of St-André-le-Bas. Remains of a 10th-century basilica rebuilt without aisles about 1150; cross-rib vaults of Lombard type (12th cent.); square central bell tower. Cloister of the 12th century with a wooden ceiling and sculptured capitals; houses the Musée d'Art Chrétien. - Cathedral of St-Maurice, begun with the nave in 1107, in Burgundian style; choir without ambulatory (ca. 1220); vaulting of the 14th and 15th centuries. Impressive façade with three portals, whose statues are mutilated (14th and 15th cents.). Inside, the baroque mausoleum of two archbishops, by M.-A. Slodtz (1747). - Church of St-André-le-Haut (1725), former Jesuit chapel, with 17th-century college buildings. - House of the 13th century with an arcade on columns; houses of the 15th century. - Theater in Louis XVI style (1782), by Schnyder. - Musée Lapidaire Romain (in St-Pierre): sculptures of great quality; mosaics. - Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie: mosaics, sculpture, ceramics.

BIBLIOG. *Antiquity*: C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VI, Paris, 1920, p. 330; J. Formigé and F. Deshoulières, *Vienne-sur-le-Rhône*, Paris, 1925; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 323, 1938, pp. 211, 393, 773, 780, 989; J. Formigé, *Le Théâtre romain de Vienne*, Vienne, 1930; E. Will, *Catalogue des sculptures du musée de Vienne*, Vienne, 1952. *Middle Ages and modern times*: M. Reymond, *Grenoble et Vienne*, Paris, 1907; L. Bégule, *L'Eglise Saint-Maurice de Vienne*, Lyons, 1914; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 7; J. Vallery-Radot, *Les Vestiges romains du chevet de Saint-Maurice de Vienne*, B. Monumental, 1937, p. 357; J. Vallery-Radot, *Le Style du cloître de Saint-André-le-Bas à Vienne*, B. Monumental, 1931, p. 113; J. Vallery-Radot, *L'Ancienne cathédrale Saint-Maurice de Vienne*, B. Monumental, 1952, p. 207; M. Faure, *Vienne: Ses monuments religieux*, Vienne, 1953.

Vizille. Famous château rebuilt by Constable Leudiguères in 1611-19. Two elevated wings (some portions as much as five and six stories high) at right angles to each other; rectangular donjon; big round angle tower; monumental staircase added later in the 17th century; triumphal entrance with a half-relief equestrian statue of Leudiguère by Jacob Richier (1622).

BIBLIOG. A. Baton, *Le Château de Vizille*, Grenoble, 1925.

*Geraudan, Vivarais, and Velay*. Departments of Ardèche, Lozère, Haute-Loire. Intermediate zone between great art centers. Romanesque churches of various types, in a mixed style, generally rather unpolished. In Le Puy, an architecture with Orientalizing features.

BIBLIOG. N. and F. Thiollier, *L'Architecture religieuse à l'époque romane dans l'ancien diocèse du Puy*, Le Puy, 1900; Le Puy, CAF, 1904; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923.

Bourg-Saint-Andéol. Early Christian subterranean chapel on a trefoil plan. - Church in early Romanesque style. Nave with aisles; apse and apsidioles; formerly also a western apse; transept with a cupola and an octagonal bell tower. Decoration of Lombard bands. Sarcophagus of the 3d century with figures. - Hôtel de Nicolay (ca. 1495), in its decoration already partly Renaissance, with a tower flanked by a loggia. - Former palace of the bishops of Viviers (ca. 1500), with a fine Gothic façade. - Mansions of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. H. Courteault, *Le Bourg-Saint-Andéol*, Paris, 1909; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 182.

Brioude. Famous in the Middle Ages as the site of the tomb of St. Julian. - Basilica of St-Julien, large edifice in Romanesque style. Big narthex; nave of five bays with fine capitals and cross-rib vaults (posterior); high aisles; choir with ambulatory and chapels. Towers rebuilt. Two side porches, the southern one with a door of the 12th century adorned with bronze animal heads. In a gallery over the narthex, murals of the 13th century. Polychrome masonry. Late medieval houses with gables.

BIBLIOG. Le Puy, CAF, 1904, p. 342.

La Chaise-Dieu. Celebrated for its abbey. - Former abbey church of St-Robert, rebuilt under Clement VI from 1344 by H. Morel, P. de Cobazat, and P. Falciat in a severe style. Very wide nave with aisles as high as it, all covered with cross-rib vaults; east end with polygonal chapels; fortified façade with two towers. Rood screen of the 15th century; choir stalls of the early 15th century; recumbent statue of Clement VI by Pierre Roye; baroque organ case (1683); large 15th century mural, *The Dance of Death* (IV, PL. 468; VI,

PL. 369); Flemish tapestries of the early 16th century with 84 from the Old and New Testaments. Flamboyant cloister. - Tour Clémentine, with four stories, the first two vaulted (ca. 1400).

BIBLIOG. L.-J. Edmond-Durand, *La Chaise-Dieu*, Lyons, 1903; J. Langlade, *L'Abbaye de La Chaise-Dieu*, Paris, 1923.

Champagne. Romanesque church, whose cupolas on squinches, probably inspired by those of the Cathedral of Le Puy, are provided with transverse ribs; aisles surmounted by galleries that continue in the transept. Tympanum with scenes from the Passion signed "Girbertus." Square lateral north tower.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 128.

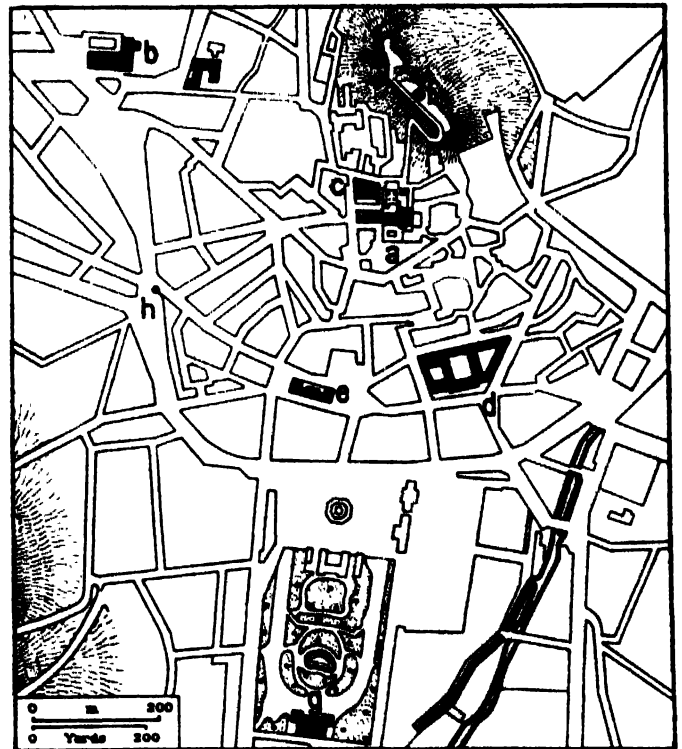
Cruss. Church reflecting early Romanesque art. Two crypts, one of the 11th century, the other of the 13th with cross-rib vaults. Upper church with nave flanked by aisles, west bell tower, and round central bell tower. External decoration of Lombard bands. In the choir, mosaic with figures dated 1098. - City wall of the 14th century. - Remains of a castle with a Romanesque chapel fortified in the 14th century. - Late medieval houses.

BIBLIOG. Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1923, p. 269.

Mende. Cathedral begun in 1360, completed in the 15th century, in large part rebuilt after the Wars of Religion; façade towers of the 16th century. - Bridge of the 14th century. - Houses of the 16th century, of southern type, richly decorated. - Town Hall of the late 18th century. - Museum with archaeological collections.

BIBLIOG. C. Porée, *Notice sur la construction de la cathédrale de Mende*, B. Archéologique, 1903, p. 72.

Le Puy. Famous Marian pilgrimage center in the Middle Ages. - Romanesque Cathedral, in every way exceptional. Nave covered by



Le Puy: city plan. (a) Cathedral and cloister; (b) St-Laurent; (c) Hospital; (d) former Jesuit college (now Lycée) and chapel; (e) Town Hall; (f) statue of Notre-Dame de France; (g) Musée Crozatier; (h) Tour Pannessac.

six cupolas on squinches; transept with galleries; rectangular east end. Façade with five tiers of arcades, elaborately patterned by the use of two colors of stone. Side porch of the late 12th century with decoration of Islamic type. Interior: Romanesque murals (huge figure of St. Michael). Grouped around the Cathedral: Bâtiment des Mâchicoulis, fortified building with four vaulted stories, one of which has an early Renaissance mural representing the Liberal Arts; former baptistery of the 11th century, whose apse has niches framed by antique

columns; cloister (PL. 377) in the same style as the Cathedral; former chapter house of the 12th century. — Former Dominican Church of St-Laurent (14th cent.), with nave flanked by aisles; tomb of Du Guesclin (d. 1380). Chapter house of the 14th century with two central pillars. — Chapel of former Jesuit college (now Lycée), begun in 1607 after the plans of Father E. Martellange. — Chapel of the Visitation, 18th century. — Hospital with a 15th-century façade and two Romanesque portals. — Numerous medieval and Renaissance houses. — Episcopal Palace, late 16th century. — Town Hall of 1766. — Musée Crozatier: prehistoric, archaeological, ethnographic collections; important group of paintings; sculpture; tapestries; minor arts; folk art. — In the nearby village of Aiguilhe, Chapel of St-Michel (late 11th cent.), of eccentric plan, with a barrel-vaulted nave and a groin-vaulted ambulatory; incorporates an oratory (10th cent.?), on a circular plan, with a pyramidal vault; charming façade with polychrome masonry.

BIBLIOG. Le Puy, CAF, 1904, p. 3; J. Langlade, *Le Puy et le Velay*, Paris, 1921; A. Fikry, *L'Art roman du Puy et les influences islamiques*, Paris, 1934; G. and P. Paul, *Notre-Dame du Puy*, Le Puy, 1930.

Polignac. Romanesque church of the mid-12th century, built on a simple basilican plan, with piers flanked by four colonnettes and modern façade. — Remains of a medieval castle with an extensive and well-preserved curtain wall; imposing rectangular donjon of the late 14th century.

BIBLIOG. Le Puy, CAF, 1904, p. 51.

Tournon. Important feudal seat from the 11th century. — Castle built on a rock overlooking the Rhone, rebuilt in the 15th and 16th centuries. — Oldest college in France, founded in 1536, partly rebuilt in the 18th century. Chapel of 1721.

BIBLIOG. G. Faure, *Tournon*, Grenoble, 1936.

Viviers (anc. Vivarium). Bishopric of some antiquity; preserves old streets and buildings. — Cathedral of St-Vincent, begun about 1100, largely altered in the Gothic period. Polygonal apse rebuilt with a stellar vault in 1521; beyond the apse, separate from the church, is a series of radiating chapels of the 14th and 15th centuries. Nave rebuilt without aisles after the Wars of Religion; vaulted in the 18th century. Separate bell tower with two stories of the Romanesque period, surmounted by an octagonal one of the Gothic period. — Maison des Chevaliers (ca. 1550), with a sculptured frieze and medallions. — Former episcopal palace of 1732. — Hôtel des Receveurs des Tailles (1740), by J.-B. Franque.

BIBLIOG. P.-H. Mollier, *La Cathédrale de Viviers*, 1908; Valence, Montélimar, CAF, 1929, p. 194.

*Lyonnais and Forez*. Departments of Rhône and Loire. Region variously influenced — according to the particular area — by Burgundy, central France, and Italy. Its artistic center is Lyons.

BIBLIOG. L. Bégule, *Les Vitraux du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance dans la région lyonnaise*, Lyons, 1911; Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935.

Ambierle. Former Benedictine priory. — Church (ca. 1450) in flamboyant style. Nave with aisles; transept; choir flanked by rectangular chapels; pentagonal apse with five large windows. Fine furnishings (carved choir stalls, 15th cent.); magnificent stained glass (1470-85) with saints under architectural canopies; on the high altar, Flemish triptych of sculptured and painted wood with scenes from the Passion and, on the wings, portraits of the donors attributed to Rogier Van der Weyden (second half of 15th cent.). — Museum of folk art.

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 233.

La Bâtie (or Bastie) d'Urfé. Château rebuilt about 1547. Main wing with chapel and so-called "grotto," a room covered with *rocaille* decoration; side wing composed of two stories of open galleries, Italianate in style. In the garden, rotunda with Ionic columns.

BIBLIOG. F. Thiollier, *Le Château de La Bâtie d'Urfé*, Saint-Etienne, 1886; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 119; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 218.

Belleville-sur-Saône. Church (1168-79), with Romanesque decoration and early Gothic-rib vaults. Long nave of nine bays with aisles; arms of transept surmounted by towers (one of them unfinished); choir with side chapels; apse and two apsidioles.

BIBLIOG. Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 334.

Lyons (Fr., *Lyon*; anc. Lugdunum). Capital of the department of Rhône. Centered on a peninsula bordered by the Rhone and the Saône, the city extends westward over the Hill of Fourvière, which contributes to its uneven topography, and eastward beyond the Rhone. Two Gallic settlements, one of the Segusiavi, already existed in 43 B.C. when Munatius Plancus founded the colony of Lugdunum, which became the capital of the provincia Lugdunensis and the federal and religious center of the three new Gallic provinces of Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica. Agrippa made it a key in the new network of roads; Augustus and Claudius, who was born there, also furthered its development. Nothing remains of the city wall, but notable segments of four aqueducts subsist in the environs. The forum, expanded several times, was located on the Hill of Fourvière, which is also the site of a theater of the 1st century, enlarged in the ad; the nearby odeon, contemporaneous with this enlargement, was the only one known in Gaul until the one in Vienne was discovered (see PL. 474). At the north of the peninsula stood the altar that served as meeting place for the deputies of the Gallic cities; near it are some substructures of an amphitheater of the Augustan period, which may have been the site of the martyrdom of SS. Bladina and Pothinus in 177. A fire under Nero and the devastations of the future Septimius Severus in the late ad century arrested the development of this city which had been the most important in Gaul. However, it became one of the first centers of Christianity, whose influence spread rapidly after the religious peace. In the 4th-5th century it was part of the Burgundian kingdom, and in the 6th century of the Frankish kingdom. In 843 it passed to the emperor Lothair, who incorporated it into Provence. After various struggles it passed in 1275 to the French crown. With the displacement of the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône, the city center shifted from the Hill of Fourvière to the long peninsula between the two rivers, which in the 18th century acquired some magnificent quarters; and an eastward expansion took place, on the opposite bank of the Rhone, where may be seen notable examples of modern architecture and urban planning. — Church of St-Irénée, whose crypt retains vestiges of the most ancient Early Christian monument in France; a basilica rebuilt in the 5th century with the utilization of anterior structures. — Cathedral of St-Jean. Excavations under the crossing have brought to light the foundations of an apse with fragments of pavement mosaics (5th-9th cent.). The present edifice, entirely covered with cross-rib vaults, was begun from the east between 1165 and 1181, with a large apse decorated in Romanesque style and choir with side chapels; transept, nave with triforium and clerestory passage of Burgundian type, aisles, 13th century; façade with three sculpture-decorated portals, 14th century; chapel on south flank in flamboyant style. Exterior of apse with an elevated arcaded gallery showing Lombard influence. Remarkable set of stained-glass windows of the late 12th and the 13th century; transept rose window, 1241-50; façade rose window, 1393. — Church of St-Martin-d'Ainay, of very old foundation, rebuilt in the 12th century. Nave with aisles (modern vaults); transept with cupola; projecting apse flanked by apsidioles whose semicircular form is masked by a straight wall on the exterior; massive façade tower with a porch on the ground story. The columns of the nave and porch are reused antique ones. On the south flank, Chapel of Ste-Blandine, 12th century. Sacristy of the 15th century. — Former Church of St-Pierre. Porch with sculptured portal, surmounted by a bell tower. Aisleless nave of the 12th century. Eastern portion transformed in the 17th century. — Church of St-Bruno-les-Chartreux, with a deep choir (1590) by Jean Magnan (or Maignan); transept with octagonal cupola (1736) and nave with side chapels (1723), by F.-S. Delamonce; 19th-century façade. In the choir, baldachin by Servandoni. — Church of St-Polycarpe, in classicizing style (1665). — Pilgrimage basilica of Notre-Dame-de-Fourvière, in Neo-Byzantine style, by P.-M. Bossan and L.-J. de Sainte-Marie-Perrin (1872-96). — Former choristers' house (Manécanterie), near the Cathedral. Façade of the late 11th century with arcatures. — Numerous houses of the 15th and 16th centuries, with loggias toward the courtyard in the Italian manner. — Maison des Bullioud, with a corbeled gallery by Philibert Delorme (1536). — Town Hall, one of the finest in France, on a rectangular plan, with angle pavilions and two inner courtyards; built by Simon Maupin (1646-55), altered by J. Hardouin Mansart and R. de Cotte (1699). Rich interior decoration (ceiling by Thomas Blanchet). — Place Bellecour, planned by Mansart in 1714 on the model of the royal squares. In the center, 19th-century equestrian statue of Louis XIV, flanked by the *Rhone* and the *Saône* by the brothers Coustou. — Hospital, imposing complex of buildings dating from various periods. Chapel (1637-45) in Louis XIII style, with two small bell towers. Fine entrance portal of the early 18th century. Long façade along the Rhone (1741) by J.-G. Soufflot, whose dome had to be rebuilt after World War II. Seat of the Musée des Hospices Civils. — For the 19th century one may cite the Courthouse by L.-P. Baltard (1836-42), with a colonnade along the façade; for the 20th century, the stadium by Tony Garnier (1915). — Musée des Beaux-Arts

(in the former Abbey of St-Pierre): lapidary collection with sculptures and inscriptions, transferred in part to the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine (1959) near the Roman theater; numerous works by Italian masters, Pisan and Florentine sculptures; among French artists, Clouet, P. de Champagne, David, Géricault, Puvis de Chavannes. - Musée Lyonnais des Arts Décoratifs (in the Hôtel Lacroix-Laval by Soufflot, 1735): furniture, tapestries, porcelain. - Musée Historique de Lyon and Musée International de la Marionnette, in the Hôtel de Gadagne (1511-17; wing of 1545). - Musée Historique des Tissus, one of the richest and most complete textile museums in the world. - Musée Guimet, for Oriental art. - Bibliothèque Municipale: illuminated medieval manuscripts.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: Espér., III, 1910, IX, 1925, XIV, 1956; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VI, Paris, 1930, p. 518; P. Wüilleumier, *Fouilles de Fourvière à Lyon*, Gallia, sup. IV, 1951; P. Wüilleumier, *Lyon, métropole des Gaules*, Paris, 1953; P. Wüilleumier and others, *Essai sur la topographie de Lugudunum*, Lyons, 1956; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 220, 685, 786, 979, 993. *Middle Ages and modern times*: L. Bégule and M.-C. Guigue, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Lyon*, Lyons, 1880; J.-B. Martin, *Histoire des églises et chapelles de Lyon*, Lyons, 1909; H. d'Hennestel, *Lyon*, Paris, 1914; H. Focillon, *Le Musée de Lyon*, Paris, 1918; E. Salomon, *L'Eglise Saint-Bruno*, Lyons, 1924; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 9; A. Chagny, *La Basilique, ancienne abbatale, Saint-Martin d'Anay*, Lyons, 1935; P. Wüilleumier and others, *L'Eglise et la nécropole Saint-Laurent*, Lyons, 1949; J. Hubert, *L'Architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1952, nos. 39, 49, 69.

Montbrison. Church of Notre-Dame-D'Espérance, begun in 1212; nave and aisles built during the 14th century; façade of the 15th century with north tower and portal in flamboyant style; Renaissance side chapels. Tomb with recumbent figure of Comte Guy de Forez (mid-13th cent.). - Hall of former deanery, known as the "Diana" (1223), with a wooden vault adorned by heraldic emblems. In a covered courtyard, lapidary museum. - Musée d'Allard: paintings; coins.

**BIBLIOG.** N. and J.-P. Thiollier, *Lyon, Mâcon, CAF*, 1935, p. 230.

Saint-Romain-le-Puy. Fortified priory. - Church with a pre-Romanesque nave showing small irregular stonework; crypt, apse and two apsidioles with decorative stonework and bas-reliefs on the exterior, all built prior to 1050. Mural paintings of the 12th and 13th centuries (martyrdom of St. Romain).

**BIBLIOG.** Abbé Bégonnet and others, *B. de la Diana*, 1924-26, p. 453.

Villefranche-sur-Saône. Church with piers and apse of the 12th century; aisles of the 13th century; complex vaults and side chapels built in the late Middle Ages; façade with tower and portal in flamboyant style (16th cent.). Stained glass of the 15th century. - Town Hall in classicizing style.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Perrat and R. Michel-Danac, *Lyon, Mâcon, CAF*, 1935, p. 371.

*Burgundy (Fr., Bourgogne)*. Departments of Côte-d'Or and Saône-et-Loire; also included here is the historical region of Sénonais (part of the dept. of Yonne); for Bresse and Bugey (dept. of Ain), see Franche-Comté. One of the biggest and richest of the historical provinces, with relics from the 6th century B.C. (tomb of Vix) and the Gallo-Roman era (great cities such as Autun) all the way to the neoclassical period. It saw the dissemination of the first phase of Romanesque art (Saint-Vincent-des-Prés, Chapaize, Tournus) and, from the 11th century onward, the flowering of a vigorous school of architecture and sculpture (Cluny, Autun, Vézelay), fostered by the Cistercians of Cluny and Cîteaux; in the Gothic period, too, architecture showed an original character. During the late Middle Ages the patronage of the dukes of Burgundy gave artistic preeminence to Dijon. The Renaissance and the 17th century are also well represented.

**BIBLIOG.** A. Philippe, *L'Architecture religieuse au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'ancien diocèse d'Auxerre*, B. Monumental, 1904, p. 43; Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907; C. Oursel, *L'Art roman de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1928; Dijon, CAF, 1928; La Bourgogne: Les Peintures et les tapisseries, by L. Réau, Paris, 1927; *L'Architecture*, by L. Hauteœur, 3 vols., Paris, 1929. *La Sculpture*, by M. Aubert, 3 vols., Paris, 1930; J. Virey, *Les Eglises romanes de l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon*, Mâcon, 1934; M. and C. Dickson, *Les Eglises romanes de l'ancien diocèse de Chalon*, Mâcon, 1935; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935; H. Soulaige-Bodin, *Les Châteaux en Bourgogne*, Paris, 1942; R. and A.-M. Oursel, *Les Eglises romanes de l'Autunois et du Brionnais*, Mâcon, 1956; Auxerre, CAF, 1958; R. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960.

Alise-Sainte-Reine (anc. Alesia). On a height protected by three rivers. Excavations, begun already under Napoleon III, have permitted the exploration of the oppidum of the Mandubii, taken by

Caesar in 52 B.C. They have uncovered preparations for the siege, ditches and fortifications, the Roman and Gallic camps, vestiges of the last battle (arms, horses, coins), remains of the Gallic ramparts and of cellars of Gallic dwellings. They have also brought to light constructions of the Gallo-Roman city rebuilt after the battle: the theater, a secular basilica, dwellings, the crypt of a temple, a group of sanctuaries, and thermal installations; no Roman city wall has been found. - Remnants of an Early Christian basilica dedicated to the martyred Ste Reine (St. Regina). - Hospice of 1663. - Musée d'Alésia, with finds from the excavations: bas-reliefs, inscriptions, objects of daily use. - Musée Municipal, smaller than the preceding, with inscriptions (Gallic and Latin) and sculptures.

**BIBLIOG.** *Pro Alesia*, I, 1906 ff.; Espér., III, 1910, IX, 1925, XIV, 1956; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 206, 1958, pp. 342, 479, 819; J. Toutain, *Gallia*, I, 2, 1943, III, 1944, VI, 1, 1948; J. Toutain, *Le Passé et la découverte d'Alésia*, La Charité-sur-Loire, 1948.

Ancy-le-Franc. Château on a quadrilateral plan with angle pavilions and a splendid courtyard designed by Serlio (mid-16th cent.) with façades showing two superposed orders and arcades. - In the cemetery, Renaissance chapel (1526).

**BIBLIOG.** F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 30; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 240.

Autun (anc. Augustodunum). After the destruction of Bibracte (Mont Beuvray) a few years before the beginning of the Christian Era, the Aedui established themselves in a new capital, 6½ miles to the north, founded by Augustus on a slight elevation bordered by the Arroux. It was fortified by a wall with round towers, which largely subsists, together with the Porte d'Arroux and the Porte St-André, gates with gallery-surmounted arches. It had the largest theater (diam., 517 ft.; partly preserved) and the largest amphitheater (long axis, 505 ft.; entirely destroyed) in Gaul. There also survive a square temple (known as that of Janus), of local type, and, outside the city, a pyramid-shaped mausoleum. The aqueducts and the university where Eumenius taught are destroyed. In 269 the city was burned by Victorinus and long remained in ruins. The emplacement of the late imperial wall, of reduced dimensions, has not been ascertained. Autun was a celebrated bishopric; the tomb of St. Lazarus drew numerous pilgrims. - Cathedral of St-Lazare, in Burgundian Romanesque style, begun in 1120, consecrated in 1132. Nave with triforium and aisles; transept; choir with aisles (no ambulatory), terminated by an apse and two apsidioles; side chapels of the 15th and 16th centuries; late medieval central bell tower with an octagonal spire. Under the porch (1178), large tympanum with the Last Judgment, signed "Gislebertus," to whom are also attributed the splendid series of capitals in the church. - Chapel of former Jesuit college (1709-30), by M.-A. Caristie. - Romanesque donjon. - Hôtel du Chancelier Rolin, of the 15th century (now mus.). - Small Fountain of St-Lazare, in Renaissance style (1543). - Former episcopal palace of the 18th century. - In a former seminary (now military school), severe courtyard with arcades by D. Gittard (17th cent.). - Musée Rolin: lapidary collection with numerous steles, inscriptions, tools, objects excavated at Bibracte and Chassemy; Romanesque sculptures: *Eve* by Gislebertus (from the lintel of the main portal of the Cathedral), statues from the tomb of St. Lazarus, formerly in the Cathedral; *Virgin and Child* of the 15th century; *Nativity* by the Master of Moullins (late 15th cent.). - Musée Lapidaire St-Nicolas, in a Romanesque chapel. - Library with Carolingian and other manuscripts.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: H. de Fontenay and A. de Charmasse, *Autun et ses monuments*, Autun, 1889; E. Thevenot, *Autun, cité romaine et chrétienne*, Autun, 1932; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1958, pp. 234, 458, 689, 799. *Middle Ages and modern times*: Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 119; J. Bonnerot, *Autun*, Paris, 1921; J. Bonnerot, *Autun et le Morvan*, Paris, 1933; D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, sculpteur d'Autun*, Paris, 1960.

Auxerre (anc. Autessiodurum). Christian center of great antiquity near the tomb of St. Germain; bishopric from the 3d century; county from the 6th. - Church of St-Germain, founded by Queen Clotilda in the first half of the 6th century. Rebuilt in the 9th century with crypts (III, PL. 49) that contain Carolingian frescoes with scenes from the life of St. Stephen. Upper church: choir of the late 13th century with ambulatory and deep axial chapel, covered with cross-rib vaults; nave of the 15th century, destroyed in its western portion. Fine bell tower with a stone spire (12th cent.), now isolated. Cloister altered by J.-G. Soufflot in the 18th century. - Cathedral of St-Etienne. Large 11th-century crypt with nave and aisles, ambulatory, and an apsidal chapel whose vault bears a curious fresco of Christ on horseback. Upper church: choir in Champenois Gothic style (1215-34), with

triforium, ambulatory, and an apsidal chapel whose vault is supported by slender columns; nave of the 14th century, vaulted in the 15th; north transept with a flamboyant rose window. Façade with a north tower crowned in the 16th century and three portals, richly decorated: tympanums with the Last Judgment and scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist; at the base, scenes from Genesis, David and Bathsheba (13th cent.). South transept with tympanum of the 14th century. Remarkable series of stained-glass windows of the 13th century (medallions in the choir and ambulatory) and of the 16th (nave; north transept, 1528). - Church of St-Eusèbe. Romanesque nave raised in the Gothic period; tower of the 12th century, with a spire of the 15th; choir of 1530. Stained glass of the 17th century. - Church of St-Pierre (1536-1672), in Gothic style. Nave with aisles; ambulatory with ring of chapels. South bell tower of 1536-57. Façade with superposed orders, in the late Renaissance manner (1630-56). - Incorporated in the Prefecture, gallery with small arches resting on columns, vestige of an episcopal palace of the first half of the 12th century. - Belfry of 1483.

BIBLIOG. C. Porée, *Le Chœur de la cathédrale d'Auxerre*, B. Monumental, 1906, p. 251; Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, pp. 167, 590; P. Barbier, *Auxerre et l'Auxerrois*, Paris, 1936; R. Louis, *Les Eglises d'Auxerre des origines au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1952; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 26.

Auxonne. Church of the 13th century in Burgundian Gothic style, with vestiges of the Romanesque period in the transept. Nave with triforium and aisles; hexagonal apse. Porch of the 16th century in flamboyant style.

BIBLIOG. Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 450.

Avallon (anc. Aballo). Fortified city of the 13th century. Preserves a large portion of its medieval wall. - Church of St-Lazare. Apsè and apsidioles (the latter nonprojecting on the exterior) completed in 1106; 12th-century nave of the same type as Vézelay, without gallery or triforium and with groined vaults. Richly decorated Romanesque portal. - Square belfry of 1456. - Town Hall in Louis XVI style (1770).

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 3; J. Bonnerot, Avallon, Paris, 1933; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 302.

Beaune. One of the residences of the dukes of Burgundy; commune from 1203. - Romanesque collegiate church of Notre-Dame, begun in 1120. Ambulatory with three chapels; transept; nave with triforium in the style of Autun; western bays of the 13th century. Square central bell tower decorated with arcatures. Vast porch whose vaults rest on columns (1332). Chapel of Canon Bouton with Renaissance decoration (1530). Important cycle of tapestries with scenes from the life of the Virgin (early 16th cent.). Cloister of the 13th century. - St-Nicolas. Of the Romanesque church, entirely rebuilt in the 13th century, there remains a tower with spire and sculptured portal. - Chapel of the *Hospice de la Charité*, 1645. - Oratorian chapel, on an octagonal plan, 1708. - Houses of the 12th and 13th centuries, with linteled windows (PL. 387). - So-called "chapter house" with a 13th-century façade. - Rectangular belfry of the 14th century. - Hôtel des Ducs de Bourgogne (now mus.), with buildings of the 14th to the 16th century. Courtyard with wooden galleries. - Famous hospital founded by Chancellor Rolin and built by the Brabantine architect Jean de Vischer (or Wiscrere) in the mid-15th century. Large ward with a wooden vault in the shape of an upturned keel; fine courtyard with wooden galleries. Seat of the Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu, which owns the great polyptych of the *Last Judgment* by Rogier Van der Weyden (1446) and tapestries of the 15th century. - Well-preserved portions of the city wall of the early 16th century. - Town Hall of the 18th century. - Musée du Vin de Bourgogne, in the ducal palace. - Musée du Beffroi: archaeological collections.

BIBLIOG. A. Kleinclausz, *Dijon et Beaune*, Paris, 1907; Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 267.

Bussy-Rabutin. Château rebuilt in the first half of the 16th century. Main wing transformed in 1649 in classicizing style; perpendicular to it, two wings with arcaded galleries; four angle towers. Park of the 17th century with nymphaeum.

BIBLIOG. F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1927, p. 67; M. Dumolin, *Le Château de Bussy-Rabutin*, Paris, 1933.

Chablis. Gothic Church of St-Martin, begun in the early 13th century, restored in the 17th; influenced by the Cathedral of Sens. Ambulatory without chapels; no transept. Nave with alternating piers and columns and sexpartite vaults; aisles; triforium that continues around the choir.

BIBLIOG. Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 197.

Chalon-sur-Saône (anc. Cabillonum). Already a commercial center of the Aedui and Romans; in the 6th century, capital of the kings of Burgundy. - Former Cathedral of St-Vincent. Lower portions of nave of the Romanesque period; choir and polygonal apse, early 13th century; triforium and vaults, 14th-15th century; late Gothic side chapels; modern façade. - Church of St-Pierre, built on a central plan (1698-1713). Octagonal dome. - Wooden houses of the 15th century. - Elegant 17th-century house decorated with bas-reliefs. - Musée Denon: archaeology; paintings.

BIBLIOG. Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 426.

Chapaize. Church of St-Martin, of Burgundian Romanesque type. Nave devoid of decoration (vaults redone); aisles with groined vaults; enormous cylindrical piers; apse and apsidioles. Square central bell tower decorated with Lombard bands.

BIBLIOG. Lyon, Mâcon, 1935, CAF, p. 523.

Charlieu. Remains of an important Benedictine priory. The 11th-century substructures of the church have been exposed. Still standing is the two-storied narthex of the 12th century, whose portal and window are ornamented with sculptures of the Burgundian school (tympanums with Christ and the Evangelists and the Last Supper); under the narthex is the church portal with a tympanum of the late 11th century (Christ in Majesty). Other survivals: chapter house with Romanesque arcades; cloister of the late 15th century. - Parish church. Rectangular choir of the 13th century, with a side portal showing the Coronation of the Virgin. Nave with aisles and chapels, 14th-15th century. Choir stalls with figures of apostles (late 15th cent.). - Cordelier monastery with an aisleless church of the 15th century and a cloister of the late 14th. - Many houses of the 13th to the 15th century, with mullioned windows. - Hospital in classicizing style (1680).

BIBLIOG. F. Thiollier, *L'Art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais*, Montbrison, 1802; Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 242; J. Valléry-Radot, *Les Analogies des églises de Charlieu et Anzy-le-Duc*, B. Monumental, 1920, p. 243; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 422.

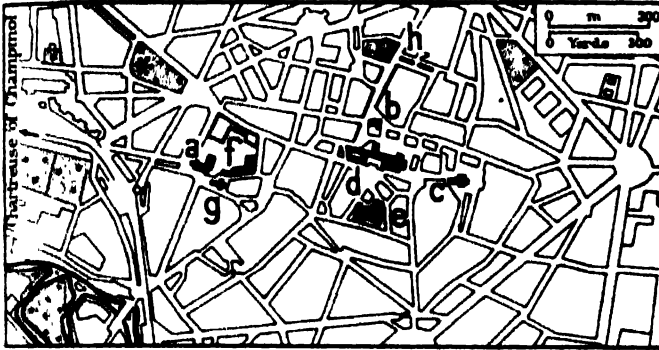
Châtillon-sur-Seine. The town preserves remains of a donjon and of a rectangular city wall of the 12th century. - Church of St-Vorles (ca. 980), originally with a western as well as an eastern transept; altered in the Gothic period and the 17th century. - Church of St-Pierre, built in the mid-12th century on a Cistercian plan. Nave of seven bays with aisles; transept; choir no longer exists. - Musée Archéologique: objects excavated in the *oppidum* of Mont Lassois, near Vix, and at Vertault.

BIBLIOG. Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 184.

Cluny (anc. Cluniacum). Very famous medieval religious center. - The great abbey church, founded by St. Hugh in 1088 and almost completely destroyed in the 19th century, was built on a grandiose plan: nave with double aisles; two transepts; choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels; five bell towers; a narthex preceded by two towers. Today there subsists only a portion of the south transept with an octagonal bell tower. The magnificent capitals of the choir (first quarter of 12th cent.), representing the Seasons, the Virtues, the Tones of Plain Song, are preserved in the Musée du Farinier. Also preserved is a side chapel built in the 15th century by the Cardinal de Bourbon, with brackets (for statues that have disappeared) of Burgundian style. Of the vast abbey buildings there subsist the entrance portal of the 12th century with a double archway; the façade (very much altered) known as that of Pope Gelasius (14th cent.), with Gothic windows; a two-storied granary (housing the Musée du Farinier), whose upper story is covered by an open timber roof. A general reconstruction of the mid-18th century in Louis XV style is responsible for a cloister with two majestic staircases and a building facing the park with wings at right angles. - Church of St-Marcel, begun in 1159 in Burgundian Gothic style. Octagonal central bell tower with a spire dating from the 16th century. - Church of Notre-Dame, in Burgundian Gothic style (13th cent.), with a lantern. - Romanesque houses with rows of round-headed windows. - Former abbatial palace (now Musée Ochier), 15th century. - Town Hall of the early 16th century. - Hospital of the 17th century with a circular central chapel. - In the environs, Romanesque chapel of Berzé-la-Ville, with very important murals of Byzantine inspiration (large Christ in the apse; scenes from the lives of the saints).

BIBLIOG. F. Mercier, *La Peinture clunysienne en Bourgogne à l'époque romane*, Paris, 1932; J. Virey, *L'Abbaye de Cluny*, 3d ed., Paris, 1950; K. J. Conant, *Medieval Academy Excavations at Cluny, VIII: Final Stages of the Project* (with list of previous pub.), *Speculum*, 1954, p. 11; K. J. Conant, *New Results in the Study of Cluny Monastery*, *J. of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVI, n. 3, 1957, p. 3.

Dijon (anc. Dabio). Small city in the Gallo-Roman epoch, fortified by Aurelian about 273; capital of the duchy of Burgundy; bishopric from 1731. - Abbey church of St-Bénigne. Underground, remains of a chapel of 871. Crypt of 989, in the form of a rotunda, surrounded by two aisles; capitals with figures. Upper church rebuilt from 1281 to 1325 in Burgundian Gothic style. Polygonal apse and apsidioles; transept; nave with triforium and clerestory passage; façade with two towers. Abbey building of the 11th-13th century, one story of which (former dormitory, now mus.) has two rows of columns supporting cross-rib vaults. - Church of St-Philibert, sober edifice of the 12th century, built on a basilican plan. Porch of the 13th century. Central bell tower of the 15th century. - Church of Notre-Dame, begun in the first quarter of the 13th century, in the style of St-Bénigne. Façade with two tiers of arches on colonnettes set off by three sculptured friezes. Stained glass of the 13th century



Dijon: plan of the center of the city. (a) St-Bénigne; (b) Notre-Dame; (c) St-Michel; (d) former palace of the dukes of Burgundy, with the Musée des Beaux-Arts; (e) Courthouse; (f) Musée Archéologique; (g) St-Philibert; (h) Rue de la Préfecture, with the former Hôtel Bouhier de Lantenay.

(medallions, scenes from the lives of the saints). - Vestiges of the Charterhouse of Champmol, founded by Philip the Bold in 1383: entrance portal; inserted in a modern chapel, portal by Claus Sluter and pupils (statue of the Virgin on the central pillar; statues of Philip the Bold and his wife, kneeling, with St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine); in a courtyard, base of a calvary known as the *Well of Moses*, with six statues of prophets, also by Sluter (1395-1404). - Church of St-Michel, 1499-1530. Nave with aisles and side chapels; broad transept; choir with rectangular chapels. Renaissance façade (PL. 391) with two towers completed in 1659-67; triple porch adorned with sculptures. - Two-storied building of the Abbey of Clairvaux (late 12th cent.), with vaults springing from central pillars. - Fine houses of the 13th century and later. - Hôtel Chambellan (1490), in flamboyant style. - Courthouse in Renaissance style. Façade with gable and porch (1571). - Hôtel de Vogüé (1614), in Renaissance style. - Hôtel Bouhier de Lantenay (now Prefecture), in classicizing style (1759). - Billardon Housing Unit, 1948-55. - Musée des Beaux-Arts (in the former palace of the dukes of Burgundy), one of the richest museums in France. From the Charterhouse of Champmol: tomb of Philip the Bold with mourners, by Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, and others; tomb of John the Fearless, by Antoine Le Moiturier and Juan de la Huerta; two sculptured and painted altarpieces by Jacques de Baerle and Melchior Broederlam. *Nativity* by the Master of Flémalle; Swiss and German primitives; works by Rude (b. in Dijon), Caffieri, Prud'hon. - Musée Archéologique (in a building of the Abbey of St-Bénigne): products of excavations at Vertault and elsewhere in the region; Gallo-Roman and medieval sculptures. - Musée Magnin: important collection of paintings. - Musée Perrin de Puycousin (in the 13th-cent. Hôtel Aubriot): folk art. - Musée Rude (in the transept of the former Church of St-Etienne): moldings, drawings, sculptures. - Bibliothèque Municipale: medieval manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. A. Kleinclausz, *Dijon et Beaune*, Paris, 1907; E. Metman, *L'Eglise Saint-Michel de Dijon*, Dijon, 1914; L. Chomton, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, Dijon, 1923; *Dijon*, CAF, 1928, p. 9; V. Flipo, *La Cathédrale de Dijon*, Paris, 1928; C. Ouriel, *L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Dijon*, Paris, 1938; H. David, *Claus Sluter*, Paris, 1951; C. Poinasot, *Le Bâtiment du dour de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, B. Monumental, 1954, p. 303; P. Quarré, *Le Musée de Dijon*, Dijon, 1958.

Flavigny-sur-Ozerain. Church of St-Genès, built in the late 13th century in Burgundian Gothic style. Unusual disposition of the galleries, in which those over the aisles are joined to one over the two westernmost bays of the nave; choir prolonged in 1435; vaults redone in the 15th century; side chapels of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Late medieval flood screen; choir stalls of the 15th century. - Former abbey buildings of the 17th century incorporating a Carolingian crypt with rotunda. - Remains of city walls and gates of the 15th-16th century. - Houses of the 13th to the 16th century.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 47.

Fontenay. Cistercian abbey founded in 1118, presenting today an exceptional monastic complex of the 12th century. - Large church begun in 1130, consecrated by Pope Eugene III in 1147. Latin-cross plan. Nave with pointed barrel vaults; aisles with transverse barrel vaults. Big statue of the Virgin (14th cent.); on the high altar, stone retable with scenes from the life of Christ (late 13th cent.). - To the south of the church, cloister contemporaneous with it. Chapter house with cross-rib vaults supported by central piers. Buildings of the 12th and 13th centuries: large hall, calefactory, amithy, mill, etc.

BIBLIOG. L. Régule, *L'Abbaye de Fontenay*, 3d ed., Paris, 1950.

Joigny (anc. Jovinacum). Capital of a county in the Middle Ages. Hard-hit in World War II. - Church of St-Thibault, begun in 1490, partly redone in 1530 after a fire. Nave with aisles; ambulatory opening on a single (modern) chapel. Magnificent hanging keystone in the choir. - Church of St-Jean, rebuilt after 1530 by Jean Chéreau. Porch surmounted by a bell tower; nave with a coffered barrel vault; aisles with complex vaults. - Château of the second half of the 16th century, in classicizing style. - Half-timbered houses with sculptural decoration (16th cent.).

BIBLIOG. L. Hauteœur, *La Bourgogne: L'Architecture*, II, Paris, 1929, p. 66; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 114.

Mâcon (anc. Matisco). One of the chief cities of the Aedui and subsequently of the Romans; bishopric from the 6th century; capital of a county. - Of the Cathedral there subsist the Romanesque narthex, the façade with two towers (lower parts Romanesque, upper parts Gothic), and a fragmentary tympanum with the Last Judgment. - Chapel of the Hospice de la Charité (1762), built by J.-G. Soufflot on an oval plan with three tiers of galleries. - Wooden Renaissance house with carved decoration, including figures. - Hôtel Senecé, in rococo style (first half of 18th cent.). Houses an archaeological museum. - Town Hall (1765), with a long façade in Louis XVI style. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: important collections of paintings.

BIBLIOG. Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 464.

Paray-le-Monial. Benedictine Church of Notre-Dame (PL. 376), remarkable example of Burgundian Romanesque style, deriving from Cluny. Narthex of the late 11th century surmounted by two towers; apse, ambulatory with very high columns, transept, about 1095; short nave of the 12th century; octagonal central bell tower (restored); south chapel of 1480. - Town Hall in early Renaissance style, decorated with medallions.

BIBLIOG. J. Virey, *Paray-le-Monial*, Paris, 1926.

Pontigny. The second of the four abbeys founded directly by Cliteaux. - Church (ca. 1140-ca. 1210). Romanesque porch; long nave of seven bays covered with cross-rib vaults; aisles; markedly projecting transept bordered by rectangular chapels; ambulatory with contiguous radiating chapels. Choir stalls, choir screen, organ loft, 17th and 18th centuries. - Two-storied abbey building of the 13th century, with groined vaults supported by a row of columns. - Remains of a cloister altered in classicizing style.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 109; G. Fontaine, *Pontigny*, Paris, 1928; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 163.

Saint-Thibault. Church with a choir in Burgundian Gothic style (late 13th cent.); nave rebuilt in 1712. Portal with statues of the Burgundian ducal family (early 14th cent.). Sarcophagus with statue of a recumbent knight (13th cent.); altarpiece depicting the life of St. Theobald (14th cent.). On the north flank of the church, Chapel of St-Gilles (late 13th cent.), with a polygonal apse.

BIBLIOG. L. Lefrançois-Pillion, *L'Eglise de Saint-Thibault*, GBA, I, 1922, p. 137; *Dijon*, CAF, 1928, p. 252.

Saulieu (anc. Sidolocous). Basilica of St-Andoche, in Burgundian Romanesque style. Nave with capitals of the Autun type; choir rebuilt in the 18th century; side chapels of the 15th-16th century. - Church of St-Saturin, of the 15th century, with Gallo-Roman funerary steles. - Houses of the 13th century. - Town Hall of 1780.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 103; J. Bonnerot, *Saulieu*, Paris, 1928.



**Semur-en-Auxois** (anc. Sinemurum). Church of Notre-Dame, begun in 1225 from the east. Choir with triforium, aisles, and ambulatory; high and narrow nave. Fine Gothic decoration. Façade with porch and two towers (14th-15th cent.). North lateral portal with scenes from the life of St. Thomas (13th cent.). - Four round towers of the 13th century: remnants of a castle of the dukes of Burgundy. - Former governor's mansion of the early 17th century. - Municipal museum: plaster originals of the sculptures of A.-A. Dumont (1801-84); antiquities; paintings.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 64.

**Sens** (anc. Agedincum). Capital of the Senones; ancient religious center and episcopal metropolis, of which Paris was one of the dependencies until 1627. - Cathedral of St-Etienne (ca. 1122-ca. 1168; later alterations), one of the first and most important examples of Gothic architecture, representing a special type without galleries. Choir with ambulatory, on which open three chapels of later date; nave, relatively low and wide, with alternating piers and columns, covered with sexpartite vaults. Transept rebuilt in flamboyant style by Martin Chambiges (1400-1513); façades with rich sculptural decoration. West façade of the 13th century with a south tower completed in the 16th century (north tower destroyed); portals richly ornamented with sculptures (13th-14th cent.): central portal with a statue of St. Stephen on the dividing pillar, the Wise and Foolish Virgins and fantastic figures on the jambs and splay; on the lateral tympanums, stories of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. Stained glass of the 12th century (life of St. Thomas à Becket) and of the 13th and early 16th (south rose window). High altar with a baldachin by Servandoni. In the Chapel of Ste-Colombe, monument with allegorical figures to the son of Louis XV, by G. II Coustou (1777). In the treasury, fabrics of great antiquity; tapestries of the 15th century. - Chapel of St-Jean, small Gothic edifice of Champenois style, with a polygonal ambulatory and pentagonal axial chapel; largely rebuilt in the 17th century, but in its original style. - Palais Synodal (13th cent.), with two stories covered by cross-rib vaults; restored by Viollet-le-Duc. Seat of an archaeological museum. - House known as Abraham's, of the late 15th century; corner post carved with a tree of Jesse. - Former archiepiscopal palace, partly of the first half of the 16th century, with a flamboyant door. - Musée Municipal: Gallo-Roman collections; paintings.

BIBLIOG. E. Chartraire, *Inventaire du trésor de l'église primatiale de Sens*, Sens, 1897; Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 205; E. Chartraire, *The Cathedral of Sens*, Paris, 1926; R. Fourrey, *Sens, ville d'art et d'histoire*, Lyons, 1933; F. Salet, *La Cathédrale de Sens et son influence*, Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1935, p. 182; E. Chartraire, *Le Trésor de la cathédrale de Sens*, Paris, n.d.

**Sully**. Château in the form of a quadrilateral, with a central courtyard and square-angle towers, built in 1567 in a majestic classicizing style; altered in the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. La Haute-cœur, La Bourgogne: L'Architecture, I, Paris, 1929, p. 50.

**Tanlay**. Château begun about 1555, with three wings and angle towers around a rectangular courtyard; main wing completed by Le Muet (1643-49); the "Petit Château" (1610-ca. 1630), on the fourth side of the quadrilateral, forms an entrance. Interior: cupola in one of the towers decorated with mythological subjects in the style of Fontainebleau; monumental chimney pieces; wood and stucco decoration. French park with a canal.

BIBLIOG. La Haute-cœur, La Bourgogne: L'Architecture, I, Paris, 1929, p. 37.

**Tonnerre** (anc. Tornodorum). Archiepiscopal castle; county. - Church of Notre-Dame. Choir of the 13th century. Renaissance façade with sculptured portal. - Church of St-Pierre. Choir of about 1300. On the south flank, Renaissance portal. - Hospital founded by the wife of Charles d'Anjou, begun in 1293. Large hall covered by a wooden vault and terminating in a polygonal apse. Contains the tomb of the minister Louvois by van den Bogaert (M. Denjardins) and F. Girardon; sculptured *Deposition* (1453) by Jean-Michel and Georges de la Sonnette. - Hôtel d'Uzès, in Renaissance style (1533).

BIBLIOG. N. Quéneé, *L'Hôpital Notre-Dame à Tonnerre*, La Pierrequi-Vire, Saint-Léger-Vauban (Yonne), 1956; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 214.

**Tournus** (anc. Trenorchium). Abbey founded by the monks of Noirmoutiers, who, fleeing before the Normans, brought the relics of St. Philibert there (875). - Church of St-Philibert (11th cent.),

of particular interest because of the originality of its style and because, with its small stonework, cylindrical piers, and Lombard bands, it exemplifies the earliest phase of Romanesque art. Narthex comprising two stories, the first, with groined vaults, of 1010-20, the second of about 1066, contemporaneous with the high nave, which is covered with transverse barrel vaults and flanked by groin-vaulted aisles; choir with ambulatory and three rectangular chapels, over a crypt dating from 1066-1120. Massive façade with Lombard bands. Square bell tower over the crossing. - Chapter house of the 13th century. - Former abbot's house in flamboyant style. - Musée Bourguignon, founded by Perrin de Puycousin, in the 17th-century. - Maison du Trésorier. - Musée Greuze, with works by the painter, etc.

BIBLIOG. Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 368; H. Masson, *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, Tournus, 1936; J. Valléry-Radot and V. Lassalle, *Saint-Philibert de Tournus*, Paris, 1955.

**Vézelay**. Built amphitheaterwise on a high hill, the town grew around an abbey founded in the mid-9th century, which became a celebrated pilgrimage center traditionally believed to shelter the tomb of the Magdalen. Besides considerable remains of its medieval walls and gates, Vézelay preserves numerous old houses. - Abbey church, one of the finest medieval monuments in France. Nave and aisles showing two-toned masonry, begun in 1120 from the west, finished about 1140; no triforium; groined vaults; magnificent capitals; on the tympanum of the main portal (pl. 376), representation of the mission of the apostles. Narthex of 1140-50. Choir with triforium and apse with ambulatory rebuilt from 1171 to 1216, in Gothic style. Restoration by Viollet-le-Duc. - In the environs, church of Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay. Nave with aisles in Burgundian style (13th cent.); late medieval choir of Champenois type, with ambulatory and five radiating chapels. Three-storied façade tower of the 13th century. Vast porch of the early 14th century.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 16; F. Salet and J. Adhémar, *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Melun, 1948; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 251.

**Villeneuve-sur-Yonne**. Founded in 1163. - Notre-Dame, notable church of Burgundian type, begun in the mid-13th century. Ambulatory with three polygonal chapels; nave with aisles; no transept. Lateral south tower, 13th-16th century. Richly decorated façade with three portals (1551-97), by Jean Chéreau. *Deposition*, sculptural group of the 14th and 16th centuries. - Elegant 18th-century house.

BIBLIOG. Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907, p. 654; Auxerre, CAF, 1958, p. 370.

**Nivernais**. Department of Nièvre. Former province artistically as well as historically dependent on Burgundy. Distinguished Gothic churches (Nevers, Prémy, Varzy).

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913; M. Anfray, *L'Architecture religieuse du Nivernais au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1951.

**La Charité-sur-Loire**. Monastery founded in the 8th century by Basilian monks, in 1052 affiliated to the order of Cluny. - Large priory church in Burgundian style, largely ruined in its western portion. East end built on a Benedictine plan in the 11th century, enlarged in the second half of the 12th century with an ambulatory and radiating chapels; octagonal central bell tower; nave with double aisles rebuilt in the 17th century. Romanesque façade tower with cusped arches, rosettes, high reliefs, and a lintel representing the infancy of Christ. Inserted in the transept, tympanum with the Transfiguration in the style of Chartres (late 12th cent.). - Chapter house, 14th century. Prior's house, early 16th century. Cloister, 17th century. - In the town, remains of the old ramparts, a covered market (15th cent.), and a large bridge over the Loire (1520).

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 374.

**Nevers** (anc. Noviodunum, later Nebirnum). Gallo-Roman colony; ancient bishopric. - Cathedral of St-Cyr-et-St-Julitte, heavily damaged in World War II; the foundations of a 6th-century octagonal baptistery were discovered in the course of repairs. Cathedrals built on an archaic plan with facing apses, one east, one west. Western portion of the 11th century, with a crypt and exterior galleries flanking the apse; western transept with Romanesque arcades, vaulted in the 13th century. Nave with triforium and aisles in the Burgundian style of the 13th century. Eastern choir of the 14th century, with ambulatory. - Church of St-Etienne, begun in 1063, consecrated in 1097, of Auvergnat type, with galleries. Soaring nave lighted according to the Burgundian formula; ambulatory with three chapels. - Church of St-Pierre (1612), with a façade in Counter Reformation style. - Church of the Visitation (1630-49), with a very ornate façade. -



Remains of fortifications; Porte du Croux (12th–14th cent.), with machicolations and bartizans. – Former ducal palace (late 15th and 16th cents.), with an open stair turret in the middle of the façade. – Triumphal arch of 1746, commemorating the Battle of Fontenoy. – Former episcopal palace and Prefecture (second half of 18th cent.), in neoclassical style. – Musée Archéologique du Nivernais, in the Porte du Croux. – Musée Frédéric Blandin (in the former episcopal palace): sculptures, paintings, ceramics.

BIBLIOG. J. Locquin, Nevers et Moulins, Paris, 1913; Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 300; R. Louis, Le Baptistère de la cathédrale de Nevers, B. Monumental, 1920, p. 153.

Saint-Pierre-le-Moûtier. Romanesque Church of St-Pierre (12th–13th cent.), with chapels of the 15th century. Sculptured tympanum with Christ and the Evangelists (13th cent.). *Pietà* of the 15th century. – Houses of the 15th and 16th centuries.

BIBLIOG. Moulins, Nevers, CAF, 1913, p. 292.

Franche-Comté. Departments of Doubs, Jura, and Haute-Saône, to which may be added the historical districts of Bresse and Bugey (dept. of Ain); in other words, the entire area east of the Saône. The Romanesque and proto-Gothic architecture of the region is chiefly Benedictine, severe and archaizing, despite Burgundian influences; a wide dissemination of the flamboyant style took place in the late Middle Ages. The churches are very rich in wooden furnishings. Secular buildings of the Renaissance belong to a special type, with mullioned windows and bartizans. The classicism of the 17th century did not take hold until the region was definitively united to France (1678). Notable buildings were erected in Besançon in the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. Besançon, CAF, 1891; P. Brune, Les Eglises romanes du Jura, Besançon, CAF, 1891, p. 152; P. Brune, Etude sur l'architecture religieuse du Jura, B. Archéologique, Paris, 1892, p. 412; J. Guédél, L'Architecture romane en Dombes, Bourg, 1911; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935; R. Tournier, Les Eglises comtoises: Leur architecture des origines au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1934.

Ambronay. Benedictine abbey founded in 800. – Large church erected in the 13th century on pre-Romanesque foundations, completed in the mid-15th century. Nave of 10 bays with aisles; no triforium; no transept; polygonal apse. Façade with north tower and two portals, whose sculptures are rather mutilated (13th cent.). In the apse, stained glass with saints and donors (15th cent.). – Chapter house of the 15th century. – Fine cloister, also of the 15th century, covered with cross-rib vaults and surmounted by colonnaded galleries of the 17th century. – Well-preserved refectory and dormitory. – Remains of fortifications.

BIBLIOG. L. Bégule, L'Abbaye d'Ambronay, Lyons, 1907; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 304.

Arbois. The town was fortified in the Middle Ages. Until the 15th century the Châtel-Neuf was one of the residences of the counts of Burgundy. – Church of St-Just, of the 12th century. Nave and aisles in Romanesque style, with cross-rib vaults of the 13th century; straight east end with flamboyant windows (16th cent.); high stone bell tower of 1528; side chapels of the 14th and 15th centuries. – Collegiate church of Notre-Dame, of 1322, subsequently altered. – Remains of fortifications; Tour Gloriette, square tower of the 13th century. – Street with arcades dating from the 17th century. – Musée Sarret de Grozon: furniture, ceramics, paintings. – Pasteur's home, transformed into a museum.

BIBLIOG. J. Girard, L'Eglise Saint-Just d'Arbois, Arbois, 1934.

Arc-et-Senans. Royal saltworks laid out by C.-N. Ledoux (1775–79), who conceived a veritable industrial city. The half that was realized forms a semicircle consisting of five pavilions, of which the central one, the entrance pavilion, is preceded by a Doric portico and adorned with artificial rocks and stalactites. Marking the diameter of this semicircle is an administrative building with a monumental portico, flanked by two buildings for the salt furnaces.

Baume-les-Messieurs. Abbey founded in the 6th century by St. Columbanus. – Abbey church, begun in 1100 in Romanesque style, showing masonry of small stones. Nave with piers alternately square, round, and octagonal; aisles with groined vaults. Cross-rib vaults of nave, polygonal apse, and façade, 15th century. Further restorations in the 16th century. On the high altar, large painted and sculptured retable of the Flemish school, with scenes from the life of Christ (1525). In the Chapel of the Counts of Chalon, tombs with recumbent figures (14th and 15th cents.) and sculptures, among them a statue of St. Paul in the style of Sluter. The abbey buildings, very

much dilapidated, are disposed around three large courtyards; they include a square chapter house (12th cent.), defensive towers, the abbot's house (16th cent.), a 16th-century fountain.

BIBLIOG. L.-A. Roy, L'Abbaye de Baume-les-Messieurs, Baume, 1928.

Besançon (anc. Vesontio). The city rose on a peninsula encircled by the river Doubs. Occupying a natural stronghold, it was in turn the capital of the Sequani, a highly important bishopric in Merovingian and Carolingian times, and an imperial free city. In 1668 it became the capital of Franche-Comté and was fortified by Vauban (citadel of 1669 closing the isthmus, ramparts, etc.). There survive a Roman arch (Porte Noire) and the remains of an amphitheater. The original



Besançon: city plan. (a) Musée des Beaux-Arts; (b) Citadel; (c) Cathedral; (d) Lycée; (e) St-François-Xavier; (f) St-Maurice; (g) St-Pierre; (h) Ste-Madeleine; (i) Hospital of St-Jacques; (j) Porte Noire; (k) Palais Granvelle; (l) Town Hall; (m) Courthouse; (n) Prefecture; (o) Theater.

nucleus of the city preserves mansions of the 16th to the 18th century as well as notable religious buildings. – Church of St-Paul (now Musée Lapidaire), with vestiges of the 7th century, consecrated in 1044, restored in the late 13th century, severely mutilated in the 19th. Nave and aisles in Burgundian Gothic style. – Cathedral of St-Jean, of Rhenish type, with an apse at each end. Exterior walls of the 11th century; lower portions of the nave and western apse, about 1148; clerestory passage of Burgundian type and vaults, 13th century; late medieval side chapels; eastern apse, bell tower, and side portal, 18th century. Valuable Renaissance and baroque paintings and sculptures, among them works by Fra Bartolommeo, Conrad Meit, Charles André (Carle) Van Loo. – Church of St-François-Xavier (1680–88), modeled on the Gesù in Rome, with Italianate façade, dome, and side chapels. – Church of St-Maurice (1712–14), of Jesuit type, with rococo furnishings. – Church of Ste-Madeleine (1746–66), by N. Nicole. Façade with two towers. High vaults supported by coupled columns. – Church of St-Pierre (1782–86), designed by C.-J.-A. Bertrand on a Greek-cross plan. Central vault supported by four high columns. – Palais Granvelle, built by Charles V's chancellor of that name in 1534. Façade with classic orders. Arcaded courtyard. – Town Hall (1569–73), with a rusticated façade. – Courthouse with

a rich 16th century façade by Hugues Sambin. Audience hall (1745-49) decorated with rococo woodwork. - Hospital of St-Jacques (1685-1702), by Jacques Magnin and Royer. Classicizing courtyard with a wrought-iron gate. Chapel (1739-45) by Nicole, in rococo style, with a dome and magnificent woodwork. - Prefecture (former intendance), a splendid building erected by Nicole after the plans of V. Louis (1771-78), in Louis XVI style. Main façade with Ionic columns and pilasters. Toward the park, façade with rotunda. Rooms with woodwork by B. Lapret. - Theater by C.-N. Ledoux (late 18th cent.; rebuilt). Semicircular auditorium with an elevated colonnade framing the tiers of seats. - Former Jesuit college and Hôtel de Grosbois (together occupied by the Lycée), 18th century. - There also subsist many private residences of the late 18th century, by C.-J.-A. Bertrand and other architects, which give the streets their characteristic aspect. - Various fountains: one by Claude Lulier (second half of 16th cent.), with a statue of the Duke of Alba as Neptune; another by L.-F. Breton in Louis XV style. - Musée des Beaux-Arts, one of the major French museums, enriched by contributions from the house of Granvelle: magnificent collection of paintings (primitives, Flemish masters, Renaissance painters, etc.); sculptures, bronzes; minor arts; drawings by Fragonard and others.

BIBLIOG. J. Gauthier, *Etude archéologique sur la cathédrale de Besançon*, Paris, 1901; A. Bailly, *Besançon*, Paris, 1925; F. Mercier, *Le Musée de Besançon*, Besançon, 1936; R. Tournier, *L'Ancienne abbaye Saint-Paul de Besançon*, B. Monumental, 1934, p. 167; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1938, p. 692.

Bourg-en-Bresse. During the Renaissance, one of the chief residences of the dukes of Savoy; definitively annexed to France in 1601; at various times a parliamentary seat. It preserves mansions and fountains, mostly of the 18th century. - Church of Notre-Dame (1505-1654), in late Gothic style. Nave with aisles and chapels; cross-rib vaults with liernes and tiercerons; pentagonal apse with three large windows and a big hanging keystone. Renaissance façade with a high tower and three portals. In the choir, 16th-century stalls with grotesques. In the third chapel on the left, stained glass with scenes from the lives of SS. Crispin and Crispinian (first half of 16th cent.). - Houses with overhanging upper stories: one of 1496 in the Rue Gambetta, another (Maison des Gorrevod) of the early 16th century. - Town Hall of 1771. - In the Bresse region, of which Bourg is the capital, one finds a special type of farmhouse, rectangular in plan, built of pisé, with a gently sloping overhanging roof and sometimes a wooden balcony; some of these farmhouses, especially in the neighborhood of Romenay, Saint-Trivier-de-Courtes, Montrevel, and Pont-de-Vaux, have a fireplace in the middle of the room (*cheminée sarrazine*).

BIBLIOG. Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 266.

Brou. The village of Brou, now linked to Bourg, grew around a priory already existing in the 12th century and transformed into an Augustinian monastery by Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy and aunt of Charles V. - The great church, exceptional in France because of its Flemish style, was originally planned by Jean Perréal but was built by the Brussels architect L. van Boeghem (1513-32) with exuberant flamboyant ornamentation both outside (especially the façade portal) and inside. The sculptor Conrad Meit, with the collaboration of Italian artists, executed the three tombs in the choir (I, PL. 385): that of Margaret of Bourbon (in a wall niche, with mourners); that of Philibert of Savoy, with the cadaver represented on the lower level, the duke in armor on the upper level, surrounded by sibyls and genii of Italian style; and that of Margaret of Austria, the richest of the three, also on two levels, with numerous statuettes, unmistakably Flemish in decoration. The stalls and lectern in the choir are by Pierre Terrasson and his workshop (1530-32). The choir is closed off by a magnificent rood screen. The stained-glass windows in the apse and in the Chapel of Margaret of Austria next to it (portraits of Philibert and Margaret) were designed by an artist from Brussels and executed by a local workshop under the direction of Jean Orquois, Jean Brachon, and Antoine Noisin. The chapel also shelters a white marble altarpiece representing the Seven Joys of the Virgin. - The monastery (1506-12) includes two cloisters with cross-rib vaults and a cloister of the 15th century, Italianate in inspiration, with colonnaded upper story, which belonged to the preexisting priory. It is the seat of the Musée de l'Ain, with archaeological collections, folk art, and important paintings.

BIBLIOG. V. Nodet, *L'Eglise de Brou*, Paris, 1928, Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 261.

Dole. City walled as early as the 10th century; from the 12th century, site of a castle of the counts of Burgundy. It preserves noteworthy buildings of the 16th and 17th centuries. - Notre-Dame

(1509-75), imposing church in flamboyant style, rich in sculptures, with a large porch surmounted by a high bell tower. - Collège de l'Arc, founded by Jesuits in 1582. Two wings connected by an arch. Chapel with an Italianate porch (1601). Seat of a notable picture gallery and archaeological museum. - Hospital (1613-83), built after the plans of J. Boyvin. Fine balcony with balustrade. Two-storied arcaded cloister. - Former Cordelier monastery (now Courthouse), rebuilt in the 18th century, with a chapel of 1372. - Graceful fountains, among them the Fontaine du Lion by C.-F. Attiret (18th cent.).

BIBLIOG. A. Pidoux de La Maduère, *Le Vieux Dole*, 4 vols., Besançon, 1929-31.

Lons-le-Saunier. The history of the city is linked to that of its salt mines, exploited until 1369 and from the 18th century onward. - Church of St-Désiré, one of the oldest churches in Franche-Comté, but altered. From the 11th century it preserves a crypt with the sarcophagus of the saint (d. ca. 413) and the small stonework and robust piers of its undecorated nave and aisles. - Along the Rue du Commerce, 18th-century houses with arcades. - Hospital of the 18th century. - In the Town Hall, museum with archaeological collection and paintings.

BIBLIOG. G. Duhem, *L'Eglise Saint-Désiré de Lons-le-Saunier*, B. Monumental, 1935, p. 51.

Luxeuil-les-Bains. Celtic settlement fortified by the Romans, ancient watering place; site of a monastery founded in 585 by St. Columbanus that had great cultural importance throughout the Middle Ages. - Church of St-Pierre (1328-40), in archaizing Gothic style. Nave with triforium. Bell tower of 1527. Carved choir stalls (16th cent.) from the Cathedral of Besançon. - Maison Carrée (ca. 1440), with a stair turret and bartizans. - Maison Jouffroy (ca. 1460), with a superb mantel. - Maison Clerc, in late Gothic style. - Maison François I, of the Renaissance, with three superposed orders. - Town Hall of the 18th century. - Bathing establishment with a noteworthy façade (1768).

BIBLIOG. L.-M. Pierra, *Luxeuil-les-Bains*, Paris, 1934.

Montbéliard. On a promontory dominating the city, château of the counts of Montbéliard (now mus.), dating from the 15th, 16th, and 18th centuries. - Around the Place St-Martin, Town Hall (1778), with wrought-iron work by J. Pertois; Maison des Princes (1602), with four superposed orders; a mansion of 1772 housing the museum of local history. In the middle, Protestant Church of St-Martin (1601-07), by H. Schickhardt, with a fine wooden ceiling. - On the Place Denfert, covered market (1536) with two wings at right angles and a belfry. - Numerous old houses along the Luzine.

BIBLIOG. Besançon, CAF, 1801, p. 102.

Nantua. Romanesque Church of St-Michel (12th cent.). Nave with aisles, re-covered with cross-rib vaults in the 13th century, transept with octagonal lantern; choir of the 15th century. Chapel of St-Anne, early 16th century. Sculptured portal with the Last Supper, in Burgundian style. Woodwork in Louis XIV style from the Charterhouse of Meyriat.

BIBLIOG. Arras, Tournai, CAF, 1880, p. 535.

Pérouges. Small medieval town preserved almost intact; its streets radiate from a central plaza, and it is fortified by an oval enclosure with two gates. - Fortified church of the late 15th century, with nave and aisles covered by cross-rib vaults. - Numerous houses of artistic interest, most of them of the 15th and 16th centuries, showing half timbering and windows with mullions and transoms.

BIBLIOG. A. Perrault-Dabot, *Pérouges*, B. Monumental, 1913, p. 240. Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 323.

Poligny. Commune from 1288. - Church of St-Hippolyte (1429), in Gothic style. Sculptured portal. Inside, excellent statues of the Burgundian school (15th cent.). - Former Jacobin monastery with a 13th-century church in Burgundian Gothic style. - Hospital of the 17th century. Courtyard with galleries. - Mansions with wooden doors of the Renaissance. - Town Hall of the 17th-18th century housing a museum.

BIBLIOG. S. Pidoux de La Maduère, *Le Vieux Poligny*, 2 vols., Dijon, 1932.

Saint-Claude. Grew around a Benedictine abbey founded in the 5th century; commune in 1310. - Cathedral of St-Pierre (former abbey church), begun in 1340, continued in Gothic style, not finished until

1726. Rectangular plan; nave and aisles of nearly equal height; pentagonal apse. Painted and sculptured altarpiece of the Florentine school (1533); 38 carved choir stalls by Jean de Vitry (15th cent.).

BIBLIOG. Arras, Tournai, CAF, 1880, p. 544.

Saint-Paul-de-Varax. Fine Romanesque church. Apse decorated on the interior with an arcature on colonnettes. Façade in Burgundian style; the portal, with a tympanum representing the Ascension, is flanked by four blind arches under which runs a frieze showing the Last Judgment and scenes from the life of St. Paul. Tympanum of lateral south portal also noteworthy. - Château of the 15th century in brick.

BIBLIOG. G. Sanoner, *L'Eglise de Saint-Paul-de-Varax*, *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1904, p. 144; Lyon, Mâcon, CAF, 1935, p. 249.

Salins-les-Bains. Consists of two fortified sites united in 1497. - Church of St-Anatoile, rebuilt in the 14th century in Gothic Burgundian style. Nave with triforium. Façade with a Romanesque tower and with a 13th-century portal between two flamboyant chapels. - Chapel of the 17th century in the formerly Jesuit Collège Considérant. - Remains of Gothic fortifications. - Hospital, 1690. - Town Hall, 1718-39.

BIBLIOG. Beaunçon, CAF, 1891, p. 53; R. Tournier, *La Collégiale Saint-Anatoile de Salins*, *B. Monumental*, 1921, p. 160.

Vesoul. Church of St-Georges, 1732-45. Nave and aisles of equal height; cupola over crossing. Fine 18th-century furnishings. - Houses of the 15th and 16th centuries. - Place du Grand-Puits, surrounded by houses of the 17th-18th century. - Courthouse (1765-71), in severe classicizing style. - Modern Town Hall, with a museum of local importance.

BIBLIOG. M. Griveaud, *Vesoul*, Beaunçon, 1929.

Champagne. Departments of Ardennes, Marne, Haute-Marne, Aube, parts of Seine-et-Marne and Yonne; for the historical region of Sénonais, with Sens, see Burgundy; for western Brie, with Meaux, see Ile-de-France. This large territory is rich in burial grounds of the Bronze and Iron Ages (La Tène civilization). Reims, which had been an important Gallo-Roman city, early became a bishopric and was also a center of Carolingian culture. Though the region has few Romanesque edifices, it has grandiose Gothic ones, foremost among them the Cathedral of Reims, which exemplifies the characteristic Gothic style developed in the 13th century. In the late Middle Ages artistic leadership shifted to Troyes, where the Gothic style survived until the 16th century and a great flowering took place not only in architecture but also in sculpture and in the art of stained glass. The 18th century saw yet another upsurge of building activity and the realization of urban plans in the major cities, such as Reims.

BIBLIOG. C. Fichot, *Statistique monumentale de l'Aube*, Paris, 1884-1900; R. Koechlin and J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *La Sculpture à Troyes au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1900; Troyes, Provins, CAF, 1902; H. Jadart, *Les Edifices religieux du département des Ardennes*, Reims, 1906; Avallon, Auxerre, CAF, 1907; Reims, 2 vols., CAF, 1911; M. Toussaint, *Répertoire archéologique du département de l'Aube*, Paris, 1934; Troyes, CAF, 1935.

Asfeld-la-Ville. Baroque church of brick (1683) extremely complex in plan, comprising a large rotunda the approach to which is a colonnaded hall surmounted by a campanile.

BIBLIOG. Soissons, Laon, CAF, 1887, p. 261; H. Jadart, *L'Eglise d'Asfeld*, *B. Monumental*, 1889, p. 43; H. Jadart, *Notes inédites sur l'église d'Asfeld*, Reims, 1910.

Bar-sur-Aube. Mercantile center during the Middle Ages. - Church of St-Maclou, late 12th century. Nave with triforium in Burgundian style; apse and side chapels of later date. Fortified square bell tower, only one corner of which is in contact with the church. Façade of the 18th century. - Church of St-Pierre, late 12th century, in transitional Gothic style. Nave with triforium; choir with ambulatory; side chapels and external wooden galleries, 15th-16th century.

BIBLIOG. C. Fichot, *Statistique monumentale de l'Aube*, Paris, 1884-1900.

Châlons-sur-Marne (anc. Catalaunum). Bishopric from the 3d century. - Church of St-Jean-Baptiste, with a nave of the 11th century; aisles rebuilt in the 17th century; Gothic façade (ca. 1356). - Church of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux. Lower portions of nave, aisles, and transept, of façade towers and towers flanking choir, about 1130; east end rebuilt in Gothic style after 1157. In the aisles, stained glass of the

early 16th century. - Church of St-Alpin, of the 12th century, with cross-rib vaults of the 13th, enlarged in the 16th (to the east and south). Windows with representational grisaille painting (16th cent.). - Cathedral of St-Etienne, begun about 1230 on older foundations. Choir flanked by towers, the northern one with a Romanesque base; nave of nine bays with aisles; large windows in Champenois style; north portal of the transept, late 13th century; radiating chapels, 14th century; façade, early 17th century. Stained glass of the 13th century (north rose window, choir) and of the 16th (south aisle). - Prefecture (1758-64), by J.-G. Legendre. - Town Hall, theater, and Porte Ste-Croix, all dating from about 1770. - Musée Municipal: medieval sculptures; paintings.

BIBLIOG. L. Hubert, *Notre-Dame-en-Vaux*, Eprenay, 1941; G. Maillet, *La Cathédrale de Châlons-sur-Marne*, Paris, 1946; J. Dupont, *Le Trésor de la cathédrale de Châlons-sur-Marne*, *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, III, 1957, p. 192.

Charleville. City created by Carlo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Nevers, in 1606. - Place Ducale by C. II Métezeau (1608), surrounded, like the Place des Vosges in Paris, by houses all built on the same pattern. - On the river, mill of brick and stone of the early 17th century. - Musée Municipal: coin collection of Carlo Gonzaga; modern paintings.

BIBLIOG. E. Baudouin, *La Place Royale de Paris et la Place Ducale de Charleville*, *B. de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1935, p. 204.

Chaumont. Grew around a castle that was the favorite residence of the counts of Champagne. - Church of St-Jean-Baptiste. Nave without triforium, aisles, façade with two towers, 13th century; 14th-century porch on the south flank; transept and east end of 1517-43, with cross-rib vaults and hanging keystones. - Jesuit church (1629), with classic orders and late cross-rib vaults. Large baroque altarpiece. - Tour Hautefeuille, pre-Romanesque square donjon. - Town Hall of the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. H. Ronot, *Les Eglises de Chaumont*, Paris, 1949.

L'Epine. Church of Notre-Dame, vast pilgrimage church, a late imitation of the Cathedral of Reims, begun in 1410. Nave with triforium; large transept; ambulatory with five chapels (1509-24). Façade with two spires and with three portals surmounted by sculptured gables (1445-70). Choir screen, partly Gothic, partly Renaissance; late Gothic rood screen with three arches.

BIBLIOG. L. Benoist, *Notre-Dame de l'Epine*, Paris, 1933.

Joinville. Château built in 1546 by Claude de Lorraine. One story high. Façades decorated with sculptured and classic orders.

BIBLIOG. E. Humblot, *Le Château du Grand-Jardin*, Saint-Didier, 1906; F. Gebelin, *Les Châteaux de la Renaissance*, Paris, p. 116.

Langres (anc. Andematunnus). Capital of the Lingones; Gallo-Roman city; bishopric from the 2d century; capital of an important county. - Romanesque Cathedral. Choir and ambulatory (1141-53) of Burgundian Romanesque derivation, with cross-rib vaults of archaic type and sculptured capitals and friezes; nave with triforium and aisles (1170-96); Renaissance Chapel of Amoncourt (1549), with an intricately decorated coffered vault and a big altarpiece; façade with two towers, by C.-L. d'Anviller (1761). Subsisting gallery of a 13th-century cloister. - Church of St-Martin, in Champenois Gothic style. Nave with double aisles. Elegant bell tower by Forgeot (1745). - Gallo-Roman city gate with two arches (now walled up). - Substantial remains of the ramparts of the 15th-16th century (restored in the 19th); cylindrical Tour de Navarre (1517). - Numerous Renaissance town houses, some with column-decorated façades. - Triumphal gate (1647), by Camus. - Town Hall of 1778. - Hospital of the late 18th century. - Musée St-Didier; archaeological collection; paintings. - Musée de l'Hôtel du Breuil de St-Germain (built in 1580 by N. Ribonnier, enlarged in 18th cent.); manuscripts; furniture; paintings.

BIBLIOG. Dijon, CAF, 1928, p. 483; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1931, p. 555; H. Ronot, *La Cathédrale Saint-Mammès et l'église Saint-Martin de Langres*, Paris, 1930.

Mézières. City on the Meuse that owes its origin to a castle (no longer extant); important industrial center from the 15th century. - Church of Notre-Dame-d'Espérance (1499-1566), in flamboyant style. Nave with double aisles. Fine façade tower (1586-1626). - Citadel of 1590, altered by Vauban. - Prefecture of 1732.

Montier-en-Der. Famous Benedictine abbey founded in 672. - Powerful church, largely destroyed in World War II and entirely reconstituted; its oldest portions (naves) dated from 998. High nave

with a timber vault, aisles, and galleries; Gothic choir in Champenois style (ca. 1220) with a triforium and an ambulatory with coupled columns. Façade of the 16th century with a Gothic tower. Sacristy of the 14th century.

BIBLIOG. Troyes, Provins, CAF, 1902, p. 43; Troyes, CAF, 1955, p. 262.

Mouzon. On the Roman road that led from Reims to Trier. - Church erected about 1210 in the style of the cathedrals of Laon and Notre-Dame in Paris. Nave of eight bays and choir, both with galleries and triforium; transept (1231); ambulatory with radiating chapels. Façade with two towers, completed in the 16th century; 13th-century portal with sculptured tympanum (life of the Virgin, martyrdom of St. Victor).

BIBLIOG. V. Donau, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Mouzon*, B. Monumental, 1920, p. 137.

Orbais-l'Abbaye. Church of the late 12th-early 13th century, in the style of the Cathedral of Reims. Nave largely destroyed; ample transept; choir with triforium and ambulatory; choir stalls of 1520. Chapter house of the 12th century.

Provins. Of Merovingian origin; famous commercial center until the late 13th century. It is one of the best-preserved medieval cities in France. - Church of St-Ayout. Transept of the early 12th century with a tower over the crossing; nave and aisles, 13th century (modern vaults); choir and a second north aisle built in the Renaissance. Façade with three portals (ca. 1160), the central one with statue-columns. Woodwork by P. Basset (mid-17th cent.). - Church of St-Quiriac. Fine choir with ambulatory opening on the three rectangular chapels of the straight east end (1160); incomplete 13th-century nave with triforium; vault over crossing replaced by a dome after 1662. - Church of Ste-Croix. Romanesque transept; nave and south aisle, 13th century (vaults redone); choir with ambulatory, double north aisle, and façade, 16th century. - Tour de César (early 12th cent.), octagonal donjon with angle turrets, on a square base. - In the upper town, wall of the 12th-13th century with fortified gates and towers. - Also of the 12th-13th century, the Grange aux Dîmes (tithe barn), with two stories over a basement, and portions of the palace of the counts of Champagne. - Hôtel de Vauluisant, 13th century. - Museum in the Grange aux Dîmes: archaeological collection; paintings, drawings. - In the environs, hospital (former Cordelier convent) with remains of 13th-century constructions and of a late Gothic cloister.

BIBLIOG. L. Morel-Payen, *Troyes et Provins*, Paris, 1910; Marquise de Maille, *Provins*, 2 vols., Paris, 1939.

Reims (anc. *Durocortorum*). Capital of the Remi, a considerable urban center in the Roman epoch — there subsist a triumphal arch decorated with trophies and medallions and portions of the forum and cryptoporticus; throughout the Middle Ages, religious center of foremost importance, connected with the cult of St. Remi; artistic center in the Carolingian period; traditionally the city where French kings were crowned. - Former abbey church of St-Remi, one of the finest Romanesque buildings in France, begun in the early 11th century. Nave of 13 bays, aisles and galleries surmounting them, first half of 11th century, all covered with cross-rib vaults in the second half of the 12th century; choir with galleries, triforium, ambulatory, and radiating chapels, 1162-90, in Gothic style. Heavily restored façade with two towers; south façade of transept, 16th century. Choir screen of 1656 around the tomb of St. Remi. Of the medieval abbey there subsists also the chapter house, with sculptured capitals of the early 12th century. The reconstructions of the 18th century include a cloister, a façade in Louis XVI style, and a monumental staircase. The former abbey building houses the Musée Historique et Lapidaire. - Cathedral, begun in 1211 from the east. Choir, ambulatory, and radiating chapels by Jean d'Orbais (1211-31); transept with aisles; long nave (VI, PL. 300) with triforium and aisles, by Jean Le Loup (1241), construction of which was interrupted by the erection of the façade under the direction of Gaucher de Reims (1247-55); nave and façade joined by Bernard de Soissons (1255-90); façade finished by Robert de Coucy (1290-1311). Despite mutilations suffered in World War I, the Cathedral occupies a unique place in Gothic art through the abundance of its statuary (see VI, PL. 350). The three portals of the west façade have splendid archivolts with figures (I, PL. 303); they are surmounted by gables representing the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Last Judgment; in the spays, celebrated groups of statues — the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Visitation (VI, PL. 350), and angels, among them the famed smiling one — belonging to three different workshops. Above the portals are innumerable large statues and decorative reliefs incorporated in

the architecture (David and Goliath, the Gallery of Kings, etc.). The sculptural decoration continues around the whole edifice; on the north façade, three tympanums (Last Judgment; the Virgin, of the Romanesque period; scenes from the life of St. Remi) and statues of prophets, Adam and Eve; on the south façade, statues of the Church and the Synagogue; around the east end, statues of angels. Inside, the reverse of the façade shows a very unusual arrangement of rows of statues in niches (among them the famous group of Melchizedek and Abraham) vertically separated by panels with foliage decoration, in the same style as the great capitals in the nave. The important treasury preserves a 13th-century gold chalice known as that of St. Remi and a reliquary of the Holy Thorn (1458). - Church of St-Jacques, begun about 1190 and built in imitation of the Cathedral. East end of the 16th century. - A magnificent 13th-century house with figures of musicians was destroyed in World War I (statues in the Musée des Beaux-Arts). - Hôtel Le Vergeur (now Musée du Vieux Reims), 13th-16th century. Courtyard façade adorned with pilasters and a frieze of swordmen and horsemen. - The former archiepiscopal palace, ravaged by fire in 1914 and restored, included a timber-covered hall of the 15th century (Salle du Tau), a two-storied chapel of the 13th century, and constructions of the 17th century. - Town Hall (1627), by Jean Bonhomme, in large part rebuilt after 1918. Monumental façade with columns and an equestrian statue of Louis XIII. - Jesuit college (now hospital), early 17th century. - Place Royale (1756), by J.-G. Legendre. In the center, statue of Louis XV by Jean Pigalle (1758-65); the pedestal with allegorical groups is original, the statue a reproduction. - Porte de Paris, 1774. - Musée des Beaux-Arts, one of the foremost French museums: painted cloths and Flemish tapestries of the 15th-16th century; paintings of the French school, including works by the Le Nains, P. de Champaigne, Poussin; portraits by Cranach; etc. - Bibliothèque Carnegie: Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts.

BIBLIOG. Reims, I, CAF, 1911, p. 3; E. Moreau-Nélaton, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1915; L. Lefrançois-Pillion, *Les Sculpteurs de Reims*, Paris, 1928; *Exposition des trésors de Reims* (cat.), Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1938; E. Lambert, *L'Ancienne abbatiale de Saint-Remi de Reims*, BAFr, 1952-53, p. 91; L. Dernaision, *Cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1954; P. Vitry, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, n.d.

Saint-Loup-de-Naud. Church with apse, choir, transept, and eastern portion of nave of the 11th century; western portion completed about 1170 in early Gothic style. Portal with statue-columns (PL. 379).

BIBLIOG. F. Salet, *Saint-Loup-de-Naud*, Paris, 1933.

Troyes (anc. *Augustobona*). Capital of the Tricasses. Art center in the late Middle Ages; preserves an important group of churches and other works of art. - Church of the Madeleine. Nave with triforium, double aisles, and transept, about 1200; choir with stellar vaults, double aisles, and polygonal ambulatory, about 1495. Façade of the 17th century, flanked by a tower of the 16th century. Rood screen with sculptures, by Jean Gailde (1508); stained glass of the 16th century with stories of saints; statue of St. Martha of the early 16th century. - Cathedral, begun in 1206 from the east; choir with triforium and clerestory, double aisles, ambulatory, and polygonal radiating chapels; continued in the 14th century, with transept and nave with double aisles and chapels. Façade with three portals (1507), by Martin Chambiges; north tower finished in 1640 (south tower not completed). Magnificent series of stained-glass windows of the 13th century (tree of Jesse in an apsidal chapel; Biblical scenes in the choir), of the 14th (chapels of nave), and of the 15th-17th. Important treasury. - Church of St-Urbain, founded in 1262 by Pope Urban IV, built by Jean Langlois. Pentagonal apse lighted, as is the entire edifice, by immense windows with elegant tracery; choir with aisles ending in two pentagonal apsidioles; transept extended by porches. West tympanum with the Last Judgment. Stained glass of the late 13th century with grisaille background. - Church of St-Jean. Nave with aisles, 13th-14th century; large choir with aisles and a rectangular ambulatory, 16th century. *The Visitation* (16th cent.), sculptural group of the local school; on the high altar, composition (1692) by the sculptor F. Girardon and the painter Pierre Mignard. - Church of St-Nizier, begun about 1510. Nave with aisles; ambulatory with three polygonal chapels. Complex cross-rib vaults. Windows showing Renaissance tracery. Lateral portals in flamboyant style (south, 1531) and in Renaissance style (north, 1548). - Church of St-Pantaléon, begun in 1517 in Gothic style, completed in Renaissance style. Nave with a corbeled clerestory passage and a 17th-century wooden barrel vault; aisles with complex vaults; side chapels; straight east end. Classicizing portal (first half of 18th cent.). Numerous sculptures of the local school. - Church of St-Nicolas (1526-94), by Girard I and Jean Faulchot. Nave with narrow aisles; rectangular east end in late Gothic style. Renaissance lateral south portal (1540) with statues. In the western gallery

opening on the nave and in a kind of narthex formed underneath, numerous sculptures, including an Italianate *Christ Bound to the Column*. Windows with grisaille painting (16th cent.). - Church of St-Martin-de-Vignes, begun in the late 16th century. Portal in Fontainebleau style. Renaissance stained glass. - Hôtel de Vauluisant (Musée Historique de Troyes et de la Champagne), about 1550. Decorative stonework in brick. - Hôtel de Mauroy, 1560. Toward the courtyard, gallery with stone columns surmounted by an upper story of wood. - Numerous houses of the 16th century with gables and overhangs. - Town Hall. Central portion of façade with two stories of superposed orders (1624-70), completed by P. Cottard. - Hospital of the 18th century with a fine railing. - Abbey buildings of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains (Prefecture) and of St-Loup, late 18th century. - Musée des Beaux-Arts: important archaeological collections; works by local artists such as Pierre Mignard and F. Girardon; sculptures of the 16th century. - Bibliothèque Municipale, enriched by the Clairvaux collection: manuscripts of the 7th to the 15th century.

BIBLIOG. Abbé Patenôtre, *La Cathédrale de Troyes*, Troyes, 1901; L. Le Clerc, *Troyes: Les Anciennes maisons de bois*, Troyes, 1905; A. Prévoist, *Saint-Nicolas de Troyes*, Troyes, 1911; L. Morel-Payen, *Troyes et l'Aube*, Troyes, 1920; A. Roserot, *Troyes des origines à 1790*, Troyes, 1948; Troyes, CAF, 1955, p. 9; M. Eschapsasse, *Le Trésor de la cathédrale de Troyes*, *Les Monuments Historiques de la France*, II, 1956, p. 33.

Vignory. Church founded about 1000. Nave with false galleries and an open timber roof; choir with ambulatory; two towers flanking the choir (12th cent.); Gothic side chapels.

BIBLIOG. H. Ronot and P. Dautrety, *L'Eglise de Vignory*, Paris, 1951.

Villeneuve-l'Archevêque. Church with a Romanesque nave altered in the 13th century; transept, choir with aisles, and apse, 16th century. North portal with the Coronation of the Virgin and statues, in the style of the Cathedral of Reims (13th cent.). *Holy Sepulcher* (1528), sculptural group from the Abbey of Vauluisant.

BIBLIOG. Troyes, CAF, 1955, p. 445.

Vitry-le-François. Town rebuilt after World War II according to a regular plan originally drawn up in 1549. Central square surrounded by modern stone-and-brick houses. - Church of Notre-Dame, in classicizing style, begun in 1629, continued in the 18th century; east end, modern. Central cupola. Interior decorated in rococo style. - City gate of the 18th century (rebuilt).

BIBLIOG. R. Crozet, *Les Eglises romanes des environs de Vitry-le-François*, B. Monumental, 1927, p. 269; C. Bourgeois, *Guide à l'église Notre-Dame de Vitry-le-François*, Saint-Dizier, 1937.

Vouziers. Market town from 1516. - Church of St-Maurille, in flamboyant style. Triple portal (1534) in Renaissance style, richly decorated with statues; not connected with the church until the 18th century.

BIBLIOG. H. Nicole, *Monographie de l'église Saint-Maurille de Vouziers*, Balan-Sedan, 1927.

Lorraine. Departments of Meuse, Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Vosges. Province of the Holy Roman Empire, part of which was joined to France by Henry II in the 16th century (bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun); powerful duchy until the 18th century; united to France under Louis XV. The region saw the dissemination of the early Romanesque style, with churches of Rhenish type, and of the late Gothic style, with Champenois archaizing tendencies. From the Renaissance onward Italian influences made themselves felt. A great flowering of the rococo was fostered by Stanislas I Leszczyński.

BIBLIOG. G. Durand, *Eglises romanes des Vosges*, Paris, 1913; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933.

Avioth. Church with nave and aisles of the 14th century; choir with large windows and ambulatory (partly 13th cent.); side chapel of the Renaissance. West and south portals with sculptures in the style of Reims. Choir with stone furnishings (screen, tabernacle, altar). On the south, joined to the church by the cemetery entrance, Chapelle de la Recevresse, a two-storied octagonal structure in flamboyant style, with a perforated spire.

BIBLIOG. R. Adam, *Avioth*, Avioth, 1927; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 445.

Bar-le-Duc. Of Merovingian origin; from 954 capital of the county, then dukedom, of Bar. - Church of Notre-Dame, Gothic edifice of the 13th century on Romanesque foundations. Large transept of two bays; nave continued in the 15th century; façade of the 18th century with a big tower crowned by a cupola; over the

doorway of the tower, bas-relief by L. Humbert. - Church of St-Etienne (or St-Pierre). Western portion of the 15th century. Construction of hall type consisting of three aisles of equal height. Façade in flamboyant style. Inside, the famous *Skeleton* by Ligier Richier (1545) for the tomb of René, Prince of Orange. - Collège Gilles de Trèves, 1574. Large courtyard with galleries. - Numerous houses of the 16th and 17th centuries with friezes, pediments, etc., resplendently decorated in the Burgundian and German manner.

BIBLIOG. C. Aimond, *L'Eglise Saint-Etienne, ancienne collégiale Saint-Pierre de Bar-le-Duc*, Bar-le-Duc, 1912; Nancy, Verdun, 1933, p. 319.

Epinal. Founded about the 10th century, it grew around a castle of the bishops of Metz. - Basilica of St-Maurice. Parts of the transept, with stair turret, and of the west tower, late 11th century; general reconstruction begun in 1210, with fortifications, transept galleries, and nave with triforium and aisles; east end of the 14th century, in Champenois style, with three polygonal apses. - Musée Départemental des Vosges: celebrated paintings by G. de La Tour, Rembrandt, and Italian masters. - Musée International de l'Imagerie.

BIBLIOG. A. Philippe, *L'Eglise Saint-Maurice d'Epinal*, Paris, 1910; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 104.

Lunéville. Capital of a county in the 10th century; incorporated into the dukedom of Lorraine in 1344. A notable development took place under Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, who in 1702 chose the city as his residence. - Abbey church of St-Jacques, rebuilt by G. Boffrand and E. Héré in rococo style (1730-47). Nave and aisles of equal height; façade of fanciful design with two round towers; in the choir, magnificent 18th-century furnishings. - Vast château erected under Leopold after the plans of Boffrand (1702-06). Monumental building with dome flanked by two wings. Two-storied chapel modeled after that of Versailles. The château houses a museum for ceramics and folk art.

BIBLIOG. P. Boyé, *Les Châteaux du roi Stanislas en Lorraine*, Paris, 1910; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 301.

Metz (anc. Divodurum). Capital of the department of Moselle, situated at the confluence of the Moselle and Seille rivers. Center of the Galli Mediomatrici, on the road from Durocortorum (Reims) to Argentorate (Strasbourg), Divodurum became an important city of the Roman province of Belgica. Unconfined by walls, it expanded freely during the early empire. From this period date an aqueduct, represented by a few surviving arches (Jouy-aux-Arches), thermae, of which there subsists the tepidarium, and a large amphitheater near the city (quarter of Sablon), of which there remain some walls. In the late empire the city acquired a rather large enclosure (over 2 miles long), of which there are some vestiges; a small amphitheater of this period, erected in the city on the bank of the Moselle, has entirely disappeared. Very early the city became a religious center and a bishopric. It was a free city under the Holy Roman Empire until its union with France in the 16th century; its medieval wall, with the fine Porte des Allemands (15th-16th cent.), is partly preserved. - Church of St-Pierre-de-la-Citadelle (or St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains), with courses of bricks datable by their stamps to the 4th century, incorporated in walls of the 7th century; in 990 divided into three aisles by heavy piers; vaulted in the 15th century. - Church of Ste-Ségonne, with a crypt of the 11th century and upper church of the 13th-14th century, in Champenois style. - Chapelle des Templiers, of the 12th century, octagonal in plan, vaulted with a cupola. - Cathedral of St-Etienne, formed by the union of two churches: the Chapel of Notre-Dame-la-Ronde (13th-14th cent.) and, perpendicular to it, the cathedral proper, whose nave and aisles of five bays with cross-rib vaults was begun about 1220 and finished by Pierre Perrat in the 14th century; large transept, choir with ambulatory and three radiating chapels, 1486-1520. Open triforium and clerestory in the nave, transept, and choir. Side portals with sculptures in the style of Reims. Stained glass of the façade rose window by Herman von Münster (late 14th cent.); stained glass of the 16th century by Theobald von Lixheim (north transept) and by Valentin Busch of Strasbourg (south transept and choir, with portraits of the dukes of Lorraine). In the treasury, embroidered cloth of the 10th century known as *Charlemagne's Coat*. - Church of St-Martin. Narthex with gallery and nave with aisles, early 13th century; early example of cross-rib vaulting. Choir and transept of the 16th century with survivals of Gothic forms. Stained glass of the 16th century. - Church of St-Vincent (1248), with nave and aisles of Champenois type; large transept; apse and two apsidioles; western portion and façade, mid-18th century. - L'Assomption, former Jesuit church of 1665, with a façade of 1739. Nave and aisles of equal height. - Carmelite church (now library), with central cupola, built by the Italian G. Betto (1698-1704).



- Hall with two vaulted aisles (late 12th cent.) in the Hospital of St-Nicolas, which also preserves a flamboyant portal. - Hôtel St-Livier, late 12th century. Windows with sculptured lintels. - Five-storied city granary of the mid-15th century. Timber ceilings with exposed beams supported by rows of columns. - Grange du St-Esprit, second half of 15th century. - Square with arcades, 16th century. - Numerous Renaissance houses decorated with busts. - Remains of fortifications undertaken by Vauban. - Hôtel de la Principerie, 17th century. - Theater and Prefecture (former intendance), 1779. - Town Hall (1764), after the plans of J.-F. Blondel, to whom is also due the layout of the Place d'Armes and of the Place de la Comédie. - Courthouse (former governor's palace), by C.-L. Clérisseau, in neoclassical style (1776). - Museum, site of the tepidarium of the thermae, with rich Gallo-Roman archaeological collections; important picture gallery.

**BIBLIOG.** *Antiquity*: Espér. V, 1909, IX, 1925, XI, 1938; M. Toussaint, Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine, Metz, 1948; A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, Paris, 1958, pp. 552, 557, 609. *Middle Ages and modern times*: J.-J. Barbé, A travers le vieux Metz, Metz, 1913; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 3; M. Aubert, La Cathédrale de Metz, Paris, 1931; Delore, La Basilique Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains de Metz, BAFr, 1945-47, p. 51; J. Hubert, L'architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Age en France, Paris, 1952, no. 40.

Mont-devant-Sassey. Church of various periods, begun with the large apse. Crypt with columns. Choir flanked by towers and transept, 1150-70; nave of the late 12th century with modern groined vaults; aisles with cross-rib vaults. South portal with statues. Façade tower of the 13th century.

**BIBLIOG.** Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 471; C. Aimond, L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Mont-devant-Sassey, Bar-le-Duc, 1933.

Nancy. A modest town in the 12th century, Nancy developed in the 13th-14th century and acquired ramparts. In the 16th century, as capital of the duchy of Lorraine, it became the center of an actual state. Most of its monuments date from the period between the return of Duke Leopold (1697) and the death of Stanislas I Leszczyński (1766), when it passed definitively to France. The harmonious 18th-century city survives in the symmetrical layout, wide streets, and great plazas, such as the rectangular Place Stanislas (former Place Royale, 1752), by E. Héré, with railings and the staircase of the Hôtel de Ville (PL. 420) by J. Lamour and fountains by B. Guibal; the long Place de la Carrière, with the Arc de Triomphe (1757) at one end and the Palais du Gouvernement (1752-53; PL. 419) with its hemicycle at the other; the Place d'Alliance (1756), with a rococo fountain by P.-L. Cyfflé in the middle. - Cordelier church, rebuilt 1482-86. Aisleless nave; vaults with liernes. Statues of Philippe de Gueldre by Ligier Richier, in black and white marble, of René II of Lorraine (d. 1508), of the Cardinal de Vaudémont praying (d. 1587). To the left of the choir, Ducal Chapel (1609-12; mutilated during the Revolution), octagonal in plan, with a coffered cupola. - Cathedral, begun in 1703 by G. Betto, continued by J. Hardouin Mansart, and finished by G. Boffrand in 1742. Nave with aisles and side chapels, in baroque style; central cupola; façade with Corinthian orders. Treasury with notable medieval work in silver, ivory, enamel, etc., including the Gospel Book of St. Gauzelin (10th cent.). - Church of St-Sébastien, of the German hall-church type, rebuilt 1720-38 by J.-N. Jennesson. Two apsidal towers. - Premonstratensian Church of St-Joseph (now Protestant), begun in the early 18th century by G. Betto and finished by C.-N. Mique in 1759. - Church of Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours (1738-41), by E. Héré. Aisleless nave; choir rather theatrical in effect. Narrow façade with Corinthian columns, crowned by a central tower. Fine rococo decoration. Tombs of Stanislas I Leszczyński, by L.-C. Vassé, and of Catherine Opalińska (d. 1757), by N.-S. Adam; mausoleum of the heart of Maria Leszczyńska, also by Vassé. - Church of the Visitation (now Lycée chapel), on a central plan, with a cupola, by J.-D. Antoine (1780). - Former ducal palace (now mus.). Façade of 1502-44, by Jacot de Vaucouleurs (Jacquot Wauthier) and Mansuy Gauvain, with flamboyant decoration and portal surmounted by an equestrian statue. - Hôtel d'Haussenville (1550), of the Renaissance. Inner courtyard with balconies still in flamboyant style. - Hôtel des Missions Royales (now part of the University), by E. Héré, with a large central pavilion (1741). - House known as Clodion's, with bas-relief (late 18th cent.). - Numerous buildings of the early 20th century testify to the importance of Art Nouveau in Nancy. - City gates: Porte de la Craffe (ca. 1360), with two towers; Porte St-Nicolas (1603) and Porte St-Georges (1606-19), with baroque pediments, statues, and caryatids; Porte Ste-Stratone and Porte Ste-Catherine, in Doric style, with allegorical sculptures, by R. Mique (1761); Porte Désilles, by the same architect (1785). - Musée Historique Lorrain (in the former ducal palace); historical and artistic monuments and relics; works by Callot; etc. -

Musée des Beaux-Arts, rich in 17th-century paintings: Poussin, Ribera, Rubens, the Bolognese school. - Musée de l'Ecole de Nancy; furniture, ceramics, paintings, sculpture.

**BIBLIOG.** C. Pfister, Histoire de Nancy, Paris, 1902; A. Hallays, Nancy, Paris, 1906; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 9; P. Marot, Le Vieux Nancy, I, Nancy, 1935; P. Marot, Le Musée historique lorrain, Nancy, 1948.

Pont-à-Mousson. The town rose in the 9th century on the right bank of the Moselle, then spread to the left bank. Despite the bombardments of World Wars I and II, it preserves some of its old buildings: Renaissance houses and the triangular arcaded Place Duroc (16th cent.). - Church of St-Martin (15th cent.), with flamboyant elements. Nave with triforium; façade with elegant octagonal towers. Deposition of the late 15th century, in stone. - Church of St-Laurent (15th-16th cent.), hall church with modern façade. Christ Bearing the Cross, probably by Ligier Richier; Flemish altarpiece of the 16th century with painting and sculpture. - Church of Ste-Marie-Majeure-des-Prémontrés (early 18th cent.), by N. Pierson, with three aisles separated by high Corinthian columns. Façade in Louis XV style. - Town Hall (1788), attributed to R. Mique.

**BIBLIOG.** Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 208; J. Florange and P. Lœvenbruck, Notre cher Pont-à-Mousson, Metz, 1956.

Saint-Dié. The city, now a bishopric, traces its origin to a Benedictine abbey founded in 669 by St. Déodat (in popular parlance: "Dié"). - Cathedral, restored after World War II. Romanesque nave and aisles with sculptured cubic capitals (second half of 12th cent.); cross-rib vaults of nave of later date. Gothic chapels. Façade with two towers (early 18th cent.). In the choir, murals (damaged) of the 14th century. Cloister of the 16th century. - Church of Notre-Dame, of Rhenish Romanesque type. Basilican plan. Powerful façade tower with a ground story forming a porch and a second story opening on the nave.

**BIBLIOG.** Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 164.

Saint-Mihiel. Town linked with an abbey. - Church of St-Michel. Porch and transept of the Romanesque period; nave, aisles, and choir erected on Gothic foundations in the early 18th century.

**BIBLIOG.** H. Bernard, Saint-Mihiel, Nancy, 1932; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 347.

Saint-Nicolas-de-Port. Church in Gothic style (1495-1545). Long soaring nave with aisles and chapels; polygonal apse and two polygonal apsidioles partly hidden on the exterior by a rectangular chapel and the sacristy; stellar vaults. Façade with three portals and high towers in flamboyant style. Stained glass of the 16th century with portraits of the dukes of Lorraine influenced by German taste. Choir stalls of the 18th century.

**BIBLIOG.** Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 275.

Toul (anc. Tullum). Capital of the Leuci; one of the three bishoprics of the Holy Roman Empire united to France by Henry II. - Cathedral of St-Etienne, begun in 1221 from the east. Choir flanked by towers; wide transept with triforium; nave and aisles begun about 1381, after the plans of Pierre Perrat. Magnificent façade with two towers, modeled on that of Reims (second half of 15th cent.). Inside, episcopal chair of the 13th century; organ loft in Louis XV style. Stained glass of the 13th century. Renaissance Chapel of the Bishops (1533). Cloister of the 14th century. - Church of St-Genoul (second half of 13th cent.), in Champenois Gothic style. Nave with aisles and intercommunicating side chapels; large transept. Façade of the 15th century with only one tower completed. Stained glass of the 13th to the 16th century. Cloister of the 16th century with stellar vaults. - Remains of the medieval wall and gates. - Town Hall (former episcopal palace), of the 18th century, damaged in World War II.

**BIBLIOG.** Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 229.

Vaucouleurs. This town, Domremy, and the surrounding country hold many reminiscences of Joan of Arc. At Vaucouleurs, remains of the ramparts and of the castle with a Romanesque chapel (only the crypt is intact). - At Domremy, house where Joan of Arc was born, with museum.

**BIBLIOG.** P. Marot, Le Pays de Jeanne d'Arc, Paris, 1956.

Verdun (anc. Virodunum). Imperial bishopric united to France under Henry II. - Cathedral, founded in 1044, with two transepts and two facing apses, on the Rhenish model; under the east choir, crypt divided into three aisles. Four towers, two razed at roof level.



Heavily altered in the course of time: cross-rib vaults of the 13th and 14th centuries; Gothic chapels; façade of the 18th century. North portal with a Romanesque tympanum in Burgundian style. Flamboyant cloister (16th cent.). - Cordelier church, 17th century. - Medieval wall and gates partly preserved. - Hôtel de la Prinerie (now mus.), 1525. - Porte St-Paul, now isolated, by Vauban. - Episcopal Palace, with a large *cour d'honneur*, by R. de Cotte (1723-54).

BIBLIOG. C. Aimond, *La Cathédrale de Verdun*, Nancy, 1909; Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 391.

Vézelize. Once capital of the county of Vaudémont. - Church of the late Middle Ages. Nave with aisles; polygonal apse. West bell tower preceding nave. Stained glass of the 16th century, showing German influence, with representations of the dukes of Lorraine. - Also: house of 1546; Courthouse, 1561; covered market, 1599; Town Hall, 1736.

BIBLIOG. Nancy, Verdun, CAF, 1933, p. 87.

Alsace. Departments of Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin; territory of Belfort. Subject to the Holy Roman Empire until the 17th century; united to France by Louis XIV under the Treaty of Nijmegen (1679); ceded to Germany from 1871 to 1918. Its monuments have an affinity to German art and seem archaic in relation to contemporaneous French art. A diffusion of the Rhenish style, with Lombard influences, took place in the Romanesque period. In the Gothic period Romanesque plans and forms were used together with cross-rib vaults; later the Champenois style had a notable influence, especially in the Cathedral of Strasbourg. Typical in the Dominican and Franciscan churches is the combination of vaulted choirs and naves with wooden ceilings. Late medieval and Renaissance secular buildings show a lively and original style, with wooden balconies, oriels, and stepped or cusped gables. French taste prevailed in the secular architecture of the 18th century. The characteristic building material is the red sandstone of the Vosges.

BIBLIOG. E. Polaczek, *Denkmäler der Baukunst im Elsass*, Strasbourg, 1906; A. Laugel, *L'Art populaire alsacien*, Paris, 1917; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920; M. Rumpfer, *L'Architecture religieuse en Alsace à l'époque romane*, Strasbourg, 1938.

Andlau. Owes its origin to an abbey. - Church. Romanesque façade (12th cent.) with historiated friezes and a portal carved with scenes of the Old and New Testaments. Nave, aisles, and galleries of the 17th century, in imitation of late Gothic forms. Crypt divided into three aisles. - Numerous 17th- and 18th-century houses of stone and wood.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 294.

Belfort. Fortified city in the 12th century, on the site of a Gallo-Roman *oppidum*; fortified anew by Vauban (there subsists the Porte de Brisach). - Church of St-Christophe (1727-50), by Maréchal. Impressive façade with superposed orders and two towers. - Contemporaneous with the church: the Arsenal (1726); the Place d'Armes; the Town Hall (1784), after the plans of J.-B. Kleber. - At the foot of a cliff, the huge *Lion of Belfort*, by F.-A. Bartholdi (1875-80). Museum with local and contemporary works.

BIBLIOG. P. Haas, *Histoire du territoire de Belfort*, Besançon, 1944.

Colmar. Spared in World War II, this city, which dates back at least to the 13th century, has retained many of its ancient buildings. - Church of St-Martin, 1237-1366. High nave with aisles, inspired by Reims; choir of the 14th century with a polygonal apse and a series of intercommunicating chapels. Rich façade of the 13th century with a high south tower crowned in 1572; sculptured tympanums in French style, with the Adoration of the Magi and the Last Judgment. Side portal with sculptures showing German influence. Apse with sculptures. Inside, *Madonna of the Roses* by M. Schongauer. - Monastery of the Dominicans of Unterlinden (now mus.). Church of the mid-13th century. Very deep choir with polygonal apse and cross-rib vaults; ceiled nave. Unvaulted cloister of the 13th century. - Church of former Dominican monastery, begun in 1283. Vaulted apse and choir; nave flanked by aisles and covered with a wooden ceiling (15th cent.; VI, PL. 324). Stained glass of the 14th century. Former Franciscan, now Protestant, church of the same type as the preceding. Soaring choir. Rood screen of the 15th century. - Church of St-Pierre (former Jesuit chapel), 1760. Nave with galleries. Louis XV decoration in stucco and wood. - Maison Adolphe, 14th century. - Former customs house, 1480. - Many houses of the 16th century with wooden galleries, oriels, high gables, and decoration of sculpture and painting (Maison Pfister, 1537; Maison des Têtes,

1609). - Former town hall, 1580. - Former Palais du Conseil d'Alsace (now Courthouse), in neoclassical style (1771). - Musée Unterlinden (in the former Dominican convent): paintings of the Rhenish school; works by Caspar Isenmann and M. Schongauer; the famous Isenheim altarpiece by M. Grünewald, one of the masterpieces of German art.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 311; L. Réau, Colmar, Paris, 1920; E. Herzog, Colmar, Colmar, 1932.

Guehwiller. Originally connected with an abbey; fortified city in the 13th century. - Church of St-Léger, in Romanesque style but with cross-rib vaults. Porch, nave, aisles (doubled in the 16th cent.), and transept, late 12th century; choir and apse, 14th century. Octagonal central bell tower. Façade with two towers, decorated with Lombard bands; sculptured portal. - Dominican church begun in 1312. Vaulted choir; high nave with wooden ceiling. Stone rood screen (ca. 1461) decorated with painting (stories of St. Catherine). - Church of Notre-Dame (ca. 1765), on a basilican plan. Nave divided from aisles by high Corinthian columns. Central cupola. - Town Hall, 1514. Flamboyant Gothic oriel decorated with painted panels. - Musée du Florival: costume and local art.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 422.

Haguenaue. Owes its origin to a castle built along the Moder in the 12th century. - Church of St-Georges, founded by Emperor Conrad III in the mid-12th century. Nave and aisles separated by columns with cubic capitals and covered with cross-rib vaults (posterior); transept; choir of 1254. Façade in early Gothic style. Octagonal central bell tower of the 13th century. At the east end, buttresses with sculptures. - Church of St-Nicolas. Long nave of 11 bays with aisles (late 13th cent.). Fine rococo decoration in the choir. - Remains of the city wall, including a gate of the 16th century. - Houses of the 18th century. - Museum with archaeological collections.

BIBLIOG. P. Acker, *L'Alsace-Lorraine*, Toulouse, 1917.

Kaysersberg. One of the most picturesque towns in Alsace, dominated by the ruins of a castle. - Church with a Romanesque transept; nave and aisles, 13th century, subsequently altered; choir and apse of the late Middle Ages. Portal of the 13th century with a sculptured tympanum. In the choir, sculptured wooden altarpiece (1518) by Hans von Colmar (H. Bongartz?). - Fortified bridge (1511), by J. Wirt. - Town Hall (1521), with a wooden gallery toward the courtyard.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 351.

Marmoutier (anc. Mauri Monasterium). Magnificent abbey church. Powerful façade of Rhenish type (ca. 1150); two stories (the first providing a porch) surmounted by three towers, a square one in the center and two octagonal ones. Gothic nave, aisles, and transept; choir and apse of the 18th century, covered by vaults with ramifying ribs.

BIBLIOG. F. Sigrist, *L'Abbaye de Marmoutier*, Strasbourg, 1899; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 238.

Mulhouse. The circular old town is entirely surrounded by modern industrial and commercial quarters. - Church of Ste-Marie, with Louis XVI decoration. - Town Hall (1552), in Rhenish Renaissance style, with murals by Jean Gabriel (1698). - Musée des Beaux-Arts. - Musée Historique: regional and folk art. - Musée de l'Impression sur Etoffes, for textiles. - Musée Lapidaire, in the 15th-century Chapel of St-Jean.

Murbach. Of the former abbey there subsists only the eastern portion of the huge late-12th-century church: transept with two towers, straight east end of Cistercian type; decoration of Lombard bands.

BIBLIOG. E. Fels, *L'Eglise abbatiale de Murbach*, Archives Alsaciennes, 1920, p. 21; J. Gava, *L'Ancienne église Saint-Sixte de Murbach*, Thann, 1951.

Neuf-Brisach. Citadel built by Vauban (damaged in World War II). Wall with bastions and gates; streets at right angle to each other; parade ground; church.

Neuwiller. Once seat of a celebrated abbey, to which belonged the Church of St-Pierre-et-St-Paul. The east end, of Cistercian type, with rectangular chapels, and the transept, surmounted by a square bell tower, are of the 12th century, but already covered with cross-rib

vaults; nave and aisles of the 13th century with capitals of Champenois type; portal of the north transept with a sculptured tympanum (12th cent.); façade of the 17th century. Outside the church, two-storied chapel (11th cent.), with sculptured cubic capitals and tapestries of Basel manufacture (early 16th cent.). Chapter house of the 12th century. - Church of St-Adelphe, 12th century. Nave and aisles in Romanesque style, with cross-rib vaults.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 251.

Ottmarsheim. Octagonal chapel (III, PL. 388), with cupola, aisle, and gallery (mid-11th cent.), modeled on the palatine chapel of Aachen; external decoration of Lombard bands.

BIBLIOG. A. Schulte, Kloster Ottmarsheim, Innsbruck, 1886; P. Stintzi, Ottmarsheim, Mulhouse, 1953.

Ribeauvillé. On the left bank of the Strengbach. Seat of a seignury until the 12th century, when it passed to Frederick Barbarossa. - Parish church. Polygonal apse, choir, transept, late 13th century; archaizing nave of the 14th century. - Former Augustinian church (15th cent.), typical of Alsatian monastery churches: vaulted choir, nave and aisles originally covered with an open timber roof, ceiled in the 18th century. - City gate of the 12th century and remains of the wall. - In the environs, Castle of St-Ulrich, with a square donjon and curtain wall of the 12th century; enlarged in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Rouffach. Picturesque town on the Ohmbach, once royal city of the Frankish monarchy. - Church of St-Arbogast. Transept of the 12th century (subsequently altered) with cupola; nave and aisles of Romanesque type, but with cross-rib vaults (13th cent.); choir and polygonal apse of the 14th century. - Franciscan church, example of Alsatian monastic architecture (14th-15th cent.). - Renaissance Town Hall (1540).

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 369; T. Walter, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Rufach, 3 vols., Colmar, n.d.

Sainte-Odile. The hill is encircled by a wall belonging to a Celtic or Ligurian *oppidum* and presenting one of the earliest Western examples of regular masonry. Sainte-Odile was a great religious and cultural center in the Middle Ages. It has a classicizing church of the late 17th century.

BIBLIOG. R. Forrer, Les Cloîtres romans du couvent de Sainte-Odile, Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Alsace, 1930, p. 67.

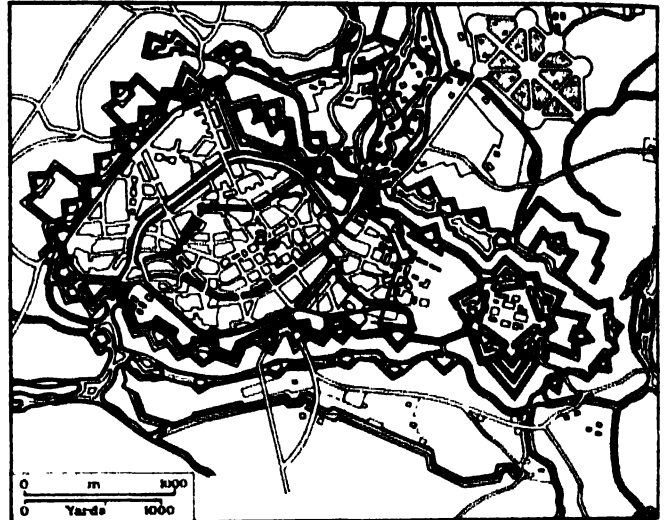
Saverne (anc. Tres Tabernae). Possession of the bishops of Metz in the Carolingian epoch, in the 13th century it passed to the bishops of Strasbourg. - Parish church. Lofty choir of the 14th century; nave of the 15th century with complex rib vaults. Fine stone pulpit (15th cent.) by H. Hammer, who also did the one in the Cathedral of Strasbourg. - Church of the Recollects, of the Alsatian monastic type (15th cent.). Vaulted choir and ceiled nave. - Picturesque houses of the 15th century and later. - Imposing château of red sandstone rebuilt for Cardinal Louis de Rohan by N.-A. Salins de Montfort (18th cent.). Fine park.

Sélestat. An imperial city in the 13th century, it preserves a late medieval center formerly surrounded by walls. - Ste Foix, magnificent church of the late 12th century. Massive west end consisting of a porch between two square towers with arcades on colonnettes. Nave with early cross-rib vaults; aisles with groined vaults; east end of Benedictine type; crypt of the 11th century; large octagonal lantern with arcatures and a high stone spire. - St-Georges, Gothic church mainly of the 13th century. Nave with aisles; western transept of the 14th century, with a high square tower; tall octagonal central tower with 18th-century crowning. Renaissance pulpit (1552). - Clock tower that also served as a city gate, 14th century, with crowning of the 17th. - House of the former Abbey of Ebersmunster (1543), with a Renaissance portal.

BIBLIOG. A. Dorlan, Histoire architecturale de Schlestadt, 2 vols., Paris, 1912; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 461.

Strasbourg (anc. Argentorate). Most beautiful city in the east of France. During the Roman era it occupied a position of military importance on the Rhine and was surrounded by successive walls. A free imperial city during the Middle Ages, famous for its cathedral, it was enlarged six times from 1220 to 1475. It was united to France under Louis XIV. In the 18th century the princes of Rohan contributed to its embellishment. - The Cathedral of Notre-Dame, a

monument of extreme complexity, was erected on the vast 11th-century crypt of the preexisting cathedral, beginning in the late 12th century; the nave was finished in the late 13th century. From 1284 work was directed by Erwin von Steinbach (d. 1318), who erected the façade (VI, PL. 319) to above the rose window; the two towers were finished in 1365, and by 1388 the space between them was filled in. The north tower was raised (1399-1419) by Ulrich von Ensingen, architect of the Cathedral of Ulm, and surmounted by the renowned spire that reaches a height of 466 ft. above the ground, the work of Johannes Hültz of Cologne. The oldest side chapel, that of Ste-Catherine, was added in 1331-49; the others, with complex rib vaults, were added in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Cathedral is famous for its rich sculptural decoration, exemplified by the Piller des Anges (VI, PL. 359) in the south transept; the twin portals of the south transept with tympanums representing the Dormition and



Strasbourg as fortified by about 1680. (a) Cathedral.

the Coronation of the Virgin and, at the sides, statues of the Church and the Synagogue, of which the originals (mid-13th cent.) are in the Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame; the three façade portals (VI, PL. 319), the central one with the Passion and prophets, the northern one with Virtues and Vices, the southern one with the Wise and Foolish Virgins (some of these last are also copies of originals preserved in the Musée de l'Oeuvre); the flamboyant portal of the sacristy, which prolongs the north transept (itself with a Romanesque portal). The wide nave (VI, PL. 320) with triforium and aisles and the transept are in the Gothic style of Champagne and Ile-de-France. Among the accessories: stained glass of the 12th and 13th centuries (figures of kings and emperors in the north aisle) and of the 14th century (south aisle); pulpit by H. Hammer, organ loft and case, and baptismal font, 15th century; astronomical clock of the late 16th century, heavily restored; series of tapestries with the life of the Virgin (first half of 17th cent.); tomb of Konrad von Lichtenberg under a canopy (d. 1299). - Church of St-Pierre-le-Jeune (1250-1320), with a Romanesque bell tower surmounting a porch; polygonal choir with a fine rood screen. - Church of St-Thomas, begun with the façade about 1273. Nave and aisles of equal height; large transept; choir with polygonal apse; second south aisle and north chapels added in the 14th century. Tomb of Maurice de Saxe, by Jean Pigalle (1756-77). - Church of St-Guillaume, 1485. Aisleless nave and choir with wooden ceiling. Rood screen in flamboyant style. Stained glass of the 14th and 15th centuries. Superposed tombs of Ulrich von Werd and his brother, by Wölflin von Rufach (mid-14th cent.). - Church of St-Louis (ca. 1700), with wooden ceiling in imitation of earlier styles. - Remains of the 3d-century Roman wall with round towers. - Former customs house enlarged in the 15th and 16th centuries, in great part destroyed in World War II. - Former town hall (1582), with arcades on the ground story and large windows in the upper story. - Numerous 16th-century houses of stone and wood, often half-timbered, with overhangs, oriels, covered wooden balconies, stepped or voluted gables, and ornamentation of sculpture and sometimes painting (Bain-des-Plantes quarter; Kammerzel House, 1589). - The Rue Brûlée and the Place Broglie reflect the city planning of the 18th century. Also of this period are many classicizing mansions with windows decorated by sculptured masks (Hôtel de Deux-Ponts; Prefecture, 1730). - Hospital with high gable (early 18th cent.), by F. R. Mollinger. - Episcopal Palace (1722-28), by A. Lagardelle. -

Town Hall (former Hôtel de Heese-Darmstadt), by J. Massol (1730-36). Façade with an outward-curving central bay, in rococo style. - Château of the Rohans, built in 1732-40 by Massol after the plans of R. de Cotte. Façade with two-storied Corinthian colonnade surmounted by a sculptured pediment. - Jesuit college (now Lycée), by Massol (1757). - "L'Aubette," vast building erected by J.-F. Blondel in 1767. - The choice of Strasbourg as seat of the Council of Europe has led to the construction of new public and private buildings of high esthetic quality, such as the Maison de l'Europe by B. Monnet (1950-55). - The city's museums are exceedingly rich. The Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame is devoted to medieval art, including sculpture and architectural drawings of the Gothic period. The Château of the Rohans houses various municipal museums: the Musée Archéologique; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, with works of the Alsatian school, paintings by Konrad Witz and M. Schongauer; the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Also notable; the Musée Historique de la Ville and the Musée Alsacien (folk art, ceramics).

BIBLIOG. H. Welschinger, Strasbourg, Paris, 1905; G. Delahache, La Cathédrale de Strasbourg, Paris, 1910; Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 105; J.-J. Hatt, Strasbourg antique, Strasbourg, 1953; H. Haug, L'Hôtel de ville de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 1953; H. Haug, Les Musées de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 1954; V. Beyer, La Sculpture strasbourgeoise au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Strasbourg, 1955; H. Haug, and others, La Cathédrale de Strasbourg, Paris, 1957.

Thann. The city rose in the 12th century around a shrine of St. Theobald and became a famous pilgrimage center. - Collegiate church of St-Thiébaud, 14th-15th century. Nave with aisles, the northern one of 1430 in flamboyant style; deep choir; webbed cross-rib vaults with sculptured hanging keystones. North tower with a high perforated spire, by R. Feach (1506-16). In the façade portal, immense sculptured tympanum over two smaller ones, with scenes from the infancy of Christ and the Passion—one of the major creations of the medieval Rhineland (ca. 1390-1420). North portal with statues of the Virgin, St. John, and St. Theobald, in flamboyant style. Fine late medieval stained glass. - Also notable: Renaissance fountain; covered market of the 16th century, now sheltering a lapidary museum and collections devoted to local history; Town Hall (late 18th cent.), after the plans of J.-B. Kleber.

BIBLIOG. Metz, Strasbourg, Colmar, CAF, 1920, p. 383.

Wissembourg. Rich in old houses. - Church of St-Paul-et-St-Pierre, fine example of the Rhenish Gothic style, with Champenois influences. High tower over the crossing. Remains of a 14th-century cloister. - Town Hall (1741), in red sandstone, by J. Massol. - Deanery of the 18th century (now Subprefecture).

Corsica (Fr., *Corse*). This large Mediterranean island, immediately to the north of Sardinia, lies 54 miles from Tuscany and 106 miles from Nice. A neolithic civilization flourished there in prehistoric times, especially in the western valleys. There subsists a notable series of monuments—examples of the dolmen (local name, *stazzona*), the menhir (*stantara*), and the cromlech—that make Corsica a region of outstanding interest for the study of megalithic civilizations (see EUROPEAN PROTOHISTORY; MEDITERRANEAN PROTOHISTORY). Sculpture is represented by menhir-statues—large pillars with crude human heads and occasionally some item of apparel—probably connected with places of worship. The Greeks of Phocaea and later the Etruscans founded colonies on the eastern coast (Alalia, Lat. Aleria; Nikaia), where the Romans, who conquered and pacified the island in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C., founded the colony of Mariana (after Marius). In Roman times the island was part of the province of Sardinia and Corsica; it shared the fortunes of the Western Empire and eventually came under Vandal and Byzantine domination. In the 11th century it entered the orbit of Pisan religious and political supremacy, with important consequences for local architecture and art; long contested by Pisa and Genoa, it fell to the latter in the 14th century. A "peasant" Romanesque style dominated religious architecture until the 16th century; Gothic and Renaissance influences were slight. The military edifices built by the Bank of S. Giorgio, on the other hand, are among the most noteworthy of the Italian Cinquecento (citadels of Ajaccio, Calvi, Bonifacio, etc.; towers for defense against the barbarians). The baroque flourished in churches and monasteries, enriched with marble and wood decoration of Genoese, Lombard, and Tuscan derivation. In 1769 Corsica passed to the French crown.

BIBLIOG. E.-J. Espérandieu, Inscriptions antiques de la Corse, B. archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques, 1893; A. de Mortillet, Rapports sur les monuments mégalithiques de la Corse, Paris, 1893; C. Aru, Chiese pisane in Corsica, Rome, 1908; A. Ambroci, Histoire des Corsees et de leur civilisations, Bastia, 1914; C. Enlart, Monuments du Moyen Age en Corse, Paris, 1924; R. Blanchard, La Corse, Grenoble, 1926; P. Morel, La Corse, Paris, 1931.

Ajaccio. Cathedral of the 16th century, presumably built on the plans of Giacomo della Porta, in the form of a Greek cross with a central cupola. - Citadel of the 16th century. - House where Napoleon was born (18th cent.). - Square in Empire style with a monument to Napoleon, shown on horseback, and to his brothers (sculptures by Barye and others). - Musée Feach, very rich in Italian paintings, which were donated by Cardinal Feach. - In the environs, Château de la Punta, built with materials from the demolished Palais des Tuileries in Paris.

BIBLIOG. V. Campi, Notes et documents de la ville d'Ajaccio, Ajaccio, 1901.

Bonifacio. Church of Ste-Marie-Majeure, in Pisan Romanesque style, with a portico and a four-storied bell tower. - Church of St-Dominique (13th-14th cent.), in Italian Gothic style. Octagonal bell tower. - Late medieval citadel. - Arsenal of 1775.

Calvi. The upper town is built on a granitic promontory advancing into the sea. - Cathedral of St-Jean-Baptiste, on a Greek-cross plan, built in the 13th century, altered in the 16th. - Remains of the Gothic citadel.

La Canonica. Site of ancient Mariana, founded by Marius in the 2d century B.C. - Cathedral of Pisan type, with three aisles.

Paul-Marie DUVAL and Pierre PRADEL

Principality of Monaco. Small independent state on the Mediterranean coast near the Italian border, enclaved within the French department of Alpes-Maritimes. Site of a Phoenician colony, passed to Genoa in the late 12th century; became a possession of the Grimaldi family in the 14th century. Its political and artistic history was long connected with that of Genoa and of Provence. Definitively entering the French orbit in 1861, it became very prosperous in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as international playground, winter resort, and cultural center. - In the city of Monaco, towers of the 13th and 14th centuries incorporated in the palace; Cathedral in Neo-Romanesque style, with polyptych by L. Brea; Musée de l'Homme, with important prehistoric material. - At Monte Carlo, late-19th-century buildings; Casino (1878-79), by C. Garnier; Musée National des Beaux-Arts.

BIBLIOG. G. Saige, Documents historiques relatifs à la seigneurie de Monaco, Paris, 1888-91, 1905; RE, XXXI, 1933, cols. 132-33, s.v. Monaco; A. Caviggioli, Fasti d'arte nella reggia di Monaco, Arte Figurativa Antica e Moderna, 1958, 1, p. 30.

Illustrations: 28 figs. in text.

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO. Italian architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor; surnamed Martini (b. Siena, 1439; d. 1501). Francesco worked principally for the ducal court of Urbino, his native city of Siena, and the kingdom of Naples. His advice on architectural and engineering problems was widely sought (Milan, 1490; Lucca, 1491; Loreto, 1500), but despite his contemporary fame, and regardless of numerous literary and documentary references, he exists today only as an enigmatic artistic personality. Few documented, uncontested examples of his work are known. Although described (Vasari, 1550) in his epitaph as the architect of the ducal palace at Urbino, his share in its design is now much debated, as is his authorship of the nearby Church of S. Bernardino. Because both buildings are major works of the period and crucial to our understanding of High Renaissance style, Francesco's rank as an architect depends solely upon the acceptance or rejection of him as their designer. Lack of documentation for these buildings and the absence of other buildings by him which might be used as evidence for stylistic analyses continue to keep this key question unresolved. His only major documented building is the Church of the Madonna del Calcinato, near Cortona, commissioned in 1484. (There is also documentary evidence for the Anziani Palace, in Ancona, 1484, and the town hall of Iesi, 1486, but both buildings exist in greatly altered state.) Stylistically, the church is related to the work of such Florentine architects as Il Cronaca and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder; particularly to Il Cronaca's S. Salvatore al Monte, about 1475.

Of Francesco's often-recorded activity as a painter (beginning 1467), we know today only one signed and dated (1475) work, *The Nativity* (5 ft., 6 in. × 3 ft., 8 in.; Siena, Pin.), and only one other related to a documented commission (1471), *Coronation of the Virgin* (11 ft. × 6 ft., 6 in.; Siena, Pin.). Around these two altarpieces, making use especially of knowledge of a documented partnership (dissolved 1475) with Neroccio, art historians have constructed an *œuvre* of some 60 paintings, of which the majority are small in size (*cassone* fronts, miniatures) and therefore not easily related stylistically to the two large works. Specific evidence of Francesco's artistic development is given by these altarpieces, however, for although separated by only four years, they show a clear change of style that speaks of a strong impact upon Francesco of the work of contemporary Florentine artists, particularly Verrocchio. As this change is in no way forecast in the *Coronation* painting, and as the new elements seem to be still in the process of assimilation (the consistently steep perspective of the *Coronation* characterizes the foreground of *The Nativity*), we probably should postulate a Florentine influence during the years 1471-75 that deeply affected Francesco's artistic development. A similar indication is given by his four documented pieces of sculpture: two bronze cherubs (1479) and two bronze angels (1490) commissioned for the major altar in the Cathedral of Siena, where they still exist. The earlier pieces speak clearly of the influence of Verrocchio; the later ones show a more personal use of the same Florentine elements. Although we have no indication of Francesco's earlier work as a sculptor (first referred to as such in 1464), if the bronze relief of a *Pietà* (ca. 1475; Venice, S. Maria del Carmine) is by him, its style also reveals his relation to Verrocchio's work. (The relief has also been attributed to Verrocchio's pupil Leonardo.)

BIBLIOG. A. S. Weller, *Francesco di Giorgio*, Chicago, 1943; R. Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Florence, 1946; M. Salmi, *Palazzo ducale di Urbino e Francesco di Giorgio*, Studi Urbanati, I, 1948, pp. 9-55.

Bates LOWRY

**FRANCIA, FRANCESCO.** Francesco Francia (properly Francesco di Marco di Giacomo Raibolini), an Italian painter and goldsmith of the Renaissance, was born in Bologna about 1450 (not later than 1453) and died on Jan. 5, 1517. The name "Francia" may have arisen from his having been a pupil of a French goldsmith. Of his work as a jeweler, practically nothing remains. There are a few rare prints by Francia, and some medals and coins are ascribed to him. (For attributions of sculpture, see A. Venturi.)

Francia as a painter comes out of the Ferrarese tradition. We do not know who his master was — perhaps Cossa. Certainly Lorenzo Costa, who lived in Bologna from 1485 on, influenced him greatly. Francia's style was never hard or metallic in the sense of the Ferrarese Quattrocento — its general tendency is toward more *sfumatura* and Umbrian softness. His production is very large, the number of signed and dated pieces considerable, and the quality remarkably uniform. During the vogue for the Italian primitives, his reputation — along with that of Raphael, a slightly younger contemporary who also came out of the school of Ferrara-Bologna — naturally suffered, and he was criticized for an excessive sweetness and piety. His understanding of his craft and his skill as an artist, however, have never been questioned.

The earliest dated painting is the *Madonna with Angel Offering Vase of Cherries* (1492; Washington, Nat. Gall.). The treatment of landscape in this painting is typical: a curtain is partly drawn back to reveal, behind the figures, a greensward with some feathery trees and a picturesque rock formation, all entirely in the Umbrian manner. The latest dated paintings are the *Madonna, Infant Son, and Four Saints* (Parma, Gall. Naz.) and a *Pietà* (Turin, Gall. Sabauda), both of 1515. Between 1492 and 1515, the following established works may be taken as indicative of the evolution of Francia's art (the certain dates will serve as a chronological scaffolding): *Portrait of Bartolommeo Bianchini* (early), London, Nat. Gall. — *Madonna,*

*Saints, and Angels*, 1499, Bologna, Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bentivoglio Chapel. — *Annunciation with Evangelist, Francis, Bernardino, and George*, 1500, Bologna, Pin. Naz. — *Madonna del Terremoto* (fresco), 1505, Bologna, Palazzo Com. — *Baptism*, 1509, Dresden, Gemäldegal. — *Portrait of Federigo Gonzaga as a Boy*, 1510, New York, Met. Mus.

BIBLIOG. G. C. Williamson, *Francesco Raibolini called Francia*, London, 1901; G. Lipparini, *Francesco Francia*, Bergamo, 1913; for complete list of works, see B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 206 ff.

Arthur McCOMB

**FRENCH ART.** Because the French monarchy centralized its activities in Paris, this city became the principal center of artistic creativity from the 13th century on. Until the 16th century, Paris had a number of rivals, including Burgundy and Berry, which were feudal duchies, and Touraine and Fontainebleau, which were royal seats. After the 16th century, Paris imposed its taste on the whole country. The number of local art centers in France is therefore smaller and their importance is not so great as that of local centers in other European countries. Nevertheless, some regional groups in France did develop distinctive artistic trends of noteworthy significance. After the Renaissance, there followed a series of artistic periods from which a characteristically French style emerged. (For the sake of convenience, some authorities divide these periods according to the reigns of the great sovereigns; e.g., periods of Francis I, Louis XIV.)

SUMMARY. Romanesque architecture and sculpture (col. 652). Gothic architecture and sculpture (col. 654). Paris in the 13th and 14th centuries (col. 656). Provençal painting (col. 658). Fifteenth-century art in the Bourbonnais and in the region of the Loire (col. 659). The art of Burgundy, and sculpture in Champagne (col. 661). The Renaissance in the Loire Valley (col. 661). The classic Renaissance in Paris and in the Île-de-France (col. 663). Regional tendencies (col. 664). The school of Fontainebleau (col. 665). The baroque and the new Parisian urban development: architecture (col. 666). Baroque sculpture (col. 669). Seventeenth-century painting in Paris and Rome (col. 669). Provincial centers (col. 670). Versailles, the absolute rule of Louis XIV, and the policy of Colbert (col. 671). The rococo (col. 676). Neoclassicism and the Empire (col. 679). The 19th century (col. 680). Frontier influences (col. 681). French art outside France (col. 682).

**ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.** After the Carolingian period (q.v.), the Romanesque (see ROMANESQUE ART) and Gothic (see GOTHIC ART) styles flourished in France. Although there were local variations within these styles, one cannot speak of true schools.

Romanesque architecture may be divided into two major categories: (1) the vaulted churches in Burgundy and in the southern provinces, and (2) the churches with wooden roofs in northern France. Sculpture developed in the same centers as architecture from the end of the 11th century on, most frequently in the form of the monumental bas-reliefs that decorate the portals of the churches and the great cathedrals.

The nave of the Burgundian Romanesque type of church is illuminated through a clerestory and is covered with a barrel vault (sometimes pointed as in the Cathedral at Autun) or with groin vaulting (as in the church at Vézelay). The refined and sensitive sculptural decoration that is reminiscent of the antique (e.g., capitals of columns in the Church of Cluny, end of the 11th cent.) flourished in the 12th century at Autun and Vézelay (PL. 376); it became more complex toward the end of the 12th century. This type of church was found in an area extending as far as the region of Lyons.

In Provence and in the lower Rhone Valley, churches were simple and soberly lighted; a classic spirit is characteristic of their plans and decorations (e.g., the Cathedral of Avignon). The sculpture also reveals classic motifs, for example, fine acanthus capitals and large façade compositions with finely carved friezes (e.g., Arles, PL. 375; the Church of Saint-Gilles, in Gard).

In the southwest, the churches have dark naves with high, narrow side aisles; pointed barrel vaults; and rich external decoration, as in Notre-Dame at Poitiers and Saintes (PL. 378).

In the Périgord region, a single nave is usual, with vaulting consisting of a series of domes deriving ultimately from the eastern Mediterranean. Examples are the Cathedrals of Périgueux and Angoulême (FIG. 655; PL. 378).

In Auvergne, the churches have galleries and wide spaces (e.g., Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand) similar to the impressive examples found in southern churches along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela in Spain (e.g., the Church of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse, with double side aisles; the Church of Conques). The sculpture of the churches in Auvergne is characterized by the rather rough technique and the simple compositions of the figured capitals (e.g., Clermont-Ferrand; Issoire; tympanum of Conques, PL. 377).

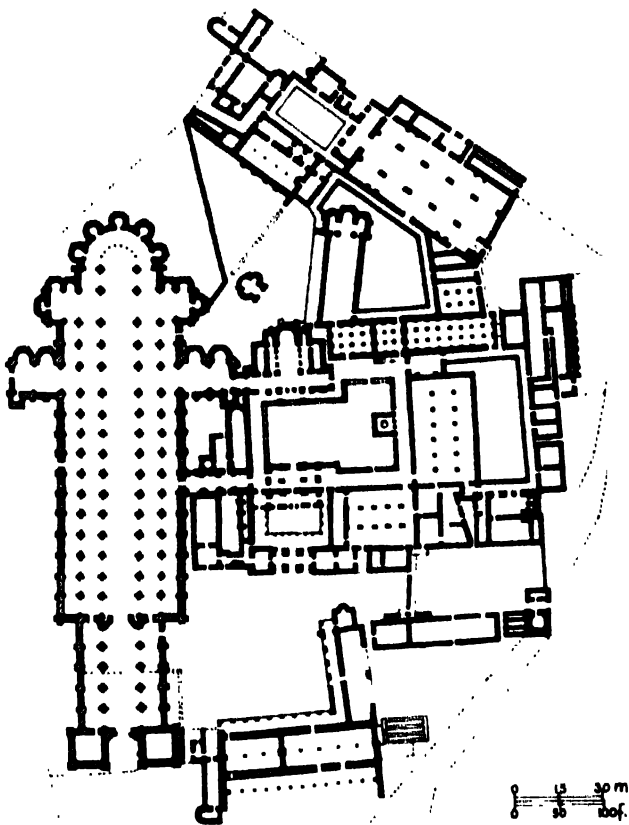
The churches of Normandy were built with wooden roofs and aisles surmounted by tribunes (as at Caen). Their columns have either crocketed or sculptured capitals.

In Languedoc, a type of high-relief sculpture developed from the 11th century on, as at Moissac, Toulouse, and Souillac. This influenced, rather late, the sculpture of Narbonne and the region of the Pyrenees.

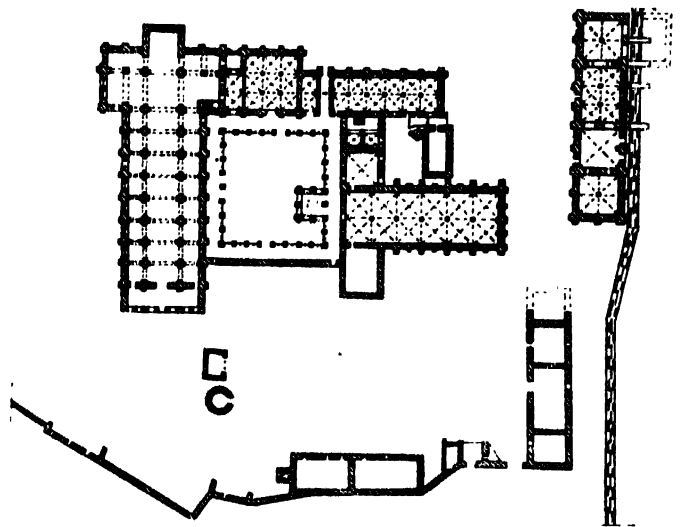
In the north, Romanesque sculpture was less vigorous and contained lingering barbarian and Carolingian motifs (such as geometric and interlacing motifs).

The arrangement of monastic buildings followed an almost invariable plan: at the south of the church was a cloister with adjoining chapter room and refectory (FIG. 653). The cloisters are vaulted (Arles, PL. 375) or have wooden roofs (as at Moissac), and are composed of a series of arches or small columns. In Cistercian abbeys, emphasis was placed on the vertical, and a severe simplicity was sought, as at Fontenay in Burgundy (FIG. 654), or Thoronet in Provence.

The wooden defenses were succeeded for the first time in the 11th century by permanent towers on a rectangular



Cluny, plan of the monastery as it was in 1157 (from K. J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200*, Harmondsworth, 1959).



Fontenay, plan of the Cistercian abbey of the 12th century (from A. Lurcat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, I. Paris, 1953).

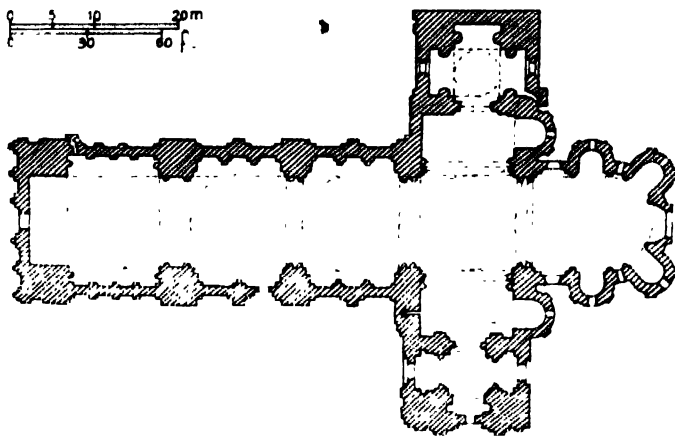
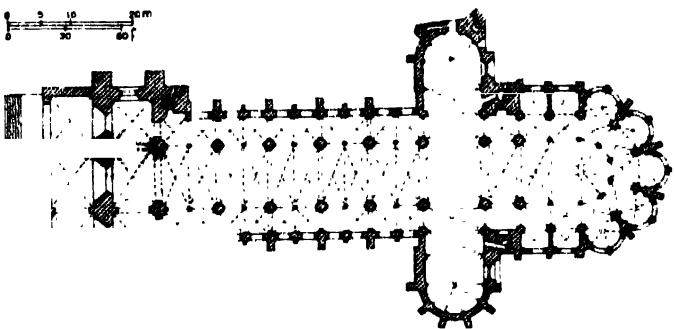
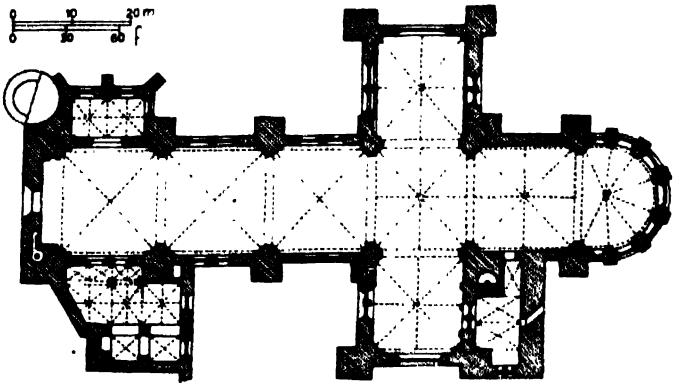
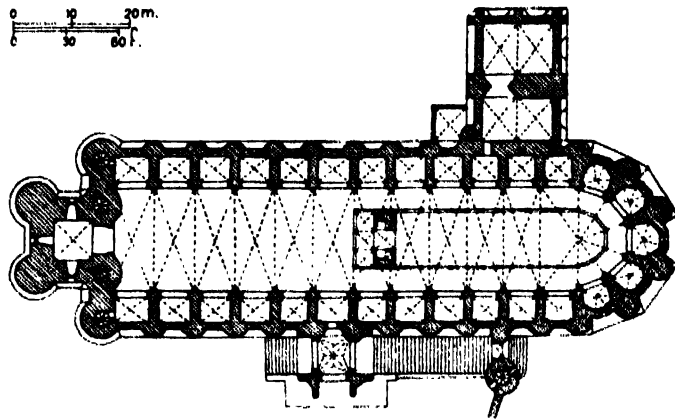
plan; the most important of those remaining are in the region of the Loire (e.g., Langeais; Loches).

As for secular architecture, only a few examples of façades of houses remain at Cluny, in Burgundy.

**GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.** The new Gothic style (see **GOTHIC ART**) began about 1140 with the construction of the Cathedrals of Noyon (FIG. 655; VI, PL. 295), Laon, and Paris (VI, PL. 293). The centers of artistic activity were not the same as in the 12th century, since the monasteries had begun to be overshadowed by the cities, where craft guilds were beginning to develop.

The Cathedral of Chartres represented a new trend (rebuilding began 1194; VI, PLS. 291, 293, 296, 299, 300). In this structure, tribunes were suppressed, and triforiums surmounted by great windows made their appearance. In the course of the 13th century, this plan developed further, and greater emphasis was placed on the vertical, as in the Cathedral of Reims (VI, PL. 300), which was begun in 1211, the Cathedral of Amiens (PLS. 380; VI, 296, 300), and the choir of Beauvais (VI, PL. 299). The building of great cathedrals extended to Normandy (e.g., Rouen, VI, PL. 301; Lisieux) and to western France (e.g., Le Mans, VI, PL. 295). The architect Jean Deschamps carried this impetus to the center and south, to such cities as Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, and Narbonne. Gradually, the building of cathedrals spread all over France, for example, the Breton Cathedrals of Quimper and Saint-Pol-de-Léon, the Cathedrals of Tours and Bayonne (VI, PL. 300) in the south, and of Strasbourg (VI, PLS. 319, 320), Metz, and Toul in the east. From the middle of the 13th century on, the style became lighter, the wall openings larger, and the forms more ornate (e.g., Ste-Chapelle in Paris, PL. 380; St-Urbain at Troyes; St-Ouen at Rouen). Regional characteristics are found especially in Normandy and Brittany, where vast apses (e.g., Angers, FIG. 655), deep apsidal chapels, steeply pointed arches, and crossing towers are common (e.g., Coutances, VI, PL. 294). In Burgundy and Champagne, we find interior galleries and porches, as at Dijon and Nevers. Two typical plans appear: in Anjou, depressed ribbed vaults, which spread widely within the Plantagenet dominion at the end of the 12th century; and in Languedoc, buildings without pronounced verticality, often fortified, with wide naves, side chapels, and few windows, as at Albi (FIG. 655; PL. 381).

Late Gothic architecture of the type called "flamboyant" is characterized by rich and complex decoration. There are numerous examples in the part of France which was devastated by the Hundred Years' War: in Normandy at Louviers (VI, PL. 302), in Picardy at Abbeville (PL. 380), and in Champagne.



From top to bottom: Angoulême, plan of the Cathedral, begun in 1105; Noyon, plan of the Cathedral, 1185-1200 (from A. Lurçat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, I, Paris, 1953); Angers, plan of the Cathedral, begun 1150; Albi, plan of the Cathedral, begun 1282 (last two from M. Aubert, *Cathédrales et trésors gothiques de France*, Paris, 1958).

Monastic architecture also followed Gothic structural principles. Examples are Noyon, from the 13th century; Noirlac in Berry, from the 14th century; Cadouin, in Dordogne, from the 15th century; and Mont-Saint-Michel, in Manche, from the 13th century (PL. 380; VI, PL. 302).

In the field of military architecture, the battlemented wall with towers at intervals and forward defense bastions was perfected. Two types of battlements are distinguishable; the plan of a castle in the mountains — the Château Gaillard, for example — is irregular, while that of a castle in the plain — such as Vincennes (VI, PL. 303) — is geometric. In the 14th century the fortress became less severe and took on some of the characteristics of a palace (e.g., Avignon, FIG. 657; PL. 381).

In secular architecture, as in the 12th century, we find rows of windows within arcading, as at Cordes, in Tarn. Toward the close of the Middle Ages, the half-timbered houses with steeply pointed gables were common; these are numerous in Normandy and Brittany. The construction of the great palaces, the public buildings of the cities (e.g., the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris; the Hôtel Jacques-Coeur in Bourges, FIG. 658, PL. 381; the Palais de Justice in Rouen), and the various northern municipal palaces which show Flemish influence (e.g., Compiègne; Saint-Quentin) paralleled the rise of the *bourgeoisie*. We may also cite some large hospitals with great common sickrooms (e.g., Angers, 12th cent., PL. 380; Tonnerre, 13th cent.) and some hog-backed bridges with pointed arches, sometimes fortified, as at Avignon and Cahors (VI, PL. 303). City walls, which still exist in considerable number, are furnished with towers — round, as at Carcassonne (FIG. 658) or square, as at Avignon. Regularly planned cities are to be found at Aiguemortes and in the fortifications built in the southwest during the Hundred Years' War.

About 1140, at the same time as Gothic vaulting appeared, sculpture of a new kind was produced in the Île-de-France. It is characterized by a greater clarity and softness in the relief (e.g., tympanums of the west front at Chartres; VI, PL. 343) and by the use of floral decorations in the capitals. The principal novelty, however, lay in the use of elongated figures having the function of columns (e.g., portals of Chartres, Le Mans, Angers, etc.). This art developed in a naturalistic direction (e.g., side portals of Chartres, first half of the 13th cent.; tympanum of Virgin's Portal at Notre-Dame, Paris, VI, PL. 349), and vast iconographic schemes were skillfully distributed on façades. Stylistic variations were found in the numerous studios attached to the workshops of the great cathedrals. The most notable differences are found in the sculpture from the second half of the 13th century at Reims (VI, PL. 350). Three main tendencies may be distinguished here, one inspired by the idealistic tradition of the sculpture at Amiens (*Annunciation*), another by antique statuary (*Visitation*), while the third, which itself inspired the more mannered art of Strasbourg, was characterized by grace and spirituality (the smiling angel).

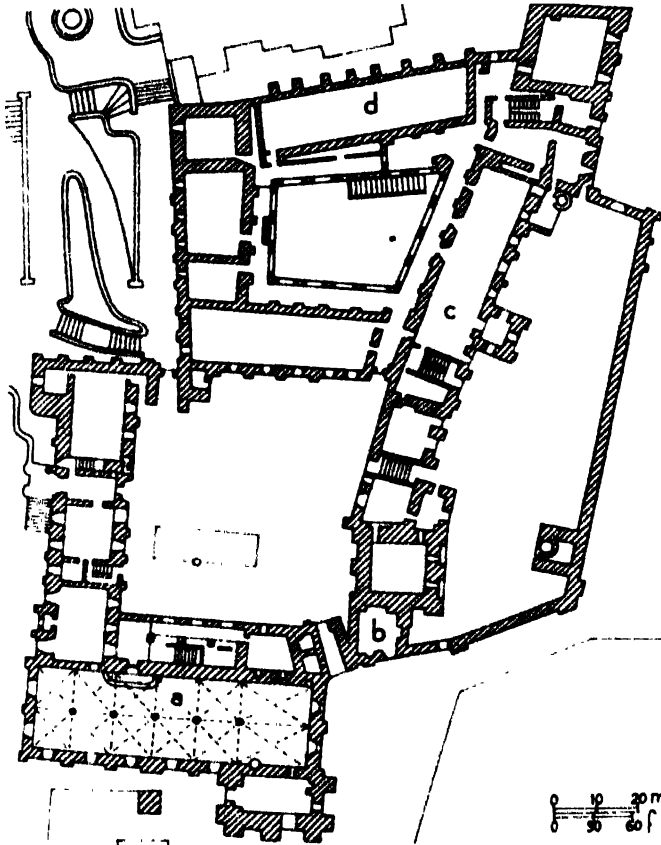
**PARIS IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES.** Because Gothic architecture provided limited wall space, stained glass (q.v.) was more suitable to buildings of this style than were frescoes. This branch of Gothic art originated in the workshops of Saint-Denis toward the middle of the 12th century and was developed in the Île-de-France, attaining its greatest splendor in the middle of the 13th century at Chartres (VI, PL. 299) and in the Ste-Chapelle of Paris. Later, architectural forms invaded the composition, tones became lighter, and the whole window became a transparent painting.

Beginning with the reign of St. Louis, Paris took first place as the residence of the court and the seat of a university. From the famous ateliers of the miniaturists of the 13th century came those fine miniatures with a gold background (e.g., Psalter of St. Louis, VI, PL. 289) which surpass, in their delicate naturalism, those of Picardy, Reims, and Metz. More sober compositions that have a feeling for relief and the graceful foliage borders of the 14th century were also produced [e.g., works of Jean Pucelle (q.v.), VI, PL. 315]. At the end of the century the mannerism and preciousness proper to late Gothic begin to be noticeable.



Parisian painting changed toward the middle of the 14th century; it was enriched by influences from Italy and the Low Countries, becoming international in style. The Franco-Flemish current produced the first panel portraits (e.g., portrait of King John II, the Good, on a gold background; Louvre). The influence of this style was felt throughout almost all of France and much of Central Europe, especially at the court of Prague. The Hundred Years' War interrupted this development, which nevertheless continued at the courts of the two brothers of Charles V: Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (who also held Flanders); and John, Duke of Berry.

As to sculpture, the cessation of great building enterprises in the 14th century restricted artists to the creation of simple statues, of which the tomb sculptures and the numerous examples of the Virgin and Child offer evidence. The Parisian workshops gave a particular tone to this art which, however, soon succumbed to formulas and fell into mannerism. In the second half of the 14th century, the arrival of northern artists such as André Beauneveu (q.v.) and Jean de Liège lent a new vigor



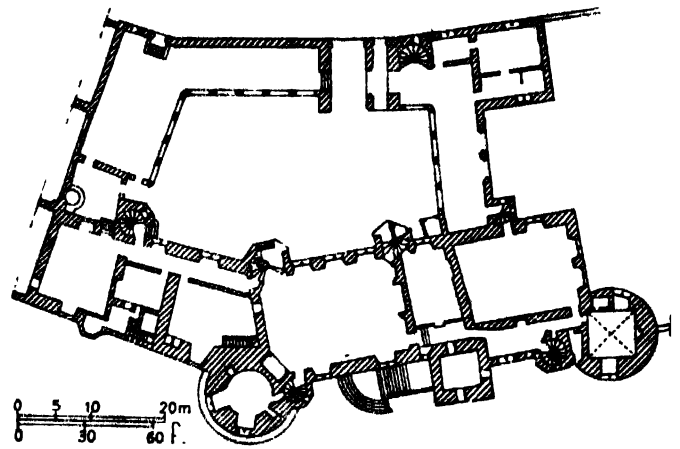
Avignon, plan of the Palace of the Popes, 14th century: (a) Pontifical Chapel; (b) Wardrobe Tower; (c) Consistorial Wing; (d) Chapel of Benedict XII.

to the art of sculpture (e.g., tomb of Charles V at Saint-Denis, VI, PL. 353), particularly noticeable in the center of France in the products of the workshops of the Duke of Berry for example, the statues in the Palais at Poitiers.

From the 13th to the 15th century, Paris was also the center of the most famous workshops of sculpture in ivory (see IVORY AND BONE CARVING) and of tapestry weaving (see TAPESTRY AND CARPETS). The *Apocalypse* of Angers (VI, PL. 387), executed in the second half of the 14th century for Louis I of Anjou by Nicolas Bataille, is a testimonial, though perhaps an exceptional one, to this latter skill.

The defeats of Charles VI, civil wars, and foreign occupation restrained for a time this flourishing Parisian activity.

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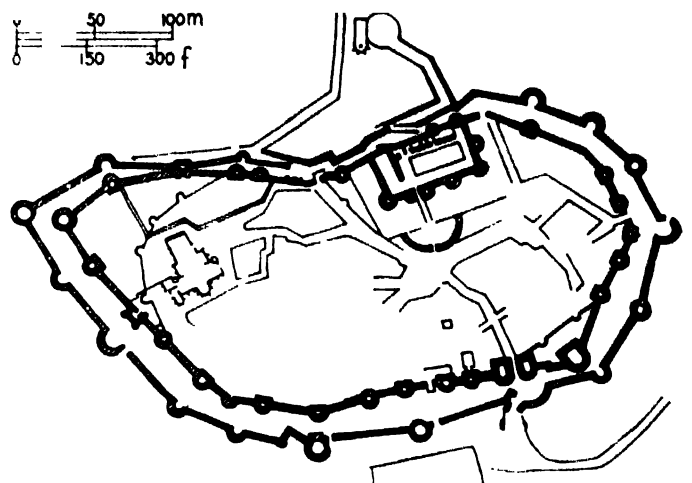
Bourges, plan of the Hôtel Jacques-Cœur, 1444-81 (from A. Lurçat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, IV, Paris, 1953).

1953; E. G. Millar, *The Parisian Miniaturist*, Honoré, London, 1959); Jean de Liège (W. H. Forsythe, *A Head from a Royal Effigy*, BMMA, III, 1944-45, pp. 214-19; P. Quarré, *Un dossier de chair de la Chartrreuse de Champmol œuvre de Jean de Liège*, Misc. Roggen, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 219-28); Jean Pucelle (q.v.).

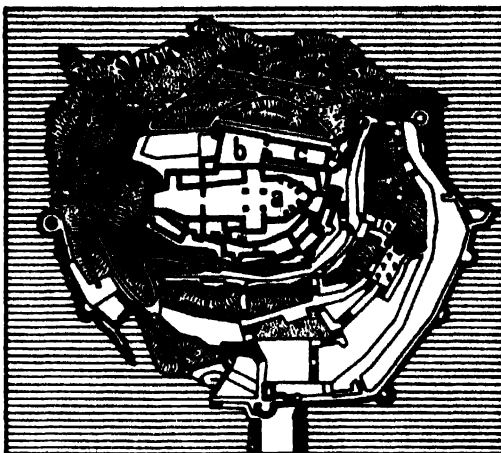
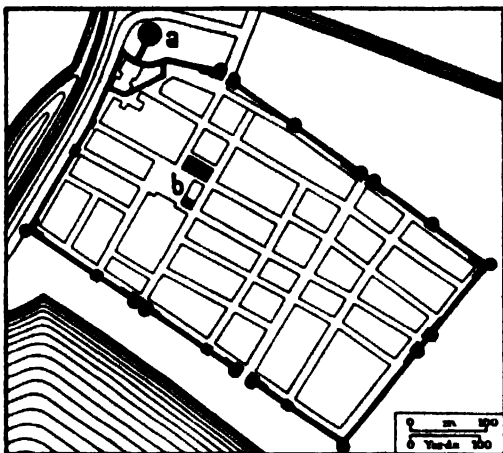
**PROVENÇAL PAINTING.** Avignon and Aix-en-Provence were the two centers of Provençal painting. In the 14th century, when Avignon was the seat of the papacy, certain Italian artists such as Simone Martini (q.v.) and Matteo Giovannetti da Viterbo were active there. In the 15th century, Aix-en-Provence, then the capital of René of Anjou (see PLS. 385, 394), came to the fore. In the Palace of the Popes in Avignon there remain, in addition to the religious cycles by Italian artists, unusual examples of secular wall painting. These are the work of French artists, depicting scenes of hunting and fishing against landscape backgrounds of late Gothic type (VI, PL. 325).

In the 15th century, northern influence filtered in; it is evidenced to a greater or lesser degree in the rather broad, easy handling of their medium by several master painters of this period. To them is due the introduction into France of the portrait and of the equestrian portrait.

Alongside the Sienese influence, which had been so powerful in the 14th century, and the influence of Catalan painting, which inspired Jean Miraillet in *The Virgin of Mercy* (1440; Nice, Mus. Masséna), there appeared the Flemish influence, especially that of the Van Eycks. This is seen in the polyptych of the Aix *Annunciation* (PL. 394) completed about 1445; the painting remains characteristically Provençal, however, in the



Carcassonne, plan of the 13th-century walls, restored (from A. Lurçat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, I, Paris, 1953).



Medieval centers. *Left:* Aiguemortes, plan of the town within the walls: (a) Tour de Constance; (b) Cathedral and Hôtel de Ville. *Center:* Mont-Saint-Michel, plan of the island: (a) Church; (b) cloister; (c) refectory. *Right:* Chartres, plan of the town: (a) Cathedral, Episcopal Palace, and Musée des Beaux Arts; (b) Hôtel de Ville; (c) St-Pierre; (d) St-Aignan.

solidity of the modeling and the vigorous stance of the figures. Another masterpiece is the *Pietà* of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (PL. 383), which is dominated by a monumental greatness and an intense spirituality. Charles Sterling identifies the author of this painting with Enguerrand Charonton (q.v.), who is known to us through two documented works, *The Virgin of Mercy* (1453; Chantilly, Mus. Condé) and *The Coronation of the Virgin* (1453-54; PL. 384). A number of other anonymous or inclusively attributed works may be grouped around these masterworks of southern French painting of the time.

In the second half of the 15th century, this tradition of painting lost much of its force, lapsing into formulas that were susceptible to Italian and Germanic influences. This tendency may be seen in Nicolas Froment's altarpiece *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (1461; Uffizi) and in *The Burning Bush* (1475-76; PL. 386). In these works the grotesque, almost caricatural deformations suggest the influence of a Germanic "expressionist" tendency.

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**FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ART IN THE BOURBONNAIS AND IN THE REGION OF THE LOIRE.** In the middle of the 15th century, the court abandoned Paris and established itself in the valley of

the Loire, which thus became the center of artistic activity. The greatest among the 15th-century painters, Jean Fouquet (q.v.), introduced a new spirit into portraiture and the landscape backgrounds of his illuminations, though retaining a traditional miniaturist's taste. Jean Colombe and Jean Bourdichon (*Hours of Anne of Brittany*, Bib. Nat. ms. lat. 9474, ca. 1500-08) continued to work in this style, though in a heavier, less imaginative manner. It occurred again in central France, mingling with the influence of the Fleming Hugo van der Goes (q.v.) and appearing in the work of such artists as the Master of Moulins (PL. 393) and the Master of St. Giles (PL. 386).

The naturalistic tendency continued in the 15th century in Berry. André Beauneveu (q.v.), Jacquemart de Hesdin (VI, PL. 385), and the Limbourg brothers (q.v.) worked as miniaturists for the Duke of Berry. In the region of Tours and in the center of France (e.g., the work of Michel Colombe; PL. 389), sculpture acquired a new elegance. Paralleling the current represented by Fouquet in painting, naturalistic tendencies appeared in sculpture. This trend was associated with the first signs of the Renaissance in the Loire Valley, and remained in evidence until the reign of Francis I (praying figures of the tomb of Louis XII, Saint-Denis; *Virgin of Olivet*, Louvre).

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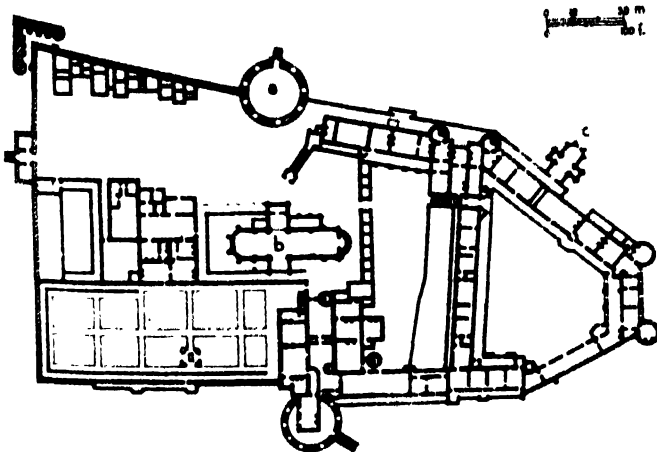
**THE ART OF BURGUNDY, AND SCULPTURE IN CHAMPAGNE.** In Burgundy, Parisian influence mingled with Flemish and Italian currents. The painters Melchior Broederlam (PL. 277), Jean Malouel, and Pierre Spicre were Flemish; after the duchy became politically centered in Flanders, every trace of a French national style disappeared (see FLEMISH AND DUTCH ART).

Sculpture underwent a reform at the end of the 15th century with the work of the Dutchman Claus Sluter (q.v.), who, while active at Dijon in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, attained a new style full of lyricism, violence, and vigorous realism. Sluter's influence extended into Franche-Comté, into Flanders, into central France, and into Languedoc as far as Spain. Artists whose work was representative of this general trend were Claus de Werve, Jean de la Huerta, Antoine Le Moiturier, and Jacques Morel.

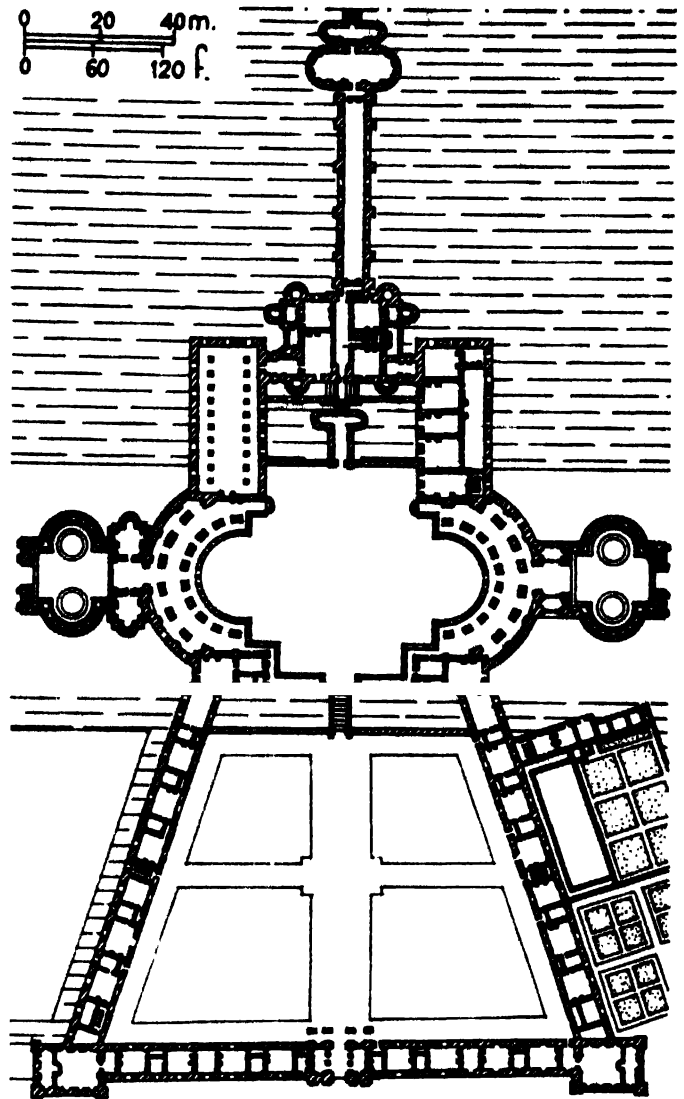
**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jean de la Huerta* (H. Chabeuf, *Jean de la Huerta*, Antoine Le Moiturier et le tombeau de Jean sans Peur, Dijon, 1891); *Antoine Le Moiturier* (P. Vitry, *Une acquisition récente du musée du Louvre: La statue de Thomas de Plaine*, *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, XXXIX, 1920, pp. 132-34; H. Drouot, *Le Moiturier et Philippe Pot*, *Rev. belge*, VI, 1936, pp. 117-20); *Jacques Morel* (M. Weinberger, *A French Model of the 15th Century*, J. of the Walters Art Gall., IX, 1946, pp. 9-21); *Claus Sluter* (q.v.); *Claus de Werve* (G. Troescher, *Claus Sluter und die burgundische Plastik um die Wende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, I: *Die herzogliche Bildhauer Werkstatt in Dijon unter ihren Leitern Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter und Claus de Werve*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932; M. Durand, *Les pleurants du tombeau de Philippe l'Hardi*, Aesculape, XV, 1937, pp. 122-29).

Toward the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, there appeared in Champagne a tendency in sculpture characterized by a survival of the Gothic style. This sculpture (see PL. 389) was common in the region of Troyes and was favored by the rich *bourgeoisie*; its grave and simple style yielded only in the middle of the 16th century to the influence of the school of Fontainebleau.

**THE RENAISSANCE IN THE LOIRE VALLEY.** The return of Charles VIII from his expedition to Naples (1496) marked the



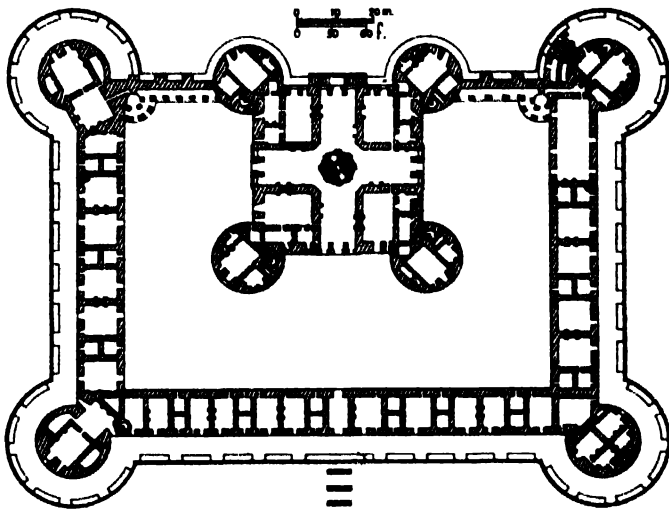
Plan of the Château of Amboise as of 1575: (a) Hurtault Tower; (b) church; (c) Chapel of St. Humbert (from B. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, London, New York, 1950).



Plan of the Château of Chenonceau, 1560 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).

beginning of the Renaissance in France. The king brought with him such Italian artists as Jérôme Pacherot (PL. 389), Guido Mazzoni, and the Florentine Juste brothers (typical of whose work are the apostles of the tomb of Louis XII). Italian influence definitely triumphed after the Italian campaigns of Louis XII and Francis I. Meanwhile, the monarchy was becoming more centralized; the effects of this movement were decisively reflected in the arts. The royal castles of Chambord and Amboise (FIGS. 661, 663) were built at this time.

The elements of the new style first came to light in the valley of the Loire, the favorite seat of the Valois. The first new forms in secular architecture were rather ambiguous. Florentine and especially Milanese decorative elements were superimposed on Gothic principles of construction (e.g., wing of Louis XII in the Château of Blois). The same can be said of the Château of Gaillon in Normandy, built by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise. New tendencies appeared with the reign of Francis I (1515-47) in the wing built by him at Blois, and in the Château of Chambord (1519, perhaps on a plan of the Italian Domenico da Cortona, FIG. 663; PL. 398). The châteaux of Azay-le-Rideau and Chenonceau (FIG. 662; PL. 398) were commissioned by rich bourgeois. Exterior apertures were now regularly marked by the use of pilasters; the decoration was reminiscent of the Certosa of Pavia, near Milan. This Italianate style is found mostly in the southwest and in Normandy.



Plan of the Château of Chambord, begun 1519 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).

THE CLASSIC RENAISSANCE IN PARIS AND IN THE ÎLE-DE-FRANCE. After the imprisonment of Francis I in Madrid (1537), Paris and the Île-de-France again became the cultural center of the nation. The Renaissance in its Roman phase impressed itself on official art; Fontainebleau Palace, the work of Gilles Le Breton (PL. 396), and the Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the work of Pierre Chambiges, are examples. After 1530, châteaux and town houses that were simple in form and decorated with classic orders became the fashion. About 1540, the arrival of Italian theoreticians and artists such as Giacomo da Vignola (q.v.) and above all Sebastiano Serlio (q.v.) — who planned the château of Ancy-le-Franc in Burgundy and Le Grand Ferrare at Fontainebleau (now demolished) — not to speak of Francesco Primaticcio (q.v.), gave a more precise direction to this movement.

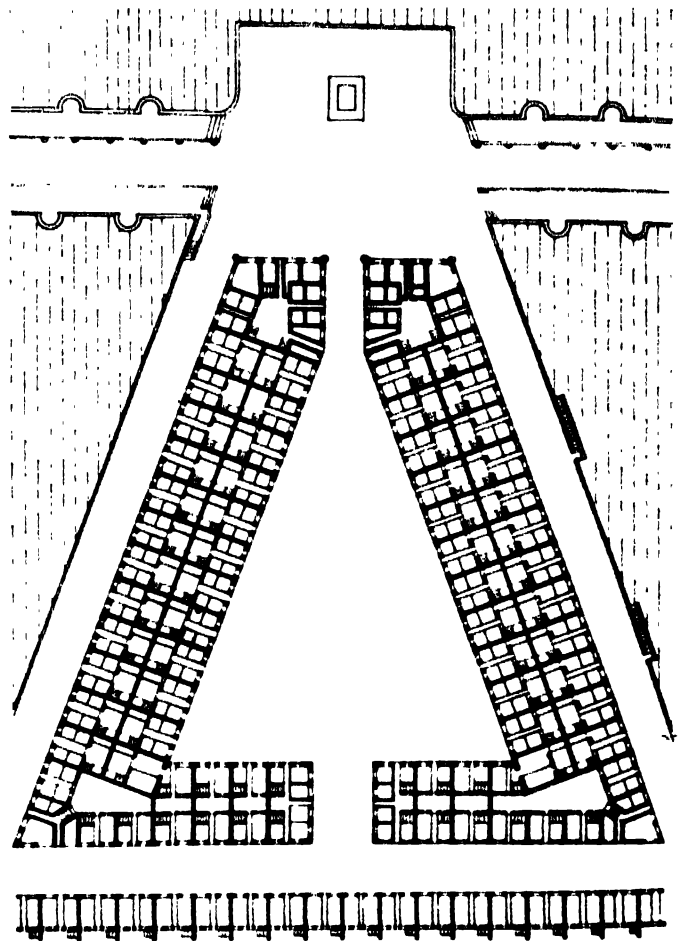
The reconstruction of the old Louvre by Pierre Lescot (q.v.; PL. 396) is significant for its reconciliation of classic style — marked by symmetry and by the low-relief decoration of Jean Goujon (q.v.; PL. 395) — with the traditional pitched roof. Classical reminiscence became more pronounced under Henry II with the work of Philibert Delorme (q.v.; FIG. 663), and Jean Bullant introduced a taste for the colossal (Château of Fère-en-Tardenois; Château of Ecouen).

At the end of the 16th century, classicism was the prevailing idiom of all secular architecture in France except in the north. There, the heavy and overcharged style of the Métezeaus and the Ducerceaus (q.v.; e.g., Grande Gal., Louvre), architects of Henry IV, foretold the coming of the baroque. Henry himself laid the basis for the future development of Paris, for example, the Place Royale, the Place Dauphine (FIG. 664), and the Place de France. Principles underlying the new secular architecture are illustrated in the books of Jacques Androuet Ducerceau (IV, PL. 163), Louis Savot (*Ar-*

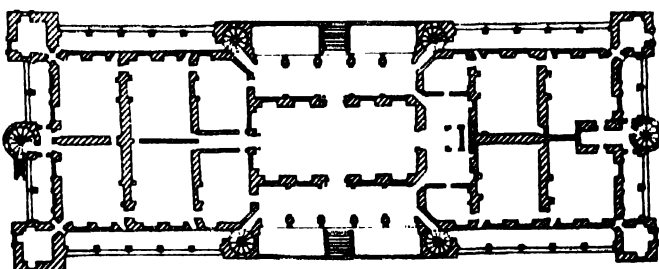
*chitecture françoise*, 1624), and Pierre Le Muet (*Manière de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes*, 1623).

In religious architecture, by contrast, the Gothic tradition persisted. The new elements were merely decorative and superficial. Only toward the end of the 16th century did façades appear in the form of classical triumphal arches, as at Gisors.

ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG. Jean Bullant (C. Terrasse, Jean Bullant, Paris, 1925); Pierre Chambiges (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, p. 27); Philibert Delorme (q.v.); Ducerceau family (q.v.); Gilles Le Breton (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 30-31); Pierre Lescot (q.v.); Métezeau: a family of architects active in the early 17th century: Louis (d. 1615), and Clément (E. Baudson, *Un urbaniste au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Clément Métezeau, architecte du roi, Mézières*, 1956).



Paris, plan of the Place Dauphine, 1607 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).



Paris, Château of Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne. Plan by Philibert Delorme, 1548-1559 (from A. Lurçat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, IV, Paris, 1953).

REGIONAL TENDENCIES. Amid the general uniformity of style in the country, regional shadings — often the result of foreign influences — may be noted. In Flanders, the decorative exuberance of the flamboyant style survived. In Brittany, the Gothic style remained dominant throughout the entire 16th century, with only the occasional admixture of Italian stylistic elements in groups of parish buildings, in ossuaries, and in calvaries, as at Saint Thégonnec. In Burgundy, the surcharged decorative style of Hugues Sambin gradually tended to classicism, and its influence extended to Franche-Comté, at that time Spanish soil. In Provence, we find a combination of elements taken from the antique (Château of la Tour d'Aigues); in Toulouse, brick buildings, richly decorative in effect, were constructed. Sculptural motifs, already baroque in feeling and characteristic of Spanish style (e.g., Hôtels de Bagis and d'As-

zéat, works of Nicolas Bachelier, PL. 397; houses with caryatids at Agen), were incorporated in many of these structures.

To the north of Paris and in Champagne are found numerous churches in the new Renaissance style.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Nicolas Bachelier* (A. P. de Mirimonde, *Deux esquisses retrouvées de Bachelier et de Brenet*, RArts, IX, 1959, pp. 187-92); *Hugues Sambin* (B. Prost, *Hugues Sambin, sculpteur sur bois et architecte*, GBA, VII, 1892, pp. 123-35; H. David, *De Sluter à Sambin*, Paris, 1933; G. W. Elderkin, *Sambin's Ephesian Diana*, *Art in America*, XXVII, 1939, pp. 22-28).

**THE SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU.** Under Francis I, Italian painters such as Leonardo da Vinci (q.v.) and sculptors such as Domenico Fiorentino and Benvenuto Cellini (q.v.) were received at court. In painting, the influence of Il Rosso, Francesco Primaticcio (qq.v.), and Niccolò dell'Abate is evident (see MANNERISM). These painters had been called to direct the decoration of the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau (ca. 1530) and strongly influenced some French artists such as Jean Cousin the Elder. The latter's painting *Eva Prima Pandora* (Louvre) is of considerable historical importance because in it a nude appears for the first time in French painting, following the examples of Giorgione and Titian (qq.v.). Characteristic of the school of Fontainebleau is technical perfection and a taste for the arabesque, which may be observed in such anonymous paintings of the school as *The Birth of Cupid*, *Sabina Poppaea*, and *Diana the Huntress* (PL. 392).

In addition to these pagan and aristocratic tendencies, the school is characterized by its cultivation of the *grande maniera* introduced by the Italians, that is, a taste for extensive interior decorations of fresco and stucco (PL. 395).

Under Charles IX and Henry III, the only painters of note were Antoine Caron (e.g., *Augustus and the Sybil*; Louvre) and Jean Cousin the Younger. The latter in his *Last Judgment* (Louvre) employed small nude figures — taken from the Sistine Chapel frescoes of Michelangelo — in a Nordic fashion that suggests a connection with the mannerist trend of the Dutch and Flemish Romanists. The work of Jean and François Clouet (q.v.) is of considerable originality; both artists produced chalk drawings of the highest quality. Because the drawing, which had formerly been thought of as merely preliminary to a painting, was now recognized as having artistic merit in its own right, a long series of typically French portraits in this medium was produced. The paintings of the Clouets exhibit the linear perspicuity of the master draftsman. François Clouet painted mythological subjects (e.g., *The Bath of Diana*; Rouen, Mus. des B.A.), then much imitated by anonymous artists.

Portraiture had a great vogue throughout the 16th century. Corneille de Lyon, who employed fixed schemes, showed how this work might, under the pressure of many commissions, descend to the level of a kind of mass production. The work of the Dumonstiers, who used colored chalk to give the effect of painting, signaled a more decided decline, and with them the whole genre came to an end in the mid-17th century.

In the 16th century, painting dominated the minor arts more than ever, though these underwent a transformation. Stained glass (q.v.) was now thought of as transparent painting, as in the windows in churches at Auch (Gers), Champagne, and Normandy. Tapestries were inspired by the school of Fontainebleau; one series in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is based on the frescoes in the Gallery of Francis I (at Fontainebleau) by pupils of Primaticcio. Even enamels (q.v.) were affected by this attempt to imitate painting, and this in Limoges itself, which continued to be the center of the art. In pottery (see CERAMICS) Italian models were imitated; for example, the vases and bowls in light tones from Saint-Porchaire in Poitou, and Bernard Palissy's plates (III, PL. 152), which are decorated with animal and plant motifs.

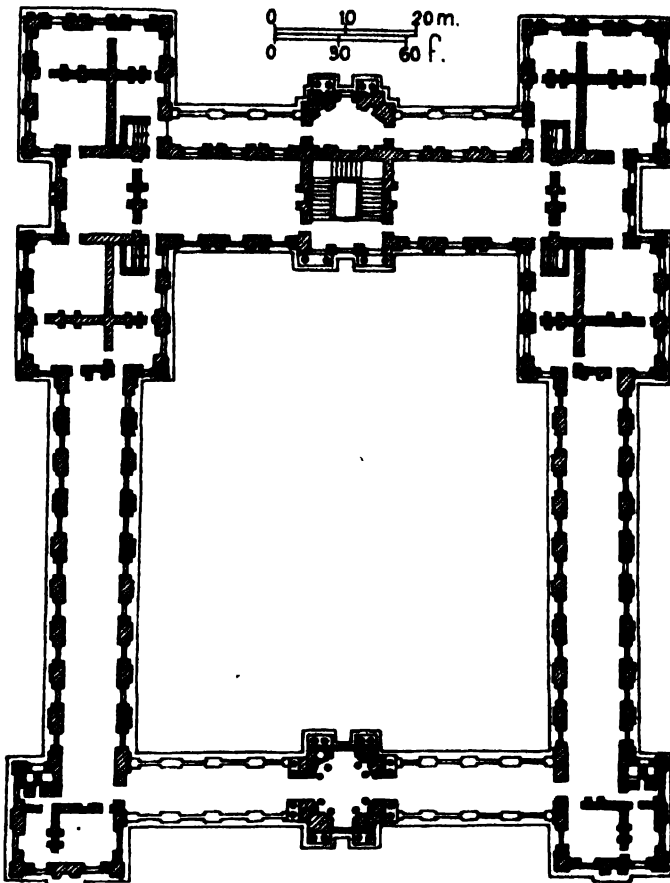
Italian influence was also felt in sculpture. The transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance style appeared in church furniture, organ cases, choir enclosures, and ambos (e.g., the jubé of St.-Etienne-du-Mont in Paris). The art of the sculptured altarpieces was particularly widespread in the northern and eastern provinces, as in Franche-Comté, for example. The

works of Domenico Fiorentino influenced the school of Champagne, and Benvenuto Cellini (q.v.) provided a model for French sculptors in several works executed in France, including the well-known *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (Louvre). The Gothic spirit lingered on rather generally in the first half of the 16th century and was still able to strike a new lyrical and dramatic note in the works of Ligier Richier of Lorraine. It was only at the end of the reign of Francis I that Jean Goujon (q.v.) imposed something of the spirit of pagan antiquity on French art (see PL. 395). Funerary monuments ceased to be mere sarcophagi and became triumphal constructions (e.g., the tombs at Saint-Denis); the portraits of the deceased, rendered with particular realism, became a feature of French sculpture of this period (e.g., the works of Pierre Bontemps and Germain Pilon; PL. 395).

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Pierre Bontemps*, painter, 1507-70 (M. Beaulieu, *Nouvelles attributions à Pierre Bontemps*, RArts, III, 1953, pp. 82-88); *Antoine Caron*, painter, 1515?-93?, active at Fontainebleau before 1550 (G. Lebel, *Un tableau d'Antoine Caron*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1937, pp. 20-37; G. Lebel, *Notes sur Antoine Caron et son œuvre*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1940, pp. 7-34; J. Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron*, BM, XCII, 1950, pp. 33-39; R. Rosenblum, *The Paintings of Antoine Caron*, *Maryas*, VI, 1950-53, pp. 1-7; F. A. Yates, *Antoine Caron's Paintings for Triumphal Arches*, Warburg, XIV, 1951, pp. 132-34; J. Ehrmann, *Antoine Caron. Peintre à la Cour des Valois*, Geneva, Lille, 1955; J. Ehrmann, *Caron et les tapisseries des Valois*, RArts, VI, 1956, pp. 9-14; J. Ehrmann, *Dessins d'Antoine Caron pour les tapisseries des Valois au Musée des Offices*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1956, pp. 115-23; J. Ehrmann, *Drawings by Antoine Caron for the Valois Tapestries in the Uffizi Gallery*, AQ, XXI, 1958, pp. 47-65); *Jean and François Clouet* (q.v.); *Jean Cousin the Elder*, painter, 1490-1561 (A. F. Didot, *Miniatures de Jean Cousin*, GBA, VI, 1872, pp. 464-74; L. Lalanne, *Le livre de Fortune: recueil de deux cents dessins inédits de Jean Cousin*, Paris, 1883 (Eng. trans., H. M. Dunstan, London, 1883); M. Roy, *Les deux Jean Cousin*, Sens, 1909; M. Dobrokonsky, *Unbekannte Zeichnungen Jean Cousins der Älteren in der Ermitage*, ZfK, I, 1932, pp. 43-47; D. and E. Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, New York, 1956); *Jean Cousin the Younger*, painter, 1522?-92 (M. Roy, *Dessins composés par Jean Cousin le Jeune pour des patrons de broderies*, GBA, X, 1924, pp. 279-86; J. G. Phillips, *Diane de Poitiers and Jean Cousin*, BMMA, II, 1943-44, pp. 109-17); *Dumonstier*, a family of draftsmen: *Pierre I*, ca. 1550-1625, and his brother *Etienne* flourished under Henry III. Their nephew *Daniel*, 1574-1646, and the son of Etienne, *Pierre II*, 1565-1656, flourished under Louis XIII (J. J. Guiffrey, *Les Dumonstier, dessinateurs de portraits au crayon*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XVIII, 1905, pp. 5-16, 136-46, 325-42, 447-58, XIX, 1906, pp. 47-61, 321-36; E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Les frères Dumonstier*, Paris, 1908; H. Stein, *L'origine des Dumonstier*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XXVI, 1909, pp. 75-77); *Jean Duvet*, b. 1485, living 1561 (L. Alvin, *Les graveurs anciens: Jean Duvet*, Rev. universelle des arts, III, 1856, pp. 254-56; A. E. Popham, *Jean Duvet*, Print Coll. Q., VIII, 1921, pp. 122-50; C. Cassirer, *Eine Replik des barberinischen Fauns*, Münch. Jhb., XII, 1922, pp. 90-97; H. P. Rosäter, *Jean Duvet's Engravings of the Apocalypse*, BMFA, L, 1952, pp. 16-18; A. de Hévesy, *Un dessin de Jean Duvet*, RArts, IV, 1954, pp. 103-08); *Jean Goujon* (q.v.); *Corneille de Lyon*, painter, d. 1574 (L. Dimier, *Une œuvre inconnue de Corneille de Lyon*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XII, 1902, pp. 5-8; V. Bouchot, *Les Clouet et Corneille de Lyon*, Paris, 1937); *Bernard Palissy* (see III, cols. 266-67); *Germain Pilon* (q.v.); *Ligier Richier*, sculptor, 16th century (C. Courmault, *Ligier Richier: statuaire lorrain du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1887; P. Denis, *Ligier Richier*, Paris, 1911).

**THE BAROQUE AND THE NEW PARISIAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT: ARCHITECTURE.** The tempo of building construction, slowed by the religious wars following the Reformation, was resumed — actively and in a new spirit — in the reign of Henry IV; and architects everywhere tended to go beyond Renaissance ideas (see BAROQUE ART).

In the field of secular architecture, numerous châteaux and palaces were built through royal initiative, and some city planning was done. A typically French taste for impeccable symmetry was satisfied by the use of massive forms (including colossal orders) accentuated by relief in the form of pediments, moldings, and rusticated work, and often by baroque decoration in the formal sense (e.g., the Grande Gal., which connects the old



Paris, Salomon de Brosse's plan for the Luxembourg Palace, begun 1615 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).

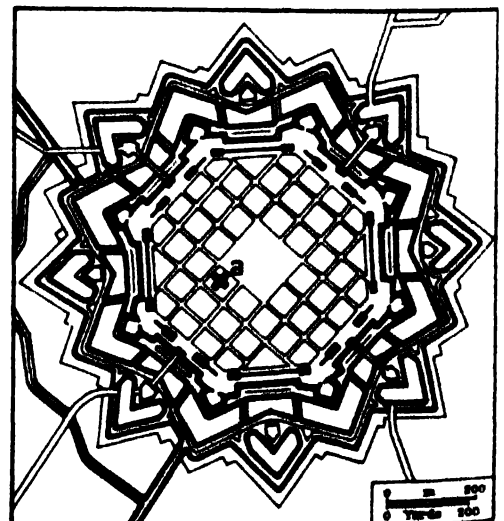
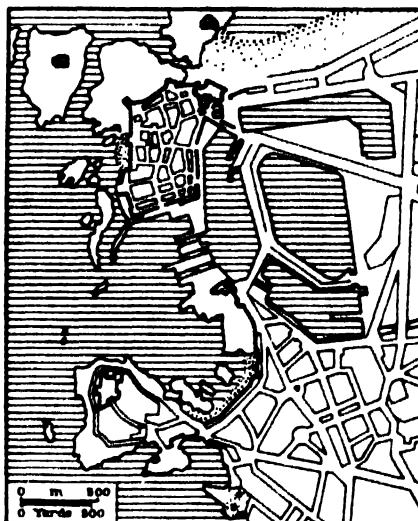
Louvre and the Tuileries; Luxembourg, by Salomon de Brosse, FIG. 667; the Hôtel de Ville at La Rochelle, which is rather overloaded with decoration; and the châteaux of Vizille and Cadillac, displaying imposing masses). An architecture that employed brick set off by bands and quoins of stone was frequent in châteaux (e.g., Cany, PL. 410; Wideville) and was particularly suited to the creation of "places royales."

The Counter Reformation stimulated activity in the field of religious architecture. Numerous churches were built in imitation of the Gesù in Rome according to directions supplied

by Father Etienne Martellange, a Jesuit architect. These churches consisted of a wide, vaulted nave provided with side chapels and occasionally surmounted by galleries, as in St-Paul-St-Louis in Paris (PL. 410). The two-story façade, brought together by volutes as in Ste-Elizabeth in Paris, was sometimes heavily decorated in relief (e.g., Notre-Dame, Le Havre), which in some instances became rich to overabundance, as in the *Visitation* of Nevers. At the same time, characteristic elements from the French tradition remain: pointed arches, as in the Lycée Chapel in Rouen; the basilican plan, as at Vitry-le-François; Renaissance decoration, as on the façade of St-Etienne-du-Mont in Paris; and above all a certain vertical emphasis, much sought after, as in the Parisian Church of St-Gervais (II, PL. 150), with its superimposed orders. The interiors of these churches are decorated with sculpture (figures of angels) rather than with painting. Baroque taste is manifested chiefly in the altars.

Under Louis XIII, a greater sobriety appeared. Jacques Lemercier, architect of the King and of Richelieu, built (in harmony stylistically with the buildings of Pierre Lescot) the Pavillon de l'Horloge in the Louvre surmounted by a story with caryatids and a cupola with wings. In designing the Church of the Sorbonne, Lemercier emancipated himself from the models of the Counter Reformation. His plan consisted of a nave — without aisles — with a central dome and lantern; the two-story classical façade was surmounted by a pediment. By contrast, in beginning the design for the Church of St-Roch in Paris, Lemercier returned to the basilican plan, which we shall see taken up again.

Classical tendencies became more clearly defined in the works of François Mansart (see MANSART, FRANÇOIS AND JULES HARDOUIN), who sought to achieve harmonious proportions and balance in the decorative arrangements. Of his many works there remain the Church of Ste-Marie de la Visitation in Paris (II, FIG. 278), in which the central plan is capped with a cupola; a wing of the Château of Blois; and the Château of Maisons-Lafitte, the façades of which are marked by a series of pilasters. The plans of the Church of the Val-de-Grâce, inspired by that of the Sorbonne, were also prepared by him. During this period the typical form of great French residences took shape. The châteaux were built on a rectangular plan with corner pavilions, and the traditional moat was retained. The anterior façade was lightened either by the accents of two lateral pavilions, as at Luxembourg, or by a principal entrance with grillwork, as at Grosbois. The wings became smaller, as at Maisons-Lafitte, or were detached from the main building to form small pavilions, as at Blérancourt. The main building, which was approached upon entering the forecourt, acquired relief by and imposing motif on the axis, as at Beaumecnil. Town houses were planned in a modest way. A courtyard was de-



Fortified cities. Left: Briançon the old town. (a) Pont d'Asfeld. Center: Saint-Malo, plan of the fortified area: (a) Castle. Right: Longwy-Haut, plan of the old fortress. (a) Cathedral.



signed to open on the street by means of a great portal, as at the Hôtel de Châlons-Luxembourg, in Paris. The plan usually included a gallery on the first floor. Symmetrical decoration was attained in the enfilade of rooms by friezes, heavy moldings, tapestries, and pictures. Monumental chimney pieces with reliefs arranged around a central motif, as at Oiron, contributed to create an impression of somewhat heavy display which nevertheless accorded well with the furniture and the rich wall hangings.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jean Berain*, architect and decorator, 1640-1711 (R. A. Weigert, *Jean Berain*, Paris, 1937; R. A. Weigert, *La tenture des triomphes marins d'après Jean I Berain*, GBA, XVIII, 1937, pp. 329-34; R. A. Weigert, *Deux compositions gravées de Jean I Berain et leurs transcriptions textiles*, GBA, XXXIV, 1948, pp. 153-72); *Salomon de Brosse*, architect, 1562-1626 (J. Pannier, *Un architecte français au commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Salomon de Brosse*, Paris, 1911); *Jacques Lemercier*, architect, 1584-1654 (M. Dumoulin, *Quelques nouveaux documents sur le Louvre de Le Mercier et Le Vau*, GBA, XVIII, 1928, pp. 123-48; A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 138-42); *François and Jules Hardouin Mansart* (q.v.); *Father Etienne Martellange* (L. Hauteccœur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, I, Paris, 1943, pp. 558-62; P. Moisy, *Le recueil des plans jésuites de Quimper*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1950, pp. 70-84).

**BAROQUE SCULPTURE.** During the 17th century, there were two trends in sculpture: the traditional and the baroque. Under Henry IV and Louis XIII, there was a renewal of religious sculpture and of the sculptured portrait, particularly in the form of praying figures for funerary monuments. The monuments of the Bourdin and Boudin families and of Simon Guillaïn and Gilles Guérin are examples. Baroque influence was expressed in the works of Pierre Francheville, who worked in Italy; Flemings such as Gérard van Opstal, Philippe Buyster, or the sculptor and medalist Jean Warin; and Frenchmen such as Jacques Sarrazin, who had lived a long time in Rome. This tendency continued in the works of Pierre Puget (q.v.; II, PLs. 170, 173), of Provence, whose style, which was full of pathos, remained on the margin of the official art of the century.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Thomas Bourdin*, d. 1637 (P. Vitry, *Deux familles de sculpteurs de la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: les Bourdin et les Bourdin*, GBA, XVI, 1896, pp. 285-98, XVII, 1897, pp. 5-20, 149-58); *Michel II Bourdin*, active from 1600 in Paris (J. Coural, *Notes sur Michel II Bourdin*, GBA, L.IV, 1959, pp. 279-86); *Gilles Guérin*, d. 1678 (E. Chartreire, *Le tombeau de Henri II de Bourbon-Condé par Gilles Guérin*, Les arts, XIII, 1914, pp. 24-30); *Simon Guillaïn*, 1581-1658 (J. Coural, *Une œuvre inconnue de Simon Guillaïn au Musée de Versailles*, RArts, VII, 1957, pp. 215-17; J. Coural, *Oeuvres inédites de Guillaïn*, RArts, IX, 1959, pp. 181-86); *Pierre Puget* (q.v.); *Jacques Sarrazin*, 1588-1660 (P. Vitry, *Les "Enfants à la Chèvre" de Jacques Sarrazin*, Beaux Arts, III, 1925, pp. 85-87; M. Digard, *Jacques Sarrazin*, Paris, 1934).

**SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING IN PARIS AND ROME.** In the paintings of this period, much variety and ingenuity is noticeable. Many painters went to Italy and returned imbued with baroque ideas, soon yielding, however, to an innate tendency toward classicism. In paintings from the provinces, native trends — doomed shortly to disappear — could still be distinguished. Under Henry IV and during the regency of Marie de Médicis, the second school of Fontainebleau was dominated by Antwerp artists such as Ambroise Dubois, themselves subject to Italian influence, and by Frenchmen such as Toussaint Dubreuil and Martin Fréminet, hardly any of whose works are known. Their style, heavy and late manneristic, is seen in decoration of a religious character, as in the Chapel of Fontainebleau.

In Paris, painting took on a Caravaggesque tone, which is reflected particularly in the work of Valentin (II, PL. 179) and Nicolas Régnier (PL. 399). Jacques Blanchard (PL. 401), "the French Titian," imitated equally Venetians and Flemings. But the true master of the baroque in France, who may be considered the founder of a national school, was Simon Vouet (q.v.; II, PLs. 208, 211). Eclecticism and versatility brought

him fame; and his influence was felt throughout the century, particularly in the development of great pictorial decoration.

The classical current is exemplified by Philippe de Champaigne (q.v.; portrait of Cardinal Richelieu, PL. 402; *Two Nuns of Port-Royal: Ex-voto of 1662*, II, PL. 213), a native of Brabant, and by Eustache Le Sueur (q.v.; *Melpomene, Erato, and Polyhymnia*, PL. 404; *The Death of St. Bruno*, Louvre). The brothers Le Nain (q.v.), by contrast, were realists who devoted themselves to the depiction of rural life (II, PL. 182).

A curious anomaly lies in the fact that the fate of French painting was decided in Rome, where Nicolas Poussin (q.v.) and Claude Gellée, better known as Claude Lorrain (q.v.), spent most of their lives. They were the true classic geniuses of the age. Gaspard Dughet and the battle painter Jacques Courtois (PL. 400) also lived in Italy, where the latter was known as "Il Borgognone." The ties to Italy did not, however, prevent the rise of a national French school which soon took the lead in Europe (see BAROQUE).

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**PROVINCIAL CENTERS.** The baroque feeling in architecture was most in evidence in those regions which felt the influence of Flanders or of Italy directly, such as Artois — then part of the Spanish Netherlands — or the Mediterranean provinces. The works of the architect La Valfenière in Avignon and as

far north as Lyons, and those of Pierre Puget (q.v.) and his followers at Toulon, Marseilles, and Aix-en-Provence, may be cited as examples. In Normandy, buildings were decorated with chessboard patterns. In Brittany, archaic standards still prevailed. In the south, the influence of Genoese architecture was felt in the region of Montpellier, while in Provence a definite Italian influence persisted throughout the 17th century, as at Avignon and Aix. Even territories not yet united to France, as, for example, the larger part of the central provinces (i.e., Dijon, where Jean Dubois worked; Toulouse, where Marc Arcis was active), remained faithful to the baroque esthetic.

In the provinces, painting was largely Caravaggesque. Nicolas Tournier of Toulouse, a pupil of Valentin, united baroque effects with a dramatic simplicity (PL. 399), as did Jean Pierre and Antoine Rivaltz, father and son. Lorraine, an independent duchy with close Italian connections, could boast of two artists of the first importance: the engraver Jacques Callot (q.v.), trained in Italy, whose etchings are powerful and picturesque (e.g. *Miseries of War*; see ENGRAVINGS AND OTHER PRINT MEDIA); and Georges de La Tour (q.v.), whose works combine religious emotion, simple composition, and strong contrasts of light and shade.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jacques Bellange*, engraver, active in Nancy ca. 1602-17 (E. Burchard, *Jacques Bellange*, K. und K. Künstler, IX, 1910-11, pp. 579-81; T. Kamenskaia, *Les dessins de Jacques Bellange au Musée de l'Ermitage*, GBA, II, 1929, pp. 72-78; E. Tietze-Conrat, *Zum œuvre de Jacques Bellange*, Die graphischen Künste, LIII, 1930, sup., p. 15 ff.; F. G. Pariset, *Peintures de Jacques Bellange*, GBA, XV, 1936, pp. 235-40; F. G. Pariset, *Dessins de Jacques Bellange*, CrArte, VIII, 1950, pp. 341-55; F. G. Pariset, *Figures féminines de Jacques Bellange*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1950, pp. 27-35); *Jacques Callot* (q.v.); *Jean Dubois*, 1623-94 (P. Quarré, *Deux statues de Jean Dubois*, RArts, II, 1952, pp. 117-18); *Georges de La Tour* (q.v.); *Jean and Richard Tassel*, 1608?-67, 1588-1666 [C. Sterling, *Richard Tassel et Jan Lys*, La Renaissance, XIX, 1936, 5-6, pp. 33-37; H. Ronot, *La vie et l'activité du peintre lorrain Richard Tassel*, dit Tassel, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1947-48, pp. 84-88; C. Sterling, *Les Tassel* (ex. cat.), Dijon, 1955; H. Voss, *Jean Tassel*, Kunstchronik, VIII, 1955, pp. 193-95; J. Wilhelm, *Une nouvelle œuvre de Jean Tassel*, RArts, VI, 1956, pp. 21-27; H. Hanz, *Jean Tassel paysagiste*, RArts, VIII, 1958, pp. 111-16]; *Nicolas Tournier*, 1590-1655 (R. Mesuret, *L'âge d'or de la peinture toulousaine* (ex. cat.), Paris, 1947; R. Mesuret, *La peinture religieuse à Toulouse au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, L'art sacré, 1948, 1-2, pp. 35-36; R. Mesuret, *L'acte de baptême de Nicolas Tournier*, B. de la Soc. de l'H. de l'art Fr., 1951, pp. 13-18; R. Mesuret, *L'œuvre peint de Nicolas Tournier*, GBA, L, 1957, pp. 327-50).

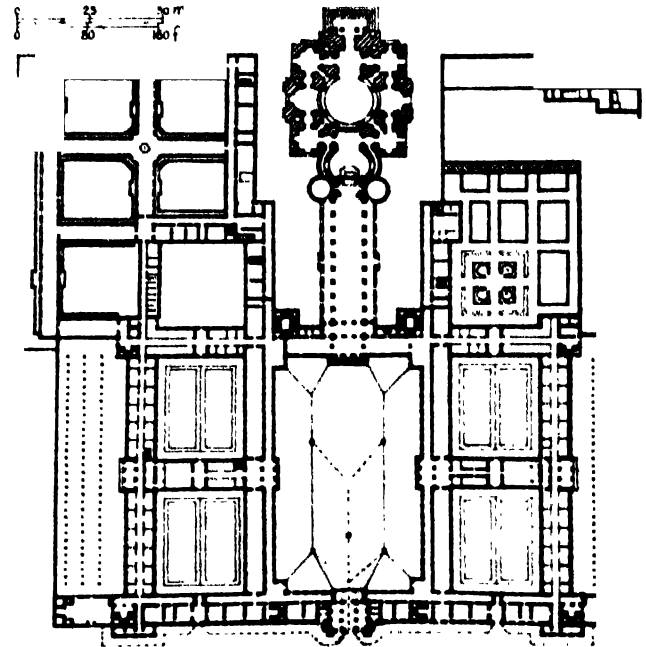
**VERSAILLES, THE ABSOLUTE RULE OF LOUIS XIV, AND THE POLICY OF COLBERT.** The centralization of artistic activity at the court resulted from the absolutism of Louis XIV and of his minister Jean Baptiste Colbert. The Academy, founded in 1648, became an instrument of artistic dictatorship in the hands of Colbert and imposed the principles of classicism on all branches of the arts.

The reign of Louis XIV, then, signified the domination of classicism, save for a return to "Italian" influence under Cardinal Mazarin, especially in the decorative arts. The new academies, the *dirigisme* of Colbert and Charles Lebrun (q.v.), all lent their approval to an order and rationalism inspired by the antique. Classic severity was softened, however, during the last years of the 17th century.

In architecture, the principles of Mansart were developed by Louis Le Vau (q.v.), whose taste was "heavier" than that of his master, and who had a great predilection for the grandiose; his use of the colossal order is characteristic. Typical of his works are: the Hôtel Lambert in Paris; the pavilions and portico of the Château of Vincennes; the octagonal Chapel of the Salpêtrière; the Collège des Quatre Nations (now the Institut de France), which has in its center a chapel with cupola; and finally, the Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte (II, FIG. 289) with its two imposing façades, one on the court, the other on the garden.

The defeat of Bernini (q.v.), who had been invited to France to present projects for the Louvre, signified the triumph of the type of classicism adopted by the mathematician Claude Perrault (q.v.) in the construction of the Colonnade of the

Louvre, with its colossal peristyle and its set-back roof (II, PL. 150). This formula was soon afterward taken up by Le Vau for the new façade of Versailles facing the garden. Meanwhile, interior decoration continued to be baroque, with stucco and painted ceilings and polychrome marble revetments. Jean Boullier, Daniel Gittard, and Antoine Le Pautre, with his ingen-



Paris, Hôtel des Invalides, preparatory study for the plan, 1671-76 (from A. Lurcat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, IV, Paris, 1953).

ious plan of the Hôtel de Beauvais in Paris (FIG. 673), inherited the predispositions of Le Vau. The triumphal arch returned to favor (e.g., Porte St-Denis in Paris, by François Blondel). The Hôtel des Invalides by Libéral Bruant (I, PL. 390) and the radiating fortifications of frontier cities devised by Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban have a similar air of noble severity.

The leading architect of the second half of the 17th century was Jules Hardouin Mansart (q.v.), creator of the later French classical style and a grandnephew of François Mansart, whose general tendencies he shared. The list of his works is imposing; he completed, in Versailles, the Hall of Mirrors (PL. 409), the Orangerie, the Grand Trianon (FIG. 674), and the Place d'Armes. In Paris, he built the Place des Victoires, the Place Vendôme, and St.-Louis des Invalides (II, PL. 150), which has a central plan, a rectilinear façade, and an admirable dome. Mansart freed himself from academic restrictions at the end of the reign of Louis XIV, as seen in the Chapel of Versailles — finished by Robert de Cotte — and in interior decoration softened by white ceilings, *boiserie*, and mirrors, as in the king's bedroom at Versailles. Together with his group of collaborators, he imposed his personal style on all France (e.g., Hôtels de Ville of Arles and Lyons). Under his influence, Pierre Mignard at Avignon and Charles Augustin Daviler at Montpellier attenuated the typical southern style; while in the conquered provinces, Flemish tendencies disappeared.

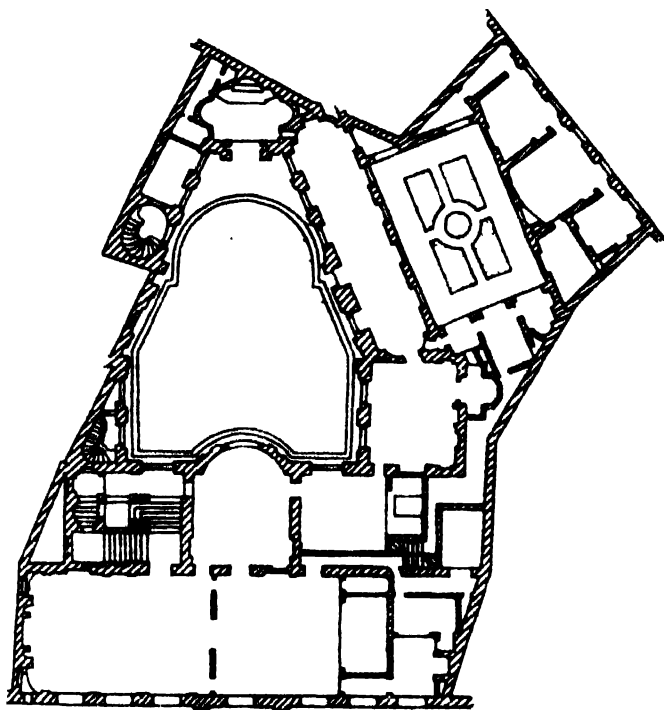
Intimately connected with architecture is the laying out of gardens (see LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE). André Le Nôtre (q.v.), collaborator of Le Vau at Vaux-le-Vicomte and then at Versailles (II, FIG. 299), created the "French" garden with long axial avenues punctuated by fountains and symmetrical alleys alternating with shady groves.

In the sculpture which became an integral part of park ornament, the brothers François and Michel Anguier led the way. The academic classical style was represented in the second half of the century by a whole body of artists — who also specialized in funerary monuments — operating at Versailles. François Girardon (q.v.; PLS. 407; II, 174) was the most rep-

representative of this group. Toward the end of the reign of Louis XIV, a return to realism is to be found in the work of Antoine Coysevox (q.v.), a decorator of gardens, sculptor of tombs (PL. 408), and, above all, an expressive portraitist (II, PL. 178). His works at Marly already foretold the development of the rococo style.

Painting, also, was centered at Versailles, the favored residence of Louis XIV. Charles Lebrun (q.v.; PL. 409), a painter who united classical feeling with baroque decorative exuberance, was the real dictator of taste, supporting the Italian classical tradition and Poussin, as well as the thesis of the superiority of drawing. In the circle of Lebrun himself, his rival Pierre Mignard preserved a freer and more graceful style (e.g., dome of the Val-de-Grâce in Paris; numerous portraits), while painters like Adam Frans Van der Meulen of Brussels retained a naturalistic taste for landscape in their battle scenes.

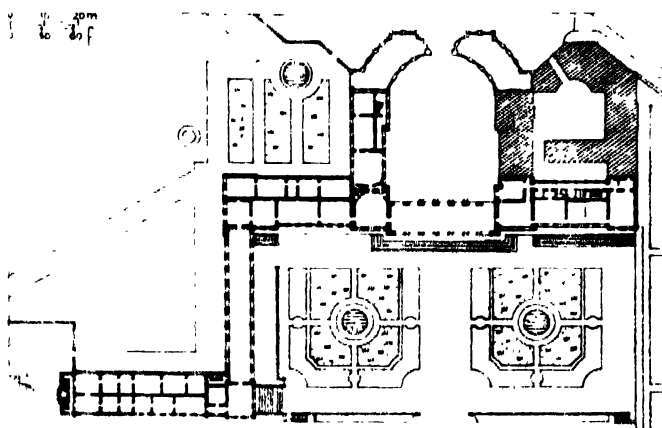
It was only after the death of Lebrun (1690) that a certain reaction against the official academicism set in. Partisans of



Paris, Hôtel de Beauvais, A. Le Pautre's plan of the ground floor, 1652-55 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).

color and of Rubens (*Rubénistes*) as against the apostles of classicism and of Roman design (*Poussinistes*) made their appearance. To this transition period belong the portraitists Hyacinthe Rigaud and Nicolas de Largillière (qq.v.; PL. 406). The first placed a rich chromatic scale at the service of the monarchy in his portrait of Louis XIV (Louvre); the second was rather the portraitist of Parisian society, more or less after the example of Van Dyck (e.g., *The Family of the Painter*, Louvre). There were also some decorators with more spontaneity, for example, Antoine Coypel (q.v.; PL. 414). Other artists, as, for example, Charles de Lafosse (PL. 405) and Jean Jouvenet (ceiling of the Chapel at Versailles), were capable of restoring sincerity to religious painting. Finally, there were painters of animals (François Desportes; PL. 405), of flowers (e.g., Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer), and of ornament (e.g., Claude Audran III, Claude Gillot), who already foreshadowed the spirit of the 18th century.

The refining of Parisian taste increased in other fields, following the general evolution from the solemnity of classicism to the rococo — characterized under Louis XV by the popularity of *chinoiserie* — and thence to neoclassicism. The artists of provincial towns generally followed the Parisian taste, but

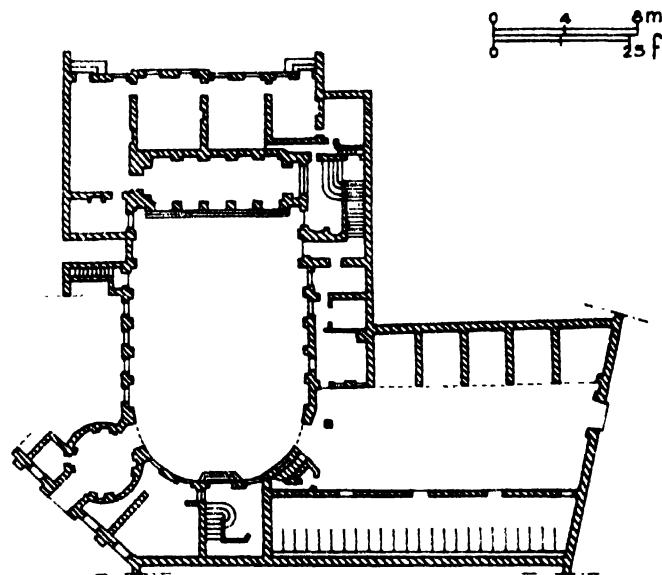


Versailles, plan of the Grand Trianon, 1688 (from A. Lurçat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, IV, Paris, 1953).

they were always a little behind and betrayed a certain heaviness in their style.

Tapestry weaving was more or less centered in Paris, where Henry IV had founded various factories with the intention of competing with Flemish weavers (see TAPESTRY AND CARPETS). Among these new enterprises were the workshops of the Trinité, of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, and of the Louvre, where tapestries based on cartoons by such French artists as Simon Vouet and Eustache Le Sueur were made. From the 1660s on, under the direction of Lebrun, the Gobelin workshops became a center for the production not only of tapestries but also of all kinds of decorative art from jewelry to furniture. In the 18th century, tapestry work continued to be produced in a style which was increasingly imitative of painting; this tendency is evident in the designs for tapestries by such artists as Coypel, Audran, and Boucher (q.v., PL. 416). Boucher was the director of the Gobelin factory from 1753 to 1770; his work belongs more properly to the rococo.

Another royal factory was founded in Beauvais at the end of the 17th century. It produced somewhat less refined tapestries featuring grotesqueries and anecdotal subject matter (e.g., the *Arcadian Hunts of Louis XV*, Florence, Pitti Palace, on cartoons by Jean-Baptiste Oudry), and smaller works for room furnishings were made at Aubusson and Felletin. In addition, old Limousin centers continued to function.



Paris, Hôtel d'Evreux, P. Bullet's plan of the ground floor, 1707 (from A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954).

In the 17th century, André Charles Boulle and his pupils made furniture decorated with metal and inlay (PL. 444). In the following century, furniture became more intimate. The rococo style of the furniture of Louis XV is lively and capricious, featuring intarsia and bronze (e.g., works of Charles Cressent and Jean François Oeben) as well as lacquered or painted decoration (e.g., *vernis Martin*, a preparation of green varnish with gold powder, used by the Martin family during Louis XV's reign). Under Louis XVI, furniture style became purer and more restrained in form (e.g., work of Georges Jacob, PL. 449, and Jean Henri Riesener, PL. 454).

Under Louis XIV, even gold and silver were worked in the style of Lebrun (e.g., vases and silver candelabra made by Claude Ballin at the end of the reign). In the 18th century, under such masters as Thomas Germain, this art acquired considerable richness and demonstrated an elaborate and tasteful variety of form (see GOLD- AND SILVERWORK).

Medals, which had attracted some sculptors such as Guillaume Dupré and Jean Warin at the beginning of the century, later became a manifestation of the monarchical style (e.g., the series of medals commemorating the most important events of the reign of Louis XIV). They remained in vogue in the 18th century under such masters as Joseph Roettiers and Jean Duvivier.

At the end of the 17th century, utensils of solid gold and silver and ceramics (q.v.) became fashionable. Large factories were established to make these, and a diversity of plans and motifs were utilized.

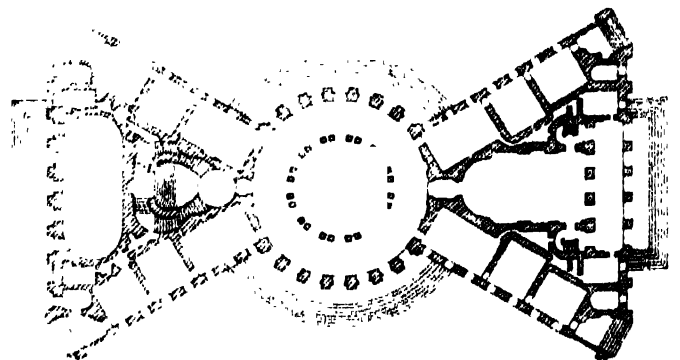
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**b. Sculptors** *François Anguier*, 1604-69 (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 205-06); *Michel Anguier*, 1612-86, brother of François (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 205-06); *Antoine Coysevox* (q.v.), 1640-1720, active in the second half of the reign of Louis XIV (J. Du Seigneur, *Coysevox et ses ouvrages*, Rev. universelle des arts, I, 1855, pp. 32-49; H. Jouin, *Antoine Coysevox: sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1883; A. Boinet, *Les bustes de Coysevox à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, GBA, II, 1920, pp. 1-13; G. Keller-Dorian, *Charles-Antoine Coysevox: Cat. raisonné*, Paris, 1926; L. Benoist, *Antoine Coysevox*, Paris, 1930; P. Francastel, *La sculpture à Versailles*, Paris, 1930); *Desjardins (Martin van Bogaert)*, 1640-94 (R. Josephson, *Martin Desjardins et ses monuments de Louis XIV*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., LIII, 1928, pp. 171-91; P. Huisman, *Les bustes de Pierre Mignard: Martin Desjardins*, GBA, LI, 1958, pp. 267-72); *François Girardon* (q.v.); *Pierre Le Gros*, 1629-1714; *Pierre Le Gros II*, 1666-1719 (F. Ingersoll-Smousse, *Pierre Le Gros II, et les sculpteurs français à Rome vers la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, GBA, X, 1913, pp. 203-17; G. Baumgarten, *Pierre Le Gros, artiste romain*, Paris, 1933; P. D'Espezel, *Notes historiques sur l'œuvre et la vie de Pierre Le Gros II*, GBA, XII, 1934, pp. 148-60; E. P. Richardson, *Three Masters of the Roman Baroque: Cortona, Duquesnoy, Le Gros*, B. of the Detroit Inst. of Art, XXII, 1942-43, pp. 10-16); *Etienne Le Hongre*, 1628-90 (H. Puvion de Chavannes, *Essai de revision des attributions de Versailles: les groupes d'enfants de Le Hongre*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., LXIII, 1933, pp. 219-24); *Gaspard Marsy*, d. 1674 (M. E. Sainte-Beuve, *The Mausoleum of Casimir, King of Poland*, GBA, XXXII, 1947, pp. 107-14; E. J. Cipruti, *Deux dessins originaux de Gaspard Marsy pour le tombeau du Roy Casimir à St-Germain-des-Près*, GBA, LII, 1958, pp. 109-12); *Jean-Baptiste Théodon*, d. 1713.

**c. Painters** *Claude Audran III*, painter of grotesques (C. D. Moschus, *The Carl Johan Cronstedt Collection of Drawings by Claude Audran*, GBA, XXVIII, 1945, pp. 237-56); *François Boucher* (q.v.); *Antoine Coyppel* (q.v.); *François Desportes*, 1661-1740, active also at the Court of Poland (L. Hourticq, *L'atelier de François Desportes*, GBA, LXII, 1920, pp. 117-36; G. Lechevallier-Chevignard, *L'atelier de François Desportes*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XXXVIII, 1920, pp. 164-74; A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in*

*France, 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 281-82); *Claude Gillot*, 1673-1722 (A. Valabregue, *Claude Gillot*, GBA, XXI, 1899, pp. 385-96, XXII, 1899, pp. 115-31; F. Boucher, *Gillot et Watteau*, GBA, VIII, 1923, pp. 165-78; P. Lavallé, *Autour de Claude Gillot*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XLVI, 1924, pp. 375-79, XLVII, 1925, pp. 132-38, XLVIII, 1926, pp. 62-64; E. Dacier, *Gillot*, in L. Dimier, ed., *Les peintres français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I, Paris, Brussels, 1928, pp. 150-215; V. Populus, *Claude Gillot*, Paris, 1931; J. Poley, *Claude Gillot: Ein Beitrag zur französischen Kunstgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg-Aumühle, 1938); *Jean Jouvenet (Jean III)*, 1644-1717 (ThB, XIX, 1926, p. 205); *Charles de Lafosse*, 1636-1716 (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pp. 271-74); *Nicolas de Largillière* (q.v.); *Charles Lebrun* (q.v.); *Pierre Mignard*, 1606-68 (M. de Monville, *La vie de Pierre Mignard, premier peintre du Roy . . .*, Amsterdam, 1731; C. A. Regnet, *Pierre Mignard*, K. und Künstler, III, 1880, pp. 41-55; L. Hourticq, *Le portrait de Mignard*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XXXIX, 1920, pp. 150-62; F. Bologna, *Une œuvre de la jeunesse de Pierre Mignard et le problème de sa formation*, RAAs, VIII, 1958, pp. 106-10); *Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer*, 1636-93 (ThB, XXV, 1931, p. 71); *Robert Nanteuil*, engraver, 1623-78 (P. Lacroix, *Documents inédits sur les artistes français*, VII: *Robert de Nanteuil*, Rev. universelle des arts, III, 1856, pp. 169-72; T. H. Thomas, *The Drawings and Pastels of Nanteuil*, Print Coll. Q., IV, 1914, pp. 326-61; E. Dacier, *Nanteuil*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XLV, 1924, pp. 292-96; C. Petitjean and C. Wickert, *Catalogue de l'œuvre grave de Robert Nanteuil*, Paris, 1925; Y. Fromrich, *Robert Nanteuil: dessinateur et pastelliste*, GBA, XLIX, 1951, pp. 209-17); *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, 1686-1756 (P. Soidel, *Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte Jean Baptiste Oudrys*, RepfKw, XIII, 1890, pp. 80-110; J. Locquin, *L'art français à la cour de Mecklenbourg au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jean-Baptiste Oudry et le Grand-Duc Christian-Ludwig*, GBA, XXXVI, 1906, pp. 301-14; J. Locquin, *Le paysage de France au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'œuvre de Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, GBA, XL, 1908, pp. 5-80; J. Vergnet-Ruiz, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, in L. Dimier, ed., *Les peintres français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, Paris, Brussels, 1930, pp. 135-94); *Hyacinthe Rigaud* (q.v.); *Jean-Baptiste Santerre*, 1651-1717 (ThB, XXIX, 1935, p. 429).

**THE ROCOCO.** The reaction against classicism became more intense after the death of Louis XIV. Society was less austere, and for a time abandoned Versailles. During the Regency, the quarters of Saint-Germain and Saint-Honoré, and also several châteaux (e.g., Champs) were built. These were the work of architects trained to some extent in the school of Mansart: Pierre Lassurence, Gabriel-Germain Boffrand (FIG. 676), Jean Aubert, and Ange-Jacques Gabriel (q.v.), the last of whom continued the series of *places royales*. Buildings with two-story façades, slate roofs, and iron-grillwork balconies (somewhat wider than the French windows to which they were attached) were characteristic. Toward the middle of the 18th century, the characteristic *rocaille* or Louis XV style became easily recognizable. The curve is evident everywhere in designs of this period, and it is used both vertically and horizontally (PL. 420). The interior decoration, *boiserie*, and stucco ornaments are full of caprice and refinement (e.g., Hôtel de Soubise in Paris); though it was sometimes carried to an extreme by foreign decorators such as Gilles Marie Oppenordt and Juste Aurèle Meissonnier. The



Nancy. Château de la Malgrange, plan of G.-G. Boffrand's project, 1718 (from Lurcat, *Formes, composition et lois d'harmonie*, IV, Paris, 1953).

square of buildings that Emmanuel Héré constructed in Nancy for the former King of Poland, Stanislas I Leszczyński, marked the apogee of the style of Louis XV (PL. 419; I, FIG. 647). Religious architecture followed the general stylistic movement; the work of Robert de Cotte at St-Denis, the Bishop's Palace at Verdun by Boffrand, and churches of basilican plan (e.g., the Madeleine at Besançon by N. Nicole) afford examples. The decoration (e.g., wooden paneling, iron grillwork, painted and sculptured altarpieces) is characteristically in perfect harmony with the architecture of the churches of this period.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Gabriel-Germain Boffrand*, 1667-1754, architect and engineer-theorist (L. Battifol, *La construction de l'arsenal au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* et Gabriel Boffrand, *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, LIX, 1931, pp. 205-61, LX, 1931, pp. 15-34; P. Lavedan, *Le Pavillon de Chasse de Boucheffort dans la forêt de Soignes par Boffrand*, Misc. Leo van Puyvelde, Brussels, 1949, pp. 301-03); *Antoine-Jacques Gabriel* (q.v.); *Jean Lamour*, architect, 1698-1771 (A. Hallays, Nancy, Paris, 1908).

The first half of the 18th century was characterized by a resumption of baroque caprice in sculpture as well. Exponents of this style are the brothers Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou (e.g., *Horses of Marly*, at the entrance of the Champs Elysées, near the Place de la Concorde in Paris, by Guillaume Coustou), Robert Le Lorrain (*Horses of Phoebus Apollo*, Hôtel de Soubise, Paris), the Adam brothers (e.g., Fountains of Neptune at Versailles), and Michel-Ange Slodtz. In the same style are the brilliant and picturesque portrait busts by Jean Louis Lemoine and Jean-Baptiste Lemoine II, father and son, and the later work of Jean-Jacques Caffieri (e.g., busts at the Comédie Française). Works like these have assured the universal fame of French portrait sculpture.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Adam*, a family of sculptors from Lorraine: *Lambert Sigisbert Adam*, 1700-50, trained in Rome, shared in the work on the Fountain of Neptune at Versailles. His brother *Nicolas-Sébastien Adam*, 1705-78, decorated the Hôtel de Soubise in Paris and the tomb of Catherine Opalinska at Nancy. A third brother, *François Balthasar Gaspard Adam*, decorated the gardens of Sanssouci for Frederick the Great of Prussia (J. Cousin, *Les créateurs de Paris*). *Lambert Sigisbert Adam*, dit Adam l'Aîné, sculpteur: *Nicolas-Sébastien Adam*, dit Adam le Cadet, sculpteur, *Rev. universelle des arts*, XVIII, 1863-64, pp. 215-28; H. Thirion, *Les Adam et Clodion*, Paris, 1885). *Caffieri*, a family of sculptors and gem engravers of the 17th and 18th centuries: *Jean-Jacques Caffieri*, 1725-92 (J. J. Guiffrey, *Les Caffieri*, Paris, 1877; ThB, V, 1911, p. 350). *Coustou*, a family of sculptors related to Coysevox: *Nicolas Coustou*, 1658-1733, was active at Versailles and Marly, *Guillaume Coustou*, 1677-1746; and his son *Guillaume Coustou II* (L. Dilke, *Les Coustou*, GBA, XXV, 1901, pp. 5-14, 203-14). *Robert Le Lorrain*, sculptor (A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France: 1500-1700*, Harmondsworth, 1954, p. 286, n. 66; M. Beaulieu, *Un grand sculpteur méconnu: Robert Le Lorrain*, *Le jardin des arts*, XX, 1956, pp. 486-92). *Lemoine*, a family of Parisian sculptors of the rococo period. *Jean-Baptiste Lemoine II*, 1704-78, was the most celebrated (P. Mantz, Boucher, Lemoine et Natoire, Paris, 1880; D. Nonnotte, *Vie du peintre François Lemoine*, Réunion de la Soc. des beaux arts, XXVI, 1902, pp. 520-40; L. Reau, *Les Lemoine*, Paris, 1927; J. Wilhelm, *François Lemoine*, GBA, XXI, 1938, pp. 251-57; J. Wilhelm, *François Lemoine* and *Antoine Watteau*, AQ, XIV, 1951, pp. 216-30; J. Lévy, *Antoine Watteau et François Lemoine*, GBA, LII, 1958, pp. 347-54). *Michel-Ange Slodtz*, sculptor, 1705-64, from 1728 in Rome as a pensioner of the French Academy (P. Clamorgan, *René-Michel*, dit Michel-Ange Slodtz, à propos du buste de Nicolas Vleughels, Mél. Birtaux, Paris, 1924, pp. 43-50; V. Golzio, *Le opere romane di Michelangelo Slodtz*, Dedalo, XI, 1931, pp. 383-92).

The Regency period, characterized by the artistic predominance of Paris over Versailles and by a general relaxation of the severity preceding the Louis XIV period, consigned the criteria of the 17th century to oblivion. When Louis XV returned to Versailles, the general tone was quite different. A new bourgeois taste favored the development of genre painting, and connections between artist and public were established through regularly held Salons (see EXHIBITIONS).

*Jean Antoine Watteau* (q.v.) — hardly equaled by his imitators *Jean-Baptiste Pater* and *Nicolas Lancret* (q.v.; PLS. 412, 413) for delicacy and inspiration — painted subjects of gallantry.

The liveliness and pictorial brio of Fragonard (q.v.) recall Venetian painting and Rubens.

Baroque decorative painting revived with the works of François Lemoine, Charles Joseph Natoire, Charles Antoine Coypel (q.v.), and François Boucher (q.v.; PL. 416), all protégés of Mme de Pompadour. Portrait painting triumphed brilliantly, if conventionally, with Charles André (Carle) van Loo, Jean-Marc Nattier (PL. 415), and Louis Tocqué. Jacques-André-Joseph Aved (*Mme Crozat*, Mus. of Montpellier) was a more sensitive artist, and the pastellist Maurice Quentin de La Tour (q.v.; PL. 411) was superior to all the others. Pastel, cultivated also by Jean-Baptiste Perroneau and very typical of the times, flourished until the revolution. Those genres previously considered "inferior" were raised in rank by the animal and still-life painting of Jean-Baptiste Oudry and of Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (q.v.), whose work anticipated modern painting.

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jacques-André-Joseph Aved*, Painter, 1702-76 [J. Du Seigneur, *Notice sur le peintre Aved*, *Rev. universelle des arts*, XXI, 1865, pp. 357-61; P. Dorbec, *Le portraitiste Aved et Chardin portraitiste*, GBA, XXXII, 1904, pp. 89-100, 215-24; G. Wildenstein, *Aved*, Paris, 1924; G. Wildenstein, *Premier supplément à la biographie et au catalogue de Jacques André Joseph Aved* (1922-35), GBA, XIII, 1935, pp. 159-72]; *Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin* (q.v.); *Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (q.v.); *Nicolas Lancret* (q.v.); *Maurice Quentin de La Tour* (q.v.); *Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié*, painter, 1735-84 (F. Ingersoll-Smouss, *Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié*, *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, XLIII, 1922, pp. 39-43, 129-36, 365-73, XLVI, 1924, pp. 122-30, 217-28, L, 1926, pp. 293-96, LI, 1927, pp. 179-86, LIII, 1928, pp. 152-70; P. G. Dreyfus and F. Ingersoll-Smouss, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint et des dessins de Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié*, Paris, 1923); *Charles Joseph Natoire*, painter, 1700-77 (P. Clauzel, *Natoire: peintre nîmois*, Paris, 1897; H. Chervet, *Charles-Joseph Natoire*, *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, XXXI, 1912, pp. 193-204, 383-96; K. T. Parker, *Charles-Joseph Natoire*, *Old Master Drawings*, XXXVIII, 1935, pp. 28-29; F. Boyer, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre de Charles-Joseph Natoire, peintre du roy*, Arch. de l'art. Fr., XXI, 1946-49, pp. 31-106; F. Boyer, *Le peintre Charles Natoire*, *première all'Accademia di S. Luca, L'Urbe*, 1954, pp. 8-9; A. P. de Mirimonde, *L'impromptu du plafond ou l'Apothéose de St. Louis par Natoire*, RArts, VIII, 1958, pp. 279-84; M. Sérullaz, *Récherches sur quelques dessins de Charles Natoire*, RArts, IX, 1959, pp. 65-70); *Jean-Marc Nattier*, painter, 1685-1766 (*Vie de Jean-Marc Nattier par sa fille Madame Tocqué*, in L. Dussieux and others, ad., *Mémoires inédits sur les artistes français*, II, Paris, 1854, pp. 348-64; P. Mantz, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, GBA, XII, 1894, pp. 91-114; P. de Nolhac, *Nattier peintre des Mesdames, filles de Louis XV*, GBA, XIII, 1895, pp. 457-68, XIV, 1895, pp. 33-46; F. Engender, *Nattier, peintre des favorites de Louis XV*, *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, II, 1897, pp. 327-34, 429-36; P. de Nolhac, *Nattier, peintre de la cour de Louis XV*, Paris, 1925); *Jean-Baptiste Pater*, painter, 1695-1736 (F. Ingersoll-Smouss, *Pater*, Paris, 1928; ThB, XXVI, 1932, p. 294); *Jean-Baptiste Perroneau*, painter, 1715-83 (M. Tourneaux, *Jean Baptiste Perroneau*, GBA, XV, 1896, pp. 5-22, 131-46, 309-20, 405-12; P. Ratouis de Limay, *Jean Baptiste Perroneau, Painter and Pastellist*, BM, XXXVI, 1920, pp. 35-45, 65-72; L. Vaillat and P. Ratouis de Limay, *Jean Baptiste Perroneau*, 2d ed., Paris, 1923; ThB, XXVI, 1932, pp. 441-42); *Louis Tocqué*, painter in the manner of Nattier, 1696-1772 (P. Mantz, *Louis Tocqué*, GBA, XII, 1894, pp. 455-67; A. Doria, *Louis Tocqué*, Paris, 1929); *Jean-François de Troy*, painter, 1679-1752 [*Vie de Jean-François De Troy*, in L. Dussieux and others, ed., *Mémoires inédits sur les artistes français*, II, Paris, 1854, pp. 255-88; F. Dilke, *Jean-François De Troy, et sa rivalité avec François Lemoine*, GBA, XXI, 1899, pp. 280-90; C. Philips, *Jean François De Troy*, BM, XXIX, 1916, pp. 231-41; G. Brière, *J.-F. de Troy*, in L. Dimier, ed., *Les peintres français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II, Paris, Brussels, 1930, pp. 1-48; A. Griseri, in *Il Settecento a Roma* (exhibition cat.), Rome, 1959, pp. 221-23]; *Van Loo*, a family of painters of Dutch origin. *Jacques van Loo*, 1614-70, was a portraitist *Abraham van Loo*, 1640-1713? lived in Aix-en-Provence. Of his two sons, *Jean-Baptiste van Loo* (1684-1745) worked in Piedmont and London; *Charles André (Carle) van Loo* (1705-65) succeeded in becoming painter to the King. *Louis-Michel van Loo* (1707-71) was painter to the King of Spain, and his brother *Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo* (1710-95) to the King of Prussia [D. Bardon, *Vie de Charles van Loo*, Paris, 1765; A. Baudi di Vesme, *I van Loo in Piemonte*, Arch. storico dell'arte, VI, 1893, pp. 333-68; C. Oulmont, *Amédée van Loo, peintre du Roy de Prusse*, GBA, VIII, 1912, pp. 139-50, 223-34; A. Griseri, in *Il Settecento a Roma* (exhibition cat.), Rome, 1959, p. 146]; *Jean Antoine Watteau* (q.v.).

About the middle of the 18th century, there was another change in taste: rococo began to wane. This development coincided with the beginning of the excavations at Herculaneum, and it was followed by a wave of classicism, at first moderate and in accordance with the spirit of the French court. One of the first manifestations of this return to severity appeared in religious architecture—in the façade of St-Sulpice, the work of the Italian Jean Nicolas Servandoni. Ange-Jacques Gabriel and Jacques Soufflot (qq.v.) were the two most prominent architects at the end of the reign of Louis XV. Gabriel refined the style inherited from Mansart; the masses are lighter and the decoration is more discreet in Gabriel's designs. Sculpture and especially painting were represented by many outstanding artists. In painting, a reaction took place against the *decorateurs galants* and against the capricious and vivacious style discussed above. In sculpture, however, there was a certain revival of the baroque spirit, above all in the decoration of gardens (e.g., Fountain of Neptune at Versailles, by the Adam brothers; *Horses of Marly*, by Coustou).

**NEOCLASSICISM AND THE EMPIRE.** The general return to the antique first appeared in architecture toward 1750 in the work of Jacques Soufflot (q.v.) of Lyons, who devoted himself almost entirely to the building of Ste-Geneviève (now known as the Panthéon) in Paris (PL. 422). Ange-Jacques Gabriel (q.v.), a descendant of Mansart and more of a traditionalist, ignored the Italian influence; he was the master of a delicate and refined style exemplified in the Ecole Militaire and the Place de la Concorde in Paris, the Château of Compiègne, and the Petit Trianon (PL. 421). His art was a prelude to the development of the style of Louis XVI, which was adopted with growing vigor by Jacques-Denis Antoine (e.g., Hôtel des Monnaies, Paris), Victor Louis (e.g., Grand Théâtre, Bordeaux; garden and galleries of the Palais-Royal, Paris), and François-Joseph Bélanger (e.g., Bagatelle, Paris), reaching a peak of austerity with the "rationalist" constructions of Claude Nicolas Ledoux (q.v.; Salines d'Arc at Arc-et-Senans in the Franche-Comté; the Barrières, or customs buildings, at the gates of Paris; the Rotonde de la Villette, PL. 422).

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *François-Joseph Bélanger*, architect, 1774–1818 (A. Loiseau, *Notice historique sur François-Joseph Bellanger*, Paris, 1818); *Claude Ledoux* (q.v.); *Jacques Soufflot* (q.v.).

In sculpture, the return to simplicity was heralded toward the middle of the 18th century by Edme Bouchardon. Jean Pigalle (q.v.), his pupil, and Etienne Maurice Falconet (q.v.; PL. 417) helped to assure the transition from the baroque to classicism. At the end of the *ancien régime*, Augustin Pajou, Clodion (q.v.; PL. 418), whose statuettes take *galanterie* for their subjects, and Pierre Julien were among the sculptors inspired by the antique. Jean Antoine Houdon (q.v.), the greatest of the French neoclassic sculptors, united in his portraiture formal sobriety and psychological sensibility (e.g., statue of Voltaire; bust of Diderot).

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Edme Bouchardon*, sculptor, 1698–1769 (A. Roserot and E. Müntz, *Pièces relatives aux portraits du sculpteur Edme Bouchardon* . . . , N. arch. de l'art Fr., IV, 1876, pp. 390–94; A. Roserot, *La statue équestre de Louis XV par Edme Bouchardon*, GBA, XVII, 1897, pp. 195–213, 377–90, XVIII, 1897, pp. 159–70; A. Roserot, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Edme Bouchardon en Italie*, GBA, XL, 1908, pp. 17–37; A. Roserot, *Edme Bouchardon*, Paris, 1910); *Clodion* (q.v.); *Etienne Maurice Falconet* (q.v.); *Jean Antoine Houdon* (q.v.); *Pierre Julien* (A. Pascal, *Pierre Julien sculpteur*, GBA, I, 1903, pp. 409–12; A. Pascal, *Pierre Julien sculpteur, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1904; ThB, XIX, 1926, pp. 307–08); *Augustin Pajou*, classical sculptor under Louis XVI and the Revolution, 1730–1809 (J. Le Breton, *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Pajou sculpteur*, Rev. universelle des arts, XVI, 1862, pp. 125–35; H. Stein, *Augustin Pajou*, Paris, 1912); *Jean Pigalle* (q.v.).

In the second half of the 18th century, painting returned to a more natural simplicity under the aegis of the antique. Jean B. Greuze (q.v.) put his realistic art at the service of sentiment and philosophy, interpreting the taste of the *bourgeoisie*

in "moral" scenes inspired by reality (see PL. 415). The works of portraitists Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Drouais family pointed to the abandonment of the rococo tradition.

Louis Gabriel Moreau the Elder and Joseph Vernet, painters of marine and port scenes, often imbued their works with a poesy which foretold the romantic movement. By comparison, the works of Hubert Robert (q.v.), a painter of ruins, who was inspired by Giovanni Paolo Pannini, seemed by the lightness of the artist's touch to be still rococo in feeling (see PL. 423).

Among the masters of drawing and engraving were Charles-Nicolas Gorbain and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. The former illustrated the fetes of Louis XV, the latter, Parisian life. Joseph Marie Vien, in his search for antique purity, anticipated the neoclassic art of his pupil Jacques Louis David (q.v.; PL. 424).

**ARTISTS AND BIBLIOG.** *Jacques Louis David* (q.v.). *Drouais*, a family of painters, including *Hubert Drouais*, 1699–1767, and *François-Hubert Drouais*, 1727–75, pupil of Boucher, Academician and fashionable portraitist under Louis XVI (F. de Villars, *Les trois Drouais*, Rev. universelle des arts, X, 1859, pp. 301–14; P. Dorbec, *Les Drouais*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., XVI, 1904, pp. 409–20, XVII, 1905, pp. 53–66; C. Gabillot, *Les trois Drouais*, GBA, XXXIV, 1905, pp. 177–94, 288–98, 384–400, XXXV, 1906, pp. 155–74, 246–58; G. Wildenastein, *A propos des portraits peints par François-Hubert Drouais*, GBA, LI, 1958, pp. 97–104). *Jean B. Greuze* (q.v.). *Louis Gabriel Moreau the Elder*, 1739–1805, among the best of the landscapists (A. Moreau, *Les Moreau*, Paris, 1893; E. C. Francis, J. M. Moreau, *Print Coll. Q.*, XIII, 1920, pp. 211–36; G. Wildenastein, *Louis Gabriel Moreau*, Paris, 1923). *Hubert Robert* (q.v.). *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* (E. Dacier, *Gabriel de St. Aubin: peintre, dessinateur et graveur*, 2 vols., Paris, Brussels, 1929–31; E. Dacier, *Gabriel de St. Aubin et Sébastien Mercier*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., LVI, 1929, pp. 179–92). *Joseph Vernet*, 1714–80, landscapist. His son *Charles Vernet*, 1758–1836, was also a painter, as was the latter's son *Horace Vernet*, 1789–1863, noted for his paintings of military subjects (H. Delaborde, *Le paysage et les paysagistes en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I: *La peinture de marine*, Joseph Vernet, *Etudes*, II, 1864, pp. 43–92; L. Lagrange, *Joseph Vernet et la peinture du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1864; A. Dayot, *Les Vernet*, Paris, 1898; R. Montesquiou, *Les trois Vernet*, GBA, XX, 1898, pp. 77–85; F. Ingersoll-Smouss, *Joseph Vernet: peintre de marine*, 2 vols., Paris, 1926; G. Briganti and N. di Carpegna, in *Il Settecento a Roma* (exhibition cat.), Rome, 1959, pp. 225–27). *Joseph Marie Vien*, 1716–1809, pupil of Natoire and J.-F. de Troy, master of David [J. Du Seigneur, *Notice sur Joseph Marie Vien*, Rev. universelle des arts, XVIII, 1863, pp. 20–39; F. Aubert, *Joseph Marie Vien*, GBA, XXII, 1867, pp. 180–90, 282–94, 493–507, XXIII, 1867, pp. 157–87, 297–310, 470–82; A. Grisière, in *Il Settecento a Roma* (exhibition cat.), Rome, 1959, pp. 227–28]. *Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun*, 1755–1842, daughter of the pastellist Vigée. A painter at the court of Louis XVI, she emigrated in 1790, going first to Italy, then to Russia (C. Pillet, *Madame Vigée Le Brun*, Paris, 1890; H. Bouchot, *Une artiste française pendant l'émigration: Madame Vigée Le Brun*, Rev. de l'art anc. et mod., III, 1898, pp. 51–62, 219–30; P. de Nolhac, *Madame Vigée Le Brun, peintre de la reine Marie-Antoinette*, Paris, 1908; L. Hauteceur, *Madame Vigée Le Brun*, Paris, 1926).

**THE 19TH CENTURY.** The revival of religious architecture after the Restoration led to a weakening of the neoclassic style (e.g., Church of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette in Paris, by Louis Hippolyte Lebas). Imitation of Italian Renaissance architecture (Ecole des Beaux Arts, by Felix-Louis-Jacques Duban) and a revival of interest in the Gothic style (e.g., works of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc) produced eclectic designs. This eclecticism lasted into the Second Empire, when rich decorative effects were sought, as in the Trinity church by Théodore Ballu and the Opéra by Charles Garnier (q.v.)—both in Paris. Meanwhile, France and England were the first nations to adopt new building materials such as iron, thus initiating the modern movement in architecture (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS).

The neoclassic theory of sculpture was represented during the periods of the revolution and the Empire by Antoine Denis Chaudet and Pierre Cartellier, who produced numerous statues, many of which are now at Versailles, of important personages and generals. After the Restoration a new kind of sensibility appeared in the works of James Pradier. The romantic movement was represented by David d'Angers—a creator of lyric figures full of movement (e.g., statue of Marshal Ney, Paris)—



by François Rude (q.v.; *Marseillaise* on the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, Paris), and by the naturalistic animal sculptor Antoine Louis Barye (q.v.). The romantic spirit survived to a certain degree to influence, at the end of the century and in opposition to official academicism, two great sculptors: Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (q.v.), whose portrait busts and lively groups adorned the brilliant period of the Second Empire (e.g., *The Dance at the Opéra*; *Flora with Dancing Cupids* in the Louvre); and Rodin (q.v.), the realist-impressionist and interpreter of human passions (e.g., *Gates of Hell*; statue of Balzac in Paris).

The apostle of neoclassic painting was Jacques Louis David (q.v.; PL. 424); Anne Louise Girodet-Trioson and Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard (called "Grandville") were followers. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (q.v.), with his languid grace, and A. J. Gros (q.v.), the vigorous painter of battles — in his color already an exponent of romanticism — escaped David's influence. The neoclassic vogue found new support in Ingres, in his pupil Théodore Chassériau, and even in Corot (qq.v.) at certain moments. From 1830 on, the romantic current ran in opposition to the neoclassic trend. The principal exponents of the romantic style were Delacroix and Géricault (qq.v.); the so-called "Orientalist" painters Prosper-Georges-Antoine Marilhat, Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, and Eugène Fromentin (PL. 201) belonged to the movement. Realism appeared after the political revolution of 1848 with Courbet (q.v.) as its flag bearer, while at the same time Paul Gavarni and Honoré Daumier (q.v.) developed caricature and propaganda painting. Jean François Millet (q.v.) — painter, pastelist, and engraver — was one of a number of artists who sought to go directly to nature. They painted in the forest of Fontainebleau, in the vicinity of Barbizon, whence the name of that school was derived which, led by Théodore Rousseau (q.v.), included among its adherents Jules Dupré, Charles-François Daubigny (q.v.), and Narcisse Diaz de la Peña. Successive artistic movements in France acquired an international character and made Paris the artistic center of the Western world. For these developments see: CUBISM AND FUTURISM; EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS; FAUVES; IMPRESSIONISM.

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FRONTIER INFLUENCES. The Italian and Flemish influences on French art have already been alluded to above, but the more particular influences which operated at and about the French frontiers must also be mentioned. The northeast region, French Flanders and Artois, was detached politically from France in the 15th century and thereafter remained in

Spanish hands until the time of Louis XIV. The region was subject to the influence of northern art during this long period. The complicated flamboyant style persisted to the 16th century, after which architecture, for example, became Dutch and Flemish in its affinities, and heavy brick buildings became common.

The easternmost region, Alsace, was influenced in the 12th century by Rhenish art. German Gothic was combined with the style of Champagne in the design of the Strasbourg Cathedral. At the end of the Middle Ages, German influence in architecture, painting, and stained glass was predominant. City architecture (wooden houses with loggias and steeply pitched roofs) remained central European in spirit until the end of the 18th century.

To the south, in Provence, Italian influence was felt. The Romanesque sculpture of this region resembles that of northern Italy. In the 15th century, Siennese painters worked at the papal court in Avignon; and in the 17th century, the art of Pierre Puget was subject to Genoese influences. Many of La Valenière's baroque buildings were erected along the Rhone Valley as far up from the coast as Lyons. The provinces (Savoie, Nice) that were united with France in the 19th century belong in large part in the Italian sphere (e.g., paintings of the Bréa family, baroque architecture).

In the region of the Pyrenees, a close bond to Catalan art was evident in the 11th and 12th centuries (Romanesque cloisters, wall paintings). In Perpignan is found a type of Gothic which is connected with the temporary Aragonese rule. Toulouse and lower Languedoc were subject to Spanish and Italian influences. There is rich Renaissance architecture in Toulouse; palaces *à gypseries* were built in Montpellier in the 17th century; and baroque taste was in evidence everywhere.

In the region of the eastern Pyrenees, a religious art typical of the Basque country (churches with ambulatories) was found and was common to both sides of the mountains.

FRENCH ART OUTSIDE FRANCE. Except in the 16th century, when France yielded entirely to Italian art styles, French influence in the art of Europe has always been very important. There are various reasons why this should be so. In the 12th century, the Cluniacs and the Cistercians played an important role in spreading the Romanesque style in its Burgundian phase; in the 13th century, France developed the art of the cathedrals (architecture, sculpture, stained glass); from the middle of the 17th century, the French monarchical style (Versailles, royal palaces) flourished, and in the 18th century the Parisian style affected all fields of art. Many academies were founded, and factories on a French model sprang up in many European countries. For the past hundred years, the major tendencies of French art — which were centered in Paris — have spread throughout all the world.

In Italy, Cistercian churches of Burgundian type are found at S. Galgano near Siena and at Fossanova (VI, PL. 331). French influence is apparent in the Cathedrals of Siena, Genoa, and Milan; while the southern Gothic architectural style was imported into the Angevin Neapolitan dominions. During the revival of sculpture, the inspiration of Provence and of the earlier French Gothic was evident in Parma and in Pisa. At the end of the 16th century, various French artists worked in Italy; as a result, France's artistic ties with that country were strengthened. French artists collaborated in several of the Papacy's important artistic enterprises, such as the tomb of Innocent XI in St. Peter's by Pierre Etienne Monnot, the decoration of the Gesù in Rome by Pierre Legros, the statue of St. Bruno in St. Peter's by Michel-Ange Slodtz, and another statue of St. Bruno in S. Maria degli Angeli by Jean Antoine Houdon. In architecture, the style of Versailles was reflected at Turin (i.e., works of Robert de Cotte), Parma, and at Caserta, near Naples.

The French monastic orders exercised a definite influence in Spain through their pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, whose great church is purely French. The Cathedral of Avila is derived from Burgundian Romanesque, while the Cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo, and Léon (VI, PLS. 304-306) derive from

those of the Île-de-France. In the 14th century, Catalonia was dominated by the Gothic architecture of Languedoc. In the 15th century, Burgundian sculptors worked in Spain (e.g., Philippe de Bourgogne, in Toledo called Felipe Vigarny). With the accession of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne, Spain entered into the French sphere. Evidence of this influence may be found in the projects of Robert de Cotte for the Spanish royal palaces; in the gardens of La Granja, adorned with French sculpture; and in the presence at the Spanish court of such painters as Louis-Michel van Loo. At a later date, the director of the Academia de San Fernando was a Frenchman, Robert Michel. French influence lasted throughout the 19th century.

In Portugal, the Romanesque churches of the monastic orders were related either to the Burgundian types or to those of southwestern France (e.g., the Portuguese Church of Alcobaça). In the 15th century, there were many French sculptors in Portugal, such as Nicolas Chanterene, Jean de Rouen, and Philippe Oudart (Felipe Udart). In the 18th century, the typical French *place royale* has its counterpart in the Praça do Comercio in Lisbon. The decorative arts of France, and in particular French jewelry, were much in vogue at the Portuguese court.

French Gothic art was transplanted in a fairly pure state into Flanders and the Low Countries generally, as Ste-Gudule in Brussels and the Cathedral of Utrecht bear witness. In the 17th century, several French artists sojourned there, among them Philippe de Champaigne, Adam Frans Van der Meulen, Nicolas de Largillière, the sculptor Michel-Ange Slodtz, and the medalist Joseph Roettiers. In the 18th century the sculptor Martin van der Bogaert (who became known as Desjardins) came from Holland to France as did the painters of the Van Loo family, who were followed in the 19th century by Johan Jongkind and, finally, Vincent Van Gogh (q.v.).

French influence was kept alive in a reverse direction by the residence in Belgium of certain Parisian artists, among them the architects Nicolas Barré and Barnabé Guimard, who designed the Place Royale at Brussels, the painter Jacques Louis David, and the sculptor François Rude, the last two exiles in Belgium.

The art of the French cathedrals is reflected in England in Canterbury Cathedral (built by William of Sens) and in Westminster Abbey. In the 14th century, the sculptors André Beauneveu (q.v.) and Jean de Liège worked both in France and in England. Later, political events brought many French artists to London, such as the sculptor Hubert Le Sueur at the beginning of the 17th century (who executed the equestrian statue of Charles I at Charing Cross); the sculptor Louis François Roubilliac, a pupil of Nicolas Coustou; and also a number of French tapestry weavers.

In the Middle Ages during the period at which the Gothic style was beginning to appear, French artistic influence was felt in Central Europe. The style of Laon (VI, PLS. 295, 296) influenced the design of the Cathedral of Bamberg, and the sculptures there (VI, PL. 360) derived from those of Reims (VI, PL. 350). Cologne Cathedral (VI, PLS. 321, 322) was inspired by the Cathedral of Amiens (VI, PLS. 296, 299, 300). In Saxony and Westphalia, the Angevin type of church with a barrel vault was favored. After the 'Thirty Years' War, French art was more or less in competition, according to the region concerned, with national or Italianizing formulas.

Court attachments and the prestige of Louis XIV united to impose French architecture on the Rhenish electors at Cologne, as in the Château of Bonn, by Robert de Cotte; at Mainz, as in the Château La Favorite, by Gabriel-Germain Boffrand; and in the Palatinate, as in the Grand-Ducal Palace at Mannheim, by Nicolas de Pigage.

French influence extended also to Baden and Württemberg in southern Germany. There are buildings in Karlsruhe and Stuttgart by Pierre-Louis-Philippe de La Guépière, and the plans for Schleissheim were drawn up by Robert de Cotte. The Castle at Würzburg was inspired by Versailles and built according to the plans of De Cotte and Boffrand. In the 18th century, the architect François de Cuvilliers was responsible for the Residenz of Munich. Various tapestry and porcelain factories, similar to those of France, also appeared in Germany.

The court art of Saxony in the 17th and 18th centuries was strongly influenced by French art; and the Academy at Dresden was directed by Frenchmen.

In Prussia, the Great Elector turned to Jacques-François Blondel for the plans of the Arsenal of Berlin. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes placed a number of Protestant artists at the service of Prussia. In the 18th century, Frederick II (the Great) imitated the Trianon in building Sanssouci. He called to his court two members of the Adam family and named as his principal painters Antoine Peane and Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo. The same influence may be observed in the small courts of Cassel and Mecklenburg. By contrast, few German artists were attracted to Paris. The Rhenish cabinetmakers Jean François Oeben and Jean Henri Riesener, masters of French furniture making under Louis XV and Louis XVI (see FURNITURE), have been mentioned above.

In 18th-century Austria, it was first the personal initiative of Eugene, Prince of Savoy, then that of Francis of Lorraine and the Empress Maria Theresa, that brought about the importation of French art into a country whose artistic sympathies and ties had been with Italy. Parisian artists decorated the Belvedere in Vienna and directed the Imperial Academy of Art; later Nicholas Jadot built the University of Vienna.

In Hungary, the spread of Gothic was associated with the appearance there of French architects, among them Villard de Honnecourt. In 13th-century Bohemia the Cistercians played an important role in the introduction of Gothic architecture. King John of Luxemburg and the emperor Charles IV made 14th-century Prague a center of Parisian and Avignonese art, particularly painting.

In Switzerland, the Cathedrals of Lausanne and Geneva were of the pure French type. In the 15th century, Switzerland was artistically dependent on Burgundy. In the classical, period taste was dictated by French artists; the architects Jacques-François Blondel and Jacques-Denis Antoine are examples. Among the Swiss artists who migrated to France were, in the 17th century, the brothers Keller, who were responsible for statues at Versailles; and in the 18th century, the pastellist Jean Etienne Liotard (PL. 201).

In the Middle Ages, Cistercian art spread into Scandinavia. In Denmark, the Cathedral of Roskilde was inspired by that of Amiens. In the 18th century, statues of Christian V by Abraham-César Lamoureaux and of Frederick V by Jacques François Joseph Saly were executed; further, an academy on the Parisian model was founded. In Sweden, Etienne de Bonneuil's work at the Cathedral of Uppsala recalls French Gothic. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Francophile Tessin family exercised considerable influence. Nicholas Tessin built the palace at Stockholm, which was decorated by French artists. The Frenchman P. H. Larchevêque made a statue of Gustavus Adolphus. Among the Swedish artists active in France were Alexander Roslin in the 18th century and Anders Leonard Zorn, a painter and engraver, in the 19th century.

French influence was first felt in Poland during the reign of Stanislas Augustus II (1764). Victor Louis drew the plans for the palace at Warsaw. Pupils of Jean Pigalle (q.v.) and the pastellist Jean-Baptiste Perroneau were called to Poland. The painter Alexander Kucharaki, who acquired some fame by doing the last portraits of Marie Antoinette, was of Polish origin.

The journey of Peter the Great to Western Europe in 1697-98 marked the opening of Franco-Russian artistic relations. The monarch entrusted to the architect Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Le Blond the whole project for the laying out of the new capital, St. Petersburg, and he founded a tapestry factory on the model of the Gobelins works. Under the empresses Elizabeth Petrovna and Catherine the Great, French art enjoyed the highest prestige, and French standards imposed themselves. The Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg was founded in 1768; pupils received scholarships for study in Paris. Jean Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe (who designed the Palace of the Academies at St. Petersburg), the painter Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée, the sculptors Nicolas-François Gillet, and Falconet all worked at the Russian court. Falconet made the equestrian statue of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg. The architects Charles-

Louis Clérisseau, Charles de Wailly, and Jean-Rodolphe Perronet were all asked for various plans; and Houdon received commissions from Catherine the Great. Later events notwithstanding, French influence persisted into the 19th century.

French artistic influence extended to the United States of America and was decisive after the Revolutionary War. This is clearly observable in the classical architecture of Washington and in various state capitols. Houdon went to America to execute a statue of Washington. In the 19th century, the commissions given to French artists were numerous. Puvis de Chavannes (q.v.) decorated the Boston Public Library and Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi made his famous *Statue of Liberty*. On the other hand, many American artists studied in France and associated themselves with the French school, among them Whistler and Mary Cassatt (qq.v.).

The prestige of French art was also great in Latin America toward the middle of the 19th century, though there it was in competition with Spanish influence. Among examples of French works in South America are the statue of Dom Pedro I (1856) in Rio de Janeiro, by Louis Valentin Elias Robert, and the statue of Carlos María de Alvear in Buenos Aires, by Emile-Antoine Bourdelle.

In the Latin East, French influence showed itself as a result of the crusades. In such churches as the Holy Sepulcher, that of Tartus in Syria, and St. John at Acre, the Frankish kingdom adopted the structural and decorative principles of the Romanesque and Gothic styles, especially those of south-western and southern France. The crusader's fortresses, such as Le Crac des Chevaliers, are among the most admirable monuments of the French Gothic style. In the 14th century, on the island of Cyprus (q.v.), the last refuge of the crusaders, Gothic buildings such as the Cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia were erected which reflected the art of Champagne.

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Illustrations pls 375-424; 19 figs. in text.

**FRIEDRICH, CASPAR DAVID.** German romantic painter (b. Greifswald, Sept. 5, 1774; d. Dresden, May 7, 1840). Friedrich's family originated in Silesia but moved from there to Greifswald on the Baltic Sea. There Friedrich's art was deeply influenced by the feeling of limitless space in the landscape. An inborn tendency to melancholy was greatly strengthened when his brother died in an attempt to save Friedrich from drowning.

His artistic career was made easy in every respect by his family. From 1794 to 1798, Friedrich visited the Academy of Copenhagen, where he studied architectural drawing. In 1798, he moved to Dresden, then the most important art center of Germany. There he met the painters Friedrich von Olivier, J. C. Dahl, and Philippe Otto Runge (the last-named having been the foremost theoretician of romanticism). Through them and the poets Ludwig Tieck and Novalis, Friedrich be-

came deeply involved in the romantic movement. He received a prize for two sepia drawings in the competition sponsored by Goethe in 1805. Five years later, he became a member of the Berlin Academy, and in 1816 a member of the Dresden Academy. He married in 1818 and became assistant professor of the Dresden Academy in 1824.

Friedrich's important work began in 1807 when he completed an altarpiece, *The Cross on the Mountain* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), for the chapel of the castle of Count Thun at Děčín. This painting shows a small yet dominating cross on top of a steep rock formation under a beautiful evening sky, a most characteristic treatment of an intrinsically Christian subject within a cosmic landscape uniting earth and heaven. It expresses in a new way the old idea that Christ is the light of the world.

Although Friedrich's many paintings can be divided into groups, they cannot be connected with different chronological periods because throughout his life Friedrich's works were unusually similar to one another in composition and technique.

Many of Friedrich's works can be classified as realistic, since they are attempts to show a certain view just as it really was, e.g., *The Meadows near Greifswald* (1820-30; Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle). The uncompromising way in which the flatness of the landscape is emphasized in this work surpasses even the Dutch masters of the 17th century.

The beautiful city view of *The Walls of Greifswald* (Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle) is again an astonishingly realistic representation, but the man — seen from the back — near the foreground of the painting and the raven fluttering around the church steeple create a somber mood. This picture leads us toward the works which represent more overtly his artistic credo of willful creations of the fancy: "If you want to be an artist . . . watch the voice of your soul because it is art within yourself," or again, "You shall keep holy every pure emotion of your soul; you shall esteem holy every pious presentiment. In an exalted hour it will become visible form and this form is your work." Typical of works in this category are the two views of the abandoned monastery of Eldena, near Greifswald (one now destroyed; the other in Berlin, Nationalgalerie). Both are somber winter landscapes, their desolation and loneliness emphasized by leafless trees and a funeral in one painting and by the silent figure of a monk in the other.

This somber mood is also expressed in paintings that appear to be of a very different character, for instance, the interior view of a room showing a woman looking out of the window (supposedly Friedrich's wife; Greifswald, private coll.); outside the window is a river with ships passing by in a kind of "stream of life."

Other important works are: *The Harz Mountains* (Berlin, Nationalgalerie), *Two Men Watching the Moon in the Mountains* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), *Landscape in the Riesengebirge* (Munich, Neue Pin.), *Norsee* (Prague, Rudolfinum), and *Landscape on the Island of Rügen* (Weimar, Schlossmuseum).

Friedrich was basically a draftsman; he gave no evidence of an interest in atmospheric effect even in his paintings, executing foreground and background with equal sharpness and clarity. He was among the most outspoken representatives of romantic painting, and his work — uniting realism and poetic invention — exemplifies the spiritual attitude of romanticism in general.

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Guido SCHÖNBERGER

**FUNCTIONALISM.** See EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS.

**FURNITURE.** In the category of useful objects which also have an esthetic value in their form and decoration, furniture has a particular importance as a record of taste. It represents

the environment created by man for his daily life. It shares the temporary utilitarian quality of accessory objects (see HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS); at the same time, its character is more permanent and stable in the framework of domestic life, being a complement to architecture (see INTERIOR DECORATION and DESIGN; STRUCTURAL TYPES AND METHODS). It is therefore sometimes difficult to draw the line, on the one hand, between furniture and various objects of individual use or minor appurtenances, and, on the other hand, between domestic furniture and such almost architectural elements of public or religious buildings as wall decorations, pulpits, choir stalls, etc. However, especially in more advanced civilizations and in the modern world, furniture constitutes a category of products that is well defined as to function (to support and to contain). This function determines the fundamental forms (beds, seats, tables, cupboards, etc.). In addition, the material (wood) and the techniques of cabinetmaking are basic to a well-developed traditional craftsmanship that is often at a high level of quality.

The functional requirements do not permit great variation of the individual types and the power of tradition explains the persistence and recurrence of certain furniture styles over long periods of time and in very diverse cultures. Nevertheless, the stylistic trends of specific periods do affect the lines and the decoration of furniture, particularly in the forms drawn from architecture. In the last few centuries this has been especially true, furniture having become almost the sign of a period's style.

**SUMMARY.** General considerations (col. 688). Primitive furniture (col. 692). Furniture of antiquity (col. 696): *The Near East; Greece; Etruria; Rome; The late-antique period; Byzantium; Iran.* Western furniture (col. 710): *The Middle Ages; Renaissance to mid-17th century: a. Italy; b. France; c. Germany; d. The Low Countries; Mid-17th century through the 18th century: a. France; b. Germany; c. The Low Countries; d. Scandinavia; e. Italy; The 19th century: a. France; b. Regional furniture; Spain and Portugal, 17th through 19th centuries; England, 1500-1900; United States, 1680-1900; Modern furniture. Eastern furniture (col. 737): Islam; India; China; Japan.*

**GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.** There is a practical as well as an esthetic aspect to furniture, as there is to food and clothing. For man to find the best method of covering his body from season to season, and then give the matter no further attention, would be a sufficient practical solution; the quantity and structure of the objects necessary to sustain life are limited. The same can be said of food. Once a suitable alimentary regime has been found for a specific climate, there is no practical necessity for giving further thought to the question. But as with food, so with apparel and furnishings; there arises the question of variety and, therefore, of taste. What is born from necessity survives for delight. And since even with animals one finds signs of an esthetic expression beyond pure need (even if the display is motivated by sexual attraction), it is difficult to say at what point pleasure is added to the mere satisfaction of a human need. As far as furniture is concerned, it is easier to determine the moment in which a sense of the "interior" was born in man — that sense of the room as a counterpart of the soul, the envelope or the extension of the ego, without which the soul would feel like a snail without its shell. This sense (*Stimmung* is the German word for it, and the feeling that inspires the word is also Northern) was born in relatively modern times, very probably with romantic sensibility. But before the room became a museum of the soul, an archive of its experiences in which it rereads its own history, or an echo chamber where its chords give their only authentic vibrations, the furnishing of a house — like man's costume, utensils and tools, and vehicles (qq.v.) — was a reflection of physical man. Many pieces of furniture are counterparts of the human body — empty forms to receive it. Chairs reveal the size and posture of man sitting, beds of man reclining; the mirror waits for the human face to animate it. And even those pieces of furniture whose integration with the human counterpart is less obvious — a wardrobe, a chest of drawers — reflect the measure of physical man: pulls, handles, locks placed for his reach and his grasp, doors, drawers, shelves placed for his sight. This anthropo-

morphic aspect of furniture reveals both the user and his use of the object.

Even before man possessed *Stimmung*, that peculiar sense of interior, he revealed himself unconsciously in his taste for one or another piece of furniture. Perhaps even more than painting, or sculpture, or architecture, furniture reveals the spirit of an age. And there is nothing like a retrospective and chronologically arranged display of furnished rooms to show at first glance the various characters of their occupants. One can guess how the Romans felt about beautiful furnishings from a passage in Cicero's *Paradoxa* (v, 2): "In a house the slaves who take care of the pictures, the statues, the chased silver vases, and the Corinthian bronzes, who clean them, polish them, and keep them in order are considered the lowest among their colleagues. Likewise, the men who abandon themselves to the passion [for these objects] are at the lowest level of slavery. . . . When I discover you studying a picture of Aëtion or a statue of Polyclitus, . . . admiring them and ready to shout about them, . . . I say that you are the slave of the silliness of children's toys. . . . If Mummius saw with what passion they handle a Corinthian vase, . . . would he take them for distinguished citizens, or would he take them for overzealous servants?" Seneca, too, deplored the passion "for objects, a material weight to which a pure soul, conscious of its origin, would never attach itself." The love of precious objects, which is not altogether unknown in any society, often reached a degree of refinement that bothered Cicero. It is one thing thus to delight, as did the rich man of whom Horace spoke (*Carmina*, ii, 18), in a house glowing with ivory and gold and sparkling with Hymettian marble architraves on columns cut in Africa: This taste for the sumptuous is different from that sense of a house's intimacy, in which the house is conceived as a mirror of the soul or as a state of mind — a discovery of modern times. A similar modern discovery is a certain sense of landscape unknown at the time of Horace; then a love for the country had a practical basis, meaning the vintage, the harvest of fruits, and the care of plants, flocks, and bees. Thus the cult of the home seems to have had an affective-practical substratum: the modest wife, the chaste offspring, the household gods. The only moment in Horace's famous ode "Beatus ille" that approaches contemplation ends with a practical notion: to lie down on the soft grass in the shade of an ancient ilex and to listen to the murmur of the waters and the song of the birds are good things because they induce sleep.

It is impossible to say with certainty how the owners of the houses in Herculaneum and Pompeii felt, other than rested, in their decorated peristyles. But there must always have been, however rudimentary, a sense of "home," even if it was involved with a set of merely physical sensations. No painter or writer has left us such a testimony, unless one wants to give great weight to certain Pompeian decorative motifs that display an appreciation of the elegance of a basket of flowers or fruit, or a group of amphoras and vases: they show a detached delight in beautiful furnishings. (Attempts by modern painters such as L. Alma-Tadema to reconstruct the intimacy of classical settings betray a curious mixture of labored archaeology and a characteristically 19th-century fantasy.) But that there was a love of furniture is also proved by the high level of technical perfection achieved in the furniture of antiquity and by the refinements that (according to historians of furniture) are not found again until the 16th century. Furnishings found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (see EGYPTIAN ART) show how accurate the *ébénistes* of the Napoleonic empire, 3,500 years later, were in their imitations of Egyptian furniture, which were based on indirect evidence and conjecture. But no *ébéniste* ever knew how to reproduce the simple perfection of the Greek chair, whose profile of harmonious curves emphasized the elegance of the seated human figure. This profile of the *klismos* is rhythmically placed on Greek gravestones, suggesting a comparison between this inanimate object designed to carry man and the horse, the living creature that bears man (III, PL. 369). This relationship had been emphasized from early times by the use of theriomorphic legs and is alluded to by the elastic elegance, equine in profile, of the Greek chair. It should be remembered that

furniture is of two basic kinds: designed to support and designed to contain. The former resembles animal forms, the latter architectural forms. Thus the chair is inspired by the horse, the linen chest (and even the coffin, for that matter) by the house.

If the profile of the Greek chair (a model of functional elegance to rival anything produced in the 20th century, despite much talk about functionalism) continues to reappear as a leitmotiv on steles and in Greek vase paintings, then it is clear that the ancients must have felt the grace of the object, must have loved it and the sober arrangements of domestic objects that formed the furniture of their rooms. Roman furniture, more varied than Greek, included substantially all the types that succeeding centuries would use or develop. But, as we have indicated, a taste for furniture is not always accompanied by a taste for the room. Roman furniture had physical perfection but still lacked soul. One can, after all, repeat what has been said on the comparison of a Greek to a Roman statue.

In *Ivanhoe*, Sir Walter Scott tried to create a medieval interior, the apartment of Lady Rowena. One must not accept the details of the furnishings too literally, for Scott himself admitted that he might have confused the customs of two or three centuries. Nevertheless, Scott's general description is correct — a few pieces of furniture and many cloths and draperies. All the luxury of the Middle Ages was concentrated in fabrics. The fireplace was the center of the room, and the chest was the universal piece of furniture. There was no symmetrical arrangement of furnishings, and there was no play of light and shadow, for very little light filtered through the small windows rendered opaque by colored panes or bottle glass. But it was in precisely these northern rooms, gloomy to all appearances, that *Stimmung*, a sense of intimacy, was born. The medieval idea of beauty and safety was always something segregated, hidden from the world: the cloister, the castle, the walled city, the enclosed garden, the fenced orchard. Frenchmen of the 15th century transformed their rooms with tapestries into exquisite shaded artificial orchards, making them a pale reflection of the life of the woods, the fields, and the hunt, as if the light were filtering through deep waters. The motionless atmosphere of the aquarium dominated the first pictures of interiors (in the modern sense of the word): interiors that were not merely rooms but mirrors of the soul. In the *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, one of the miniatures in the famous *Heures de Turin* (Turin, Mus. Civ.), attributed to Jan van Eyck, and in the Arnolfini portrait by Jan van Eyck (1434; PL. 223), the *Stimmung* is determined by the sense of the apartment that is given by the door opening into other rooms. In the latter picture, the door is cleverly indicated by a reflection in a round mirror on the wall. This sense of intimacy, which the northern European painters so often rendered in scenes of the studios of saints and Humanists (e.g., Dürer's engraving, *St. Jerome*; Quentin Metsys' *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, known through a copy in Rome, Palazzo Corsini), does not appear in interiors painted by Italian painters of the Renaissance. In Italian painting (e.g., Ghirlandajo's *Birth of the Virgin*; VI, PL. 184) the architecture gives a solemn and measured note. Only in Carpaccio does the sense of intimacy appear in Italy. From the northern European painters, Carpaccio learned the magic of the door that lets you see other rooms, and he showed it most clearly in the *Dream of St. Ursula* (Venice, Accademia), which displays all the poetry of a Renaissance interior, full of airy spaces and delicate vigor. Perhaps it was the predominance of an architectural element that precluded intimacy in painted scenes of Italian Renaissance interiors, where the furniture had a structural function. In some of the more solemn of these rooms, the frescoes on the walls and the mazelike ceilings rule alone. The few pieces of monumental furniture arranged around the wall appear fixed and immovable in their precise and final positions. In the bed-chamber the master bed is like a monumental altar surmounted by its baldachin. Since the Humanists lacked classical models for many pieces of furniture, they drew their inspiration from architecture, translating into wood those forms originally designed for stone. Thus cornices, pilasters, vertical moldings, and modillions were used by the cabinetmaker as well as by the architect. In the late Renaissance, anthropomorphic and



theriomorphic elements were added to the architectural forms — sphinxes, dolphins, and chimeras. And that is why the interiors of Jan van Eyck have that intimacy which many painters of the Italian Renaissance lack; not all the objects represented have a tectonic value, and many, in fact, have only a descriptive value.

The sense of interior decoration was born in the rich and refined bourgeois homes of northern Europe. Only a bourgeois fancy — longing for the practical, the ostentatious, and the picturesque at the same time — could have conceived and produced those Germanic chests of drawers of the 16th and 17th centuries, veritable encyclopedias of ornament and architecture, in which little distinction was made between the essential and the accessory. The craftsman, the architect, the *ébéniste*, and the goldsmith competed in ability. The countless compartments decorated with gems and coins kept toilet objects, writing equipment, playing cards, astrolabes, hourglasses, cupping glasses, and so on. This complicated cabinet, characteristically bourgeois in invention, was most of all a court furnishing; but under Louis XIV a sharp distinction was made between court and bourgeois furniture, which survived until neoclassicism. The cabinet for precious objects of the patrician house was paralleled in the bourgeois home by the credenza, used for the display of beautiful pottery.

When in 18th-century France the *hôtels* and country retreats were preferred to great palaces, and when variety, comfort, and gaiety were the requirements of the rooms of court, a golden age of furniture began, born of the marriage of bourgeois and patrician tastes. In England those same tastes met in the prose of *The Spectator* of Addison and Steele, giving it a tone of distinction united with affability, humanity, and classic composure. And it was in England and the Anglomaniac France of Louis XVI that furniture became the faithful expression of the new spirit. Then there was a proliferation of furniture for all uses — the bookcase and the innumerable progeny of tables: tables for the wall, tables for the center of the room, game tables, work tables, tables to be used as stands, "silent butlers," and nests of tables, each with its own form and characteristics. There were pieces with fanciful and lighthearted feminine names — the *bergère*, the *marquise*, the *duchesse*, the *turquoise*, the *veilleuse*, the *voyeuse*, and the *athénienne*. With the Adam brothers (see ADAM, ROBERT AND JAMES) there began in England that domestic neoclassicism which had its full spring in the France of Louis XVI, its summer in the Empire, and a languid autumn in the delicious awkwardnesses of the Biedermeier. In contrast with the Continental rococo, in which the functional sense of furniture was lost in a swirl of curving lines that blended furniture into the decoration of the whole wall, the neoclassical interior of the Adam style — Etruscan or Pompeian, as it was then called — offered a bright room soberly adorned with plaster casts and medallions. The Adam room served as a background for well-designed and clearly defined pieces of polished mahogany furniture, objects of silver, and crystal. The *Stimmung* of a Biedermeier or Victorian room is different, with its group of divan and chairs around a tea table, its showcase of china, its cross-stitching, and its mixture of classical, Gothic, and exotic motifs. Shapeless and jumbled, the interiors of the middle 19th century still have a certain *Stimmung*, which they derive from color and a sense of the picturesque. This sense of the picturesque, which in the early part of the century had been held within the strict classicism that was to die, emerged with new strength in the rococo revival of the later 19th century; it assumed full mastery in the chaotic anarchy of the *fin de siècle*. Accessories, *petits riens*, tassels, and capricious draperies became the most important furnishings of a room. Everything, in fact, was draped: walls, hearths, mirrors, pianos, easels, flower vases. With the ephemeral sway of the Art Nouveau style, rooms again had a unified character, as they had in the rococo. Furniture, which had been in the form of free-standing cubes or parallelepipeds, was again accommodated to the wall and the general décor of the room. The same curves embraced furniture and rooms. The individual room was no longer separate from the others. Rooms flowed into one another and were arranged around an open area in

the center, as though they were chapels in a strange Gothic cathedral. In the early 20th century with de Stijl (see EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS), there appeared the first hint of the modern taste for essential nudity of line and for pure and strongly emphasized geometric forms.

Mario PRAZ

**PRIMITIVE FURNITURE.** An account of the formal development of furniture would be incomplete without taking into consideration those primeval types of furniture created from prehistoric times onward, the evidences of which can be observed almost exclusively in present-day tribal cultures. These forms of furniture were, of course, rudimentary, but they were the forerunners of the more complex and specialized types later developed by the higher civilizations. They served only immediate needs (e.g., pallets, cradles, headrests, chairs, chests for clothing and utensils), and were often cut directly into the walls of the hut or the thickness of doorways, forming niches, recesses, and enclosed benches for beds or seats.

The paucity of primitive furniture types is due to economic factors rather than ideological forces, the absence of inventive or mechanical capacity, or a lack of demand. Among hunting and food-gathering societies, where it was necessary to be continually on the move with a minimum of effort, household goods were limited to the indispensable and the easily transportable. Pallets were made of grass, leaves, straw, or skins, according to climate. With regard to these rudimentary "beds," mats and hammocks indicate a certain degree of evolution and denote the beginnings of a creative bent in human nature. Though in embryonic form, this new bent marked an advance over existence at the ground level. Complete restriction to ground level occurred nearly always among hunting and food-gathering cultures of the lowest order.

The first rude implements appeared among the higher orders of hunters and food gatherers. Such implements became more elaborate and took on greater artistic significance as a relative abundance of food and stability in dwelling places allowed more time for the building of larger habitations and for activities outside the strictly economic. One of the best examples of this process is found in the salmon-fishing peoples on the northwest coast of North America, who had a remarkable politico-social organization as well as a highly developed artistic activity; they produced, among other household articles, handsome painted chests for storing clothing and household goods (see NORTH AMERICAN CULTURES).

The above statements concerning hunting and food-gathering communities generally hold true for nomadic herders as well. Continually on the move and watching their herds, these peoples had little time to dedicate to arts and crafts other than those connected with their immediate needs. Even when grazing communities became relatively sedentary, as occurred in central Africa with the Bantu tribes of the lake regions, a minimum of furniture was made; this was lacking in artistic interest.

Only at the level of agricultural communities, necessarily settled in permanent villages, does the production of a few basic types of furniture (mostly chairs, headrests, and cupboards) become general, even though structural form is quite uniform throughout. The decorations, however, are clearly determined by current local styles, which make possible their identification. This cultural level in many communities already denotes urban living and the beginnings of the larger organized civilizations such as those of the ancient Near East, China, and the Mexican and Andean regions of pre-Columbian America. The nature of household goods produced at this more advanced cultural level can be reconstructed not only through comparisons with contemporary tribal cultures but also from archaeological finds of the formative stage of the higher civilizations. It is at this somewhat higher level that a limited but significant number of furniture types originated that were characteristic in many ways (though with innumerable variations) of the development of the more important civilizations; these types included beds, pallets and cradles, headrests, chairs, stools and benches, tables, shelves, hooks, and ladders. Below, an account is given of these types of furniture, based on tribal cultures.



First, let us deal with pallets and beds. In Africa the type of pallet most widely used is made of grass, leaves, skins, or matting placed either on the ground or on low blocks situated along the walls of the dwelling. This rudimentary form of bed is to be found at all levels of civilization. More elaborate pallets and authentic beds are generally the exception. Outside the sporadic appearance of the hammock (see below), which is used only for daytime resting, and which in some regions of Liberia has a certain artistic value owing to the ornamental designs and colors used, the other types of more elaborate pallets common in Africa are the clay benches, the *angareb* characteristic of Ethiopia, and the beds with legs from the Cameroons Grasslands. The *angareb*, common all over western and central Sudan and even deep into the equatorial forests, is generally without decoration. Infrequently, the *angareb* has a curved headboard done in openwork or is polychromed in simple designs, abstract or figured. The *angareb* of the Semitic peoples of Ethiopia is a bed with four rounded legs and a webbing made either of strips of skins or straw plaited together. It is not an African type of bed, and reveals an influence from the higher Oriental cultures (see ETHIOPIAN ART).

There are three principal types of beds in the Cameroons Grasslands. The first type has wooden legs externally decorated with motifs obtained by a kind of reversed pyrography in which the designs are carved with a knife into a previously blackened surface, thus standing out clearly against the dark background. The decorative motifs are usually realistic zoomorphous figures. The platform is made from palm ribs. The second type of bed also has a palm-rib platform but has higher legs and is generally decorated with geometric motifs (PL. 425). The third type is made of one piece of wood and decorated with sculptures. This type is reserved for the chieftains. The platform is supported by anthropomorphous figures with upraised arms; the neckrest is stationary and is in the form of an outstretched leopard (PL. 425).

The same types of rudimentary beds found in Africa also occur in Oceania. Actual beds are rare and without decoration, and the few to be found are the exception. For Melanesia we have a description of a plank bed from New Britain, of which the board, painted and cut from an above ground root of the *rau* tree, rests on trunks supported by four forked posts. The decoration is painted mostly in black, white, and red and represents objects of everyday use in a very stylized manner, sometimes altogether symbolic. Similar beds, made from carefully planed boards, are found in Wuvulu Island in western Micronesia. The natives of the Admiralty Islands, highly gifted artistically, have made actual furniture. Their beds, richly decorated, have bottoms made of smooth boards dyed red, sometimes with white and black borders at the ends. The decoration of the bed is on the framework, which is joined by dowels. The legs are also decorated, or are carved to form human figures (single or in pairs, often two people back to back), a combination of men and fish, fish alone, and other motifs. Usually the ends of the bed are pierced and the dowels run through the sides; when this is so, the ends are decorated with plastically developed carvings which may represent entire human figures, a human face or a mask, or the head of a dog or crocodile. Other beds have the sides pierced, with the sculptures there; the decorations are done in red and white.

The hunting peoples of the two Americas, from the Eskimos of Alaska to the so-called "marginal peoples" of the eastern interior zones of South America, use pallets made of plain or decorated fabrics, or unadorned skins (in North America); in South America palm-fiber mats done in ladder weave are used. Only the mats of the young girls of the Carajás in the Araguaia district are sometimes adorned with checked or meander motifs woven in black with buriti fibers. Among the primitive farmers of the Amazon and over large areas of the eastern-central zone of South America, hammocks of local fabrication are generally used. Sometimes an attempt at artistic design is to be noted in the colors and in the weave of the threads.

The more advanced civilizations of Mexico and the Andes used simple beds placed on legs or forks. According to Diego de Landa, the Mayas used small branches tied together with

vegetable fibers for the platform and covered this with mats or fabrics. These were painted in bright colors, at least in the houses of the chieftains. Simple beds with legs, presumably undecorated, are depicted in the pre-Columbian ceramics of the Nayarits of Mexico.

In Peru, according to Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, a half-breed or pure Indian (*Nueva cordónica y buen gobierno*, ca. 1613-20), a sleeping figure is depicted on a bed which rests on four forked stakes and is composed of a series of crossed sticks on which the blanket and pillow are placed. Even today many Indian tribes on the eastern slopes of the Andes use similar beds. The Quechuas and the Aymaras, before the conquest, slept on stone-platform beds propped against the wall and covered with llama skins; after the conquest, sheep skins were used.

The cradle, nonexistent nearly everywhere in Africa and found only sporadically in Micronesia (and there of no artistic interest), is the only piece of furniture to be found among the hunting tribes of Australia. The women of these tribes, when on the move, sometimes carry their children in wooden boat-shaped troughs, the surface of which is covered with an irregularly disposed design of crossing ridges. Generally, in the Americas the use of the cradle is widespread among both the hunting and farming cultures, and is to be found in the arctic as well as the tropical zones. In both North and South America, from the Eskimos to the Araucanians of Chile, many peoples first wrap their children in blankets or skins and bind them before placing them in a sort of flat cradle. The cradles are generally surmounted by simple or crossed arches, which, like the boards itself, are sometimes artistically decorated with carvings. It has been noted from several terra cottas that the same type of cradle was used in ancient Mexico; and there is evidence of its use in pre-Columbian Peru, as may be seen in the Poma de Ayala Codex. North American baby carriers, flat for the most part, can be carried on the mother's back and also propped up or hung (PL. 425). The most artistically significant cradles, adorned with beaded embroidery on soft leather, are to be found among the Sioux, the Utes, and other prairie tribes. The Navahos often decorate the cradles with brass nails, the Senecas and Iroquois with ornamental carving also carried over to the arches above the cradle. In South America east of the Andes the cradles of netting, shaped like hammocks, are woven into complicated patterns and are often multicolored. Sporadically, cradles can also be found among the Indians of the equatorial forests of South America.

Among many peoples over the world, even outside groups at the tribal level (ancient Egypt, China, and Japan), the neckrest or headrest was a complement to the bed, to which in some cases it could be attached (e.g., in the Admiralty Islands in Melanesia). Generally, its use coincides with elaborate hair styles, and therefore it is not surprising to find the neckrest in societies at different economic levels.

In Africa the use of the neckrest is more widespread in the eastern section. Neckrests of the Somalis have a foot decorated with braided or banded motifs (see IV, PL. 86). A similar type is to be found among the Gallas (see CUSHITE CULTURES) and the Nyamwezi Bantus, while the southern Bantus use zoomorphous headrests, generally depicting a crouching leopard. The Zulu and the Nguni neckrests are often feline in shape. In these relatively naturalistic sculptures, movement is ably rendered and stylization is minimal. Other fairly artistic neckrests are to be found in Senegal and in the forested regions of the Cameroons.

The neckrest or headrest is widespread in Oceania and reaches the maximum of perfection in New Guinea, where it is much in use among nearly all tribes (see MELANESIAN CULTURES; NEW GUINEA). In the territory of Geelvink Bay, where there is a strong Indonesian influence, neckrests (PL. 426), taller and lighter than those of other zones, have a slightly concave upper surface and are supported by highly stylized figures, which remind one of the sculptures of Nias in their abstraction (see INDONESIAN CULTURES). Openwork ornament also clearly shows Indonesian influence. In the regions of Humboldt Bay and the Sepik River, long and rather narrow headrests are often deco-

rated at the ends with anthropomorphous or zoomorphous sculptures. The legs are usually secured with rotang fibers. There are also headrests of a better-known type from the Sepik area and Tami Island (PL. 426), which are handsomer and of more artistic significance. Those of the Collingwood Bay area are often decorated with openwork. In the Gulf of Papua region, there are purely functional headrests as well as rather narrow ones, which are painted and decorated in relief. Still in the Melanesian sphere, headrests are common in the Fiji Islands; they are also found in Wuvulu Island in western Micronesia. Those of New Britain, Nissan, and Santa Cruz are of some artistic value. In Micronesia and Polynesia, besides simple types of headrests, there are others, long and narrow, polished and refined in form. The latter are sometimes adorned with zoomorphous figures. The finest headrests come from the Tonga Islands, and some are so large that it is believed they also served as stools. Other skillfully executed headrests are to be found in the Marshall Islands (Ralik and Ratak), in Truk, and in the central Caroline Islands (Ifalik, Faraulep, and others). Although headrests are not found in either North or South America, some examples are depicted on the ceramics of Colima (Mexico), but they have no particular artistic merit.

Generally speaking, among cultures at the tribal level the decorated chair is almost always reserved for the use of a chief or other high political or religious personage, or is used only for particular ceremonies. Leaving aside the questions of form and decoration, the existence of at least one type of chair (even if not generally widespread) is attested among cultures at all economic levels. On the other hand, tables are rarely found.

Among the Pygmies of the Congo forests only one piece of furniture is to be found: a sort of reclining chair made of crutch-shaped branches, unadorned in any way. Viewed from the modern standpoint of functional simplicity, it may be considered a work of art. The same type of chair (with decoration) is used by the Mongo and Kundu groups of the northern Congo, while in the southern Congo, particularly among the Baluba, several types of ceremonial chairs with circular seats and anthropomorphous supports are in use (II, PL. 118). Similar seats and chairs of European derivation, but adorned with typical local designs, are found among the Bajokwe (Chokwe) of Angola (PL. 426). Other interesting types of chairs are used in the Cameroons Grasslands. Those without backs and supported by a series of superimposed head masks (PL. 426) as well as leopards or human figures are numerous. Those with anthropomorphous or zoomorphous backs (II, PL. 98) are nearly always reserved for chieftains. Also found are oval or nearly square stools with four feet linked at the bottom by a circular band and decorated on the outside with ornamental serpentine reliefs. Among the Anyi, Ashanti, Guang, Ewe, and Yoruba (see GUINEAN CULTURES), chairs and stools are mostly reserved for the chiefs. The Ashanti developed a chair cult (widespread also in the Cameroons and Nigeria) with at least 187 models and motifs, all mostly reserved for the king. However, every rank (and often individual personages) had its own ornamental motif to which a special name was given. The center for the fabrication of chairs done in openwork was the village of Afuá, near Kumasi. Among the Mandingo-speaking peoples farther west, small chairs with angular or semicircular backs are nearly always reserved for the chiefs, and have a symbolic value. The most interesting piece is a brass chair, cast in six parts, from the Dan tribe of northwest Liberia and formerly in the possession of the Kan royal family. Another unique piece is an old quartz stool with a handle. It came from Ife, Nigeria, and clearly shows Mediterranean influences. Many other African chairs are of artistic interest in form and decoration; they are found even among peoples who otherwise manifest little artistic talent, as, for example, the Wadai, the Hamitic Bantu, and the Negro tribes of the northeast.

Among the tribal peoples of Asia, mention should be made of the low seats decorated with a series of stylized zoomorphous heads painted red, and belonging to the chieftains of the head-hunting Naga tribes in Assam.

In Oceania seats with artistic qualities are rare; the better examples, which are painted red, white, and black and which

are sometimes also used as tables, come from the Admiralty Islands. In New Guinea chairs are made only in the Sepik area, and are nearly always used solely for ceremonial purposes. They are rather plain, though sometimes striking in beauty of form. The seat is sometimes supported by masks or figures of crocodiles rendered in a relatively naturalistic style, and the chair may have an anthropomorphous backrest. In the latter case, it also serves as a podium for speakers during meetings.

Chairs and stools are widespread in North and South America, and together with hammocks they represent the sole type of furniture existing among the peoples east of the Andes. In North America the Sioux Indians used decorated ladder-back chairs. In pre-Columbian Mexico chairs and stools having a wooden framework covered with basketry work were used by persons of rank. Round stone seats with a conical base done in openwork have been found in Costa Rica (PL. 425). The seat of this stone chair is slightly conical too, and the edges are sometimes decorated with stylized human heads. At times the base is made up of four monkey-faced figures arranged, generally, around a single ring of stone. Famous in the Antilles are the *duho*, carved one-piece seats belonging to the chieftains and used in ceremonials. In ancient Peru chairs were reserved for the Inca and other high dignitaries; round stools with curved feet were in everyday use. The stone chairs of Manabí, in Ecuador, were reserved for ceremonial use, and have been found in the ruins of enclosures and stone houses strewn along the hillsides and in the valleys (PL. 426). Only rarely do the chairs of the South American Indians show artistic qualities. Among the Tucanos of the Vaupés River, the old four-cornered stools (with slightly concave seats covered with basketry work and encircled by a wide linear ornament in black) had conical feet, which were always carved and painted. One can discern the head and tail of a bird on the opposite sides of the stylized stools made in the regions of the source of the Xingú River. Similar stools used by the Trumai had a head on both sides. The Nahukwas and the Mehinacus have stools in the form of a jaguar; the Carajás of the Araguaia district provide examples shaped like a highly stylized altar with a head on both sides. These latter, seen from the side, suggest the figure of a bird, and are kept for ceremonial use.

Benches, shelves, hooks for suspending things, and ladders are only sporadically found among a limited number of peoples. The few objects in use are generally kept in baskets or boxes, or hung on unadorned hooks which, from a formal point of view, have no artistic interest.

The benches made of cedarwood by the salmon-fishing Indians of northwest America are an exception. They were made originally without using nails, the wood being shaped by heat, and they were decorated with zoomorphous pictures of typically local style. Human figures were rare. Of great importance among many North American Indians were the baskets for storing provisions. Those of the Apaches are the most famous of these; they were decorated with black motifs, and were often immense (II, PL. 227). Also noteworthy are the hooks found in New Guinea, especially those from the Sepik territory. The most effective pieces are found in the clubhouses. One type, for example, is in human form, representing an ancestor, the feet of which terminate in a large double hook. Baskets and other containers may be hung from these hooks. Another type is made of a horizontal wooden pole, slightly arched and painted, bearing various small hooks. The hooks may be zoomorphous in form, generally birds, or may be decorated with abstract carvings. Also to be mentioned in the category of furniture are the notched ladders cut from the trunk of a tree; examples from the Admiralty Islands and New Guinea are occasionally decorated.

FURNITURE OF ANTIQUITY. As the civilization of the ancient Mediterranean advanced and the material standard of domestic life increased to the point at which houses became a place in which to spend time, work, and entertain, new problems arose in the function and design of furniture. Despite differences among various peoples, the ultimate consequences of increased

comfort were always luxury — often exaggerated — and an eventual decline in the true significance of objects and furniture.

*The Near East.* There is sufficient evidence, direct and indirect, about furniture in ancient Egypt to enable us to reconstruct the types of furniture used and their arrangements in rooms, and to make possible some description of the historical development of types and styles. The situation is quite different for the other regions, where evidence (particularly direct evidence) is scarce. This paucity of evidence for furniture in western Asia precludes its extensive consideration.

The direct Egyptian evidence is provided by the rich funerary equipment of the tombs, which the exceptionally dry climate has preserved (see EGYPTIAN ART). Noteworthy among these tombs are the royal tombs of Abydos, of the Thinite age; the tomb of Queen Hetepheres (mother of Cheops), of the Old Kingdom; the tombs of the princesses of Dahshur and Lahun, of the Middle Kingdom; the tombs of Yuya and Tjuyu (parents of Queen Ti), of the architect Kha, of Tutankhamen, and of many other members of royal families and of private individuals of the New Kingdom. The direct evidence regarding residences, however, is scarce and almost always concerns workmen's houses, whose furniture (if any) was strictly functional. In tomb furnishings it is not always easy to distinguish between those furnishings used in daily life and those designed specifically for funerary purposes. There is, however, a wealth of indirect evidence, furnished by tomb paintings, decorations of sarcophagi, statues, reliefs, and models.

House furnishings were ordinarily minimal, and skins and mats decorated with lively designs played a predominant role. The residences of sovereigns and officials were rather richly furnished. Egyptian wall dadoes, floors, and ceilings were covered with paintings. There were numerous pieces of furniture, usually basic types such as beds, headrests, stools, chairs, thrones, footrests, small tables, vase stands, chests, and small cabinets. These were embellished with inlay, openwork, painting, and gilding. It is possible to trace a certain line of development within each type. The essential forms were established in the Old Kingdom, but during succeeding eras decoration increased. There was a great taste for the luxurious, which sometimes — especially in the New Kingdom — deteriorated into an inelegant excess of decoration. A distinctive element of particular importance was the legs of beds, stools, and tables.

The bed consisted of a wooden frame with or without legs. In the tomb of Hesira, of the 3d dynasty, there are pictures of beds with legs only at the head of the bed. A piece of strong cloth or skin was stretched across the frame and tied; or mats of palm fiber or strips of leather were braided and stretched over the frame. Generally the beds had four ivory or wooden legs. In the Thinite age these were in the shape of bulls' hoofs, but from the beginning of the Old Kingdom the form of lions' paws progressively replaced them; the legs were always turned away from the sleeper. As early as the date of the tomb of Hesira, a vertical panel appeared over the legs, often decorated with figures of Bes and Thoueris. Beginning with the Middle Kingdom the two ends of the bed, as well as the legs, were sometimes decorated with animal forms, the head of a cow or lion appearing at the head of the bed and the tail of the same animal at the foot. The three monumental beds found in the tomb of Tutankhamen were a further development of this type of bed (PL. 428). The sides of these beds were formed by the stylized and very elongated bodies of holy animals (lioness, cow, and hippopotamus).

Skins, blankets, and sheets were placed on the bed. Instead of a pillow there was a headrest, originally of wood but later made of various materials, mostly ivory. The earliest examples of headrests were massive and coarse, but later ones assumed the form of an elegant little column surmounted by a concave piece on which the sleeper laid his head (PL. 427; IV, PL. 343).

The most common form of seat was a backless stool on four legs shaped like animal paws; the legs were often reinforced by horizontal crosspieces. The seat itself was generally square, of braided rushes or of incurved wood. The seats of the oldest

examples were decorated with papyrus flowers. There were also low three-legged stools with incurved seats, as well as folding stools, which often had leather seats and legs in the form of crossed paws; the legs sometimes ended with the heads of wild ducks (PL. 427), or were embellished with inlays. A cushion might be placed on the chair.

In the second half of the period of the Old Kingdom, four-legged stools with backs and sometimes with arms began to appear. These gave rise to the particular forms of the chair and throne, generally low and broad, that could be inscribed ideally within a cube (PL. 428). The stools were decorated with inlays, reliefs, and gilding. The royal thrones were particularly elaborate and were worked in the round. In the Old Kingdom they had high backs with leonine protomas in front, as in the statue of Chephren in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (IV, PL. 340); but in the Middle Kingdom they assumed a massive, cubical form with a low, rounded back. Particularly noteworthy among surviving examples are those of the tombs of Hetepheres, of Yuya and Tjuyu (PL. 428), and of Tutankhamen (IV, PL. 391).

Chairs and thrones often had attached footboards, which were sometimes covered with cushions. Tables (PL. 427) were seldom used. However — most often in the funeral banquet scene typical of funerary steles — there were large, round, stone trays set on columnar pedestals that swelled slightly toward the base. Small, generally low tables, sometimes of cane or rushes, were also used to hold food. Similar to these, but taller and lighter, were the vase stands, which appear often in scenes painted on the tombs of the New Kingdom.

Clothing, household linens, toilet articles, and writing materials were kept in small chests with arched, gabled, or flat lids; sometimes one of the ends of the lid was elevated. The chests were often inlaid or were painted to appear inlaid. Occasionally scenes were depicted in the real or imitation inlays, as in some beautiful pieces from the tomb of Tutankhamen (IV, PL. 368). Sometimes the chests were in the form of small cabinets.

In western Asia there is little direct evidence of furniture, chiefly because of the perishability of the wood with which the furniture was constructed. Some supporting pieces and metal parts, however, have survived. One such fragment is part of a throne from Toprak Kale, near Van, in the form of a centauress (H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth, 1954, pl. 174 A). Generally, ivory decorations applied to furniture have remained (such as the bed of Hazael, found at Arslan Tash, and ivories from Ugarit, Nimrud, and Samaria). There is some indirect evidence, also scarce, consisting of relief scenes and terra-cotta models. Apparently Mesopotamian furniture was not rich in forms and developments. Certain fundamental types, especially the stool, underwent only slight innovations. In the Neo-Assyrian period, which is the best known of this area, the luxury of the court brought about a more careful working of furniture — particularly in the decoration of the various parts, which was sometimes a bit heavy. One of the most characteristic Neo-Assyrian elements seems to have been the leg in the form of a pine cone; this form was in contrast to the simple forms of the older periods and to the preference for animal feet in both Egypt and Elam (see below, *Iran*, the seamstress).

Two types of bed are known in western Asia. One type — confirmed particularly by terra-cotta models and therefore the more common — consisted of a rectangular piece supported by four legs (one at each corner) and covered with a braided fabric. The second type, confirmed by a relief of Ashurbanipal (Frankfort, op. cit., pl. 114), was an elongated piece, raised at one end and curving up to hold the high mattress at the other end. This second type should be considered a *kline* (see below, *Greece*) not only because of its form but also because of the use that was made of it (Ashurbanipal is shown dining).

The most common piece of furniture seems to have been the stool, of which a wide variety of types exists, dating back to a very early era. These include the simple cylindrical stool, perhaps of wickerwork (I, PL. 503), the cubical stool (statue from Tell Agrab; op. cit., pl. 19), the high, full stool decorated

with concentric frames, used primarily for divinities (e.g., the steles of Ur-Nammu and of Hammurabi; I, PL. 512), and the most common type of stool consisting essentially of a flat surface supported by four legs joined together by stretchers (reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II: op. cit., pl. 89; of Barrekub: op. cit., pl. 162). Sometimes, the stool was complemented by a footrest that repeated the form of the stool itself. The stool that appeared in Ur was structurally different: two horizontal planes were united by a series of vertical elements (op. cit., pl. 37). The stool in the relief of Nabupaliddina (op. cit., pl. 121) was of the same type but with the transformation of some elements into ornamental motifs. The stool with crossed legs was rarer and sporadically noted in the Diyala region (op. cit., pl. 59 B), in Anatolia (the stele of the goddess Kubaba, showing this stool with a back), and in Yemen. Developments of the stool include the low-backed chair (op. cit., pl. 37) and the high-backed chair (op. cit., pls. 146 B, 165 B, 180 A, and 184 A), which seem more common, however, in bordering regions than in Mesopotamia. By adding arms to the high-backed chair a kind of armchair was created (op. cit., pls. 101 and 114). A cushion could be placed on these various types of seats.

There were other chairs of the same type, distinguished essentially by greater height (e.g., the above-mentioned reliefs of Nabupaliddina and Ashurbanipal). There was also a type of table with crossed legs, parallel in style to the similarly designed stool, and another type of chair with a round seat on a central metal support.

Anna Maria ROVERI and Giovanni GARBINI

**Greece.** The Greek house was generally small and restricted in use, conceived more as a place of rest than as a place in which to spend the day. The rooms were few and usually intended for purely utilitarian purposes; reception rooms were at a minimum or were omitted altogether (see **STRUCTURAL TYPES AND METHODS**). During the archaic period this conception of the function of the house relegated furnishings to temporary use; they were not considered an important element of a room, and their forms were the simplest, aimed only at supplying the immediate needs. Nonetheless, there was probably some desire to embellish the home; this found expression, even in the earliest times, in arms or textiles hung on the walls or cloth covers woven in bright colors.

The first pieces of furniture to take definite if rudimentary shape were the chair and the bed, since they were the most essential items. The Homeric heroes who ruled over the Greek people sat on crude stools at their banquets; at times they slept on wooden bedsteads strung with thongs and covered with skins and woven material that served as blankets and covers. Pillows but not sheets were used. Odysseus carved his bed out of an olive tree, according to Homer (*Odyssey*, xxiii, 195-201). Odysseus' palace is described by Homer as rough and somber, but the royal palaces of Priam, Menelaos, and Alcinoos as more brilliant than the light of the sun and moon. In Alcinoos's banquet hall, resplendent with golden vessels, seats were fixed along the wall from the threshold to the innermost chamber; on the seats were thrown robes of soft fabric, cunningly woven. The hall was lighted by torches held by figures of golden youths on pedestals (*Odyssey*, vii, 95-97). The only use for the room seems to have been as a banqueting hall, and it was planned accordingly.

Alcinoos's palace, with its many precious metals, was not part of the strictly Greek world but belonged rather to an area influenced by Oriental currents which were then bringing to the Mediterranean basin the ways of a civilization that had already reached its apex. The best examples of this type of dwelling are those parts of the palace complexes at Knossos, Phaeistos, and Hagia Triada (all on Crete) that are considered the living quarters. Since they were made of perishable materials, all the furnishings have disappeared; but the general appearance of the rooms, if not the precise forms of the furniture, can be reconstructed. All that survives is the so-called "throne of Minos," a finely carved stone seat found in a small room on the south side of the palace of Knossos, together with several

lesser stone seats along the walls. As far as one can tell from the few remaining fragments of wall painting, it was ornate and richly colored and similar to the decorations of the Kamarea ware and the more abstract "palace style" polychrome ware. The palace must have been filled with color, since walls, ceilings, columns, and, in fact, all surfaces were painted or covered with tiles; in paintings the stone seats were shown covered with embroidered textiles. Subtle colors and elegant lines are fundamental characteristics of Minoan utensils, and one can assume that these same characteristics were as typical of the furnishings as they were of the utensils — at least in the great palaces. No movable furniture has survived, since it was made either of perishable materials, such as wood, or of precious substances that were reused later; but the general wealth of painting and inlay with precious materials in the Minoan palaces suggests that furniture surfaces were also richly colored.

For a description of homes during the archaic period in Greece proper we can turn to Homer's description of Odysseus' modest palace. With the exception of the megaron, the rooms were not yet designed to fulfill a specific function, and contained only the most basic furniture. The bed consisted of animal skins or crude mattresses, at first placed directly on the ground and later on low platforms. Since it was customary to sit while eating and not to recline, as was current in later times, stools and chairs were the most important pieces of furniture; they were constructed with greater care, if not with greater variety.

The style of life was soon to change. After a period of dependency on the forms and concepts of Egypt and the Near East, a native character gradually emerged. In furniture as in all the arts of Greece, this native character displayed a profound sense of proportion and harmony in the articulation of all the parts. The imaginative and unrestrained furnishings of Crete were unthinkable in Greece; chairs and stools that appear on Greek vase painting clearly show the basic differences in underlying attitudes. Even in objects of daily use, elegance, harmony, and simplicity predominated in Greece, and these characteristics were never lost as the furniture gradually evolved in response to a great variety of demands from the Geometric period to the Hellenistic. An unswerving awareness that form derived from function kept the craftsman from losing himself in details that might have overpowered the basic unity of the piece.

Excavations have been of little help in reconstructing Greek furnishings because of the nature of the materials that were used. But there are other sources of information, the most important of which is vase painting. At the beginning of the 6th century B.C., when eating in a reclining position was introduced, the *kline* (couch) became the most important piece of furniture. Since the banquet had become a social occasion, it called for a more inviting home and a room reserved for this purpose.

Of the four centuries in which the most typically Greek furniture was produced (7th, 6th, 5th, and 4th cent. B.C.), the 5th century achieved the most perfect balance between the functional and traditional, not only in the individual elements but also in the new harmonies that resulted from a greater emphasis on the architectonic in furniture. When painting or inlay was used it added an elegance and rhythm that underlined the structure without overshadowing it. The piece of furniture most characteristic of this style was the *klimos*, a lightly built chair with curved legs. It usually was not decorated, its beauty lay in the proportions and in a linear emphasis of the forms that expressed its function. However, once the overly simple and utilitarian concept of the archaic period was discarded, the door was opened to innovations in ornament. Inherent in such structural and ornamental freedom was a dissolution of form and, in fact, from the 3d century on decorative motifs began to dominate and gradually obscure the clarity of the design. At this time private houses become more luxurious; and although Demosthenes's complaint that they were more sumptuous than public buildings can only be accepted with reservations, there was certainly a profound change in the attitude toward the home which affected interior decoration. Luxury and refinement were the keynote, and great care was taken in the appointments. Alcibiades had paintings on the walls

of his house, Phocion bronze revetments in his. Textiles were used (for hangings and in other ways) with much more frequency, as were paintings and mosaics. In furniture proper this new tendency gave rise to duplication in structural elements and to excessive variety in ornamental motifs. Furniture lost its primarily functional character and the individual pieces were considered as decorative elements. New furniture types were devised to meet the new requirements of the Hellenistic house. Most important among these was the cupboard; apparently unknown in classical times, it was destined to play a role of increased importance in Rome.

The chair, which can be considered the first main type of furniture that appeared in ancient houses, bears more detailed examination than we have thus far devoted to it. As has been stated, it was at first only a simple stool, but it rapidly evolved and took on distinguishing characteristics. In its early form it played an important role in Homeric banquets. There is little information about the chair during the Geometric period, but from the 6th century B.C. on there are a great many representations, mostly on vases and in sculpture; the development of the several subtypes can thus be followed in detail. There were three basic forms: the stool, the throne, and the chair. This classification was recognized in antiquity by Pollux and Athenaeus.

Among the stools, the *diphros* was a simple structure, without arms or back. It was the oldest and most widely used seat, by both men and women, by every rank, and by craftsmen when at work; it was also considered fit for the gods, as shown by friezes from the Parthenon and the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi. The *diphros* may be further classified according to variations in the legs. In one type the legs are composed of two elements, the upper element shorter and heavier, the lower longer and thinner. Until the middle of the 6th century the break between the two parts was very marked, but afterward the point of break was hidden under a thick ring. This type of stool is most aptly illustrated on the Parthenon frieze. In time the proportions changed; the lower part of the leg became much longer and the joint of the parts was hidden by a series of rings. In the second half of the 6th century, another type of stool came into use: high thin legs slightly tapering at the bottom, sometimes fluted, and topped by a thick quadrangular piece. The frequency with which this stool was represented on red-figured vases shows how common it was at the height of its development during the 5th century B.C. There were also two simpler types of stool: one with a club foot on a rectangular base, the other with straight legs slightly tapering at the bottom.

The folding stool (*diphros okladias*), with two sets of crossed legs ending in animal paws fastened with a bolt at the crossing, was also very common because it was so practical. It was clearly of Egyptian derivation. The folding stool was common on 6th- and 5th-century vase paintings, where several variants were shown, with legs crossing at different heights. Generally these stools were undecorated, but richly ornamented exceptions are known. Later folding stools, known from Italian contexts (e.g., the ornate examples on Apulian vases), introduced a modification showing several parallel pairs of legs crossing at mid-point.

There were also stools in the form of boxes. These usually had cushions on them. The bench (*bathron*), a low, long seat for several persons, is related to the box type of stool. Its prototype was of stone.

The throne (*thronos*) was the most elaborate seat and was often highly decorated or made of precious materials. An important literary source for the throne is Pausanias, who described the throne of Zeus at Olympia (*Description of Greece*, v, 11, 2), of Asclepios at Epidauros (*ibid.*, ii, 27, 2), and of Apollo at Amyklai (*ibid.*, ii, 18, 9). The throne was a seat of honor reserved for the gods and persons of importance. It was usually high and imposing and always had a back, armrests, and footstool. Thrones, like stools, can be classified according to the style of the legs. The oldest type of throne, used in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and of Egyptian origin, had smooth legs, a curved back ending in swan's heads, and arms

supported by colonnettes. A type particularly common in Spartan reliefs had legs entirely in the shape of animal legs; a clear distinction was made between forelegs and hind legs.

The only type of throne that did not have an Oriental prototype was the throne with rectangular legs interrupted in the lower part by two segments cut out on a front-to-back axis; the shape of each segment was a flattened hemicylinder, or C shape — the open ends meeting the outside rims of the leg. This decoration helped to lighten the excessive weight of the leg; but since it interrupted the supporting members, it compromised the organic unity of the construction. This type of throne had considerable variety in the back and arms, so that it was fluid without losing its architectonic character, which was emphasized by the straight back and, sometimes, by an additional volute at the top of the leg. In 4th- and 3d-century thrones, as in other furniture of that time, the parts became heavier and the equilibrium of the proportions less harmonious, so that the structural quality was weakened.

A throne with turned legs embellished by a ring at two-thirds of the height measured from the bottom is documented from the Geometric period and following eras. The perfect proportions of the 5th century B.C. were soon lost, however, and the multiplicity of rings and of cushions destroyed the balance that had given this heavy and imposing type such elegance.

Lastly, a type appeared toward the middle of the 4th century B.C. in which the form was contained by a severe balance of surfaces. The full, curved back continued along the sides and to the ground without a break. The decoration often consisted of a delicate relief that covered the entire outer surface. This type of throne was often used in Hellenistic theaters for the seats of honor in the front row (*proedria*), and in statues for the chairs of philosophers and poets.

The footstool (*threnys*) was always used with the throne and frequently with other seats, as is mentioned in Homer. The earliest type of footstool was a rectangular piece with four straight legs. A footstool with solid sides was also common and has been excavated at Samos. The type most popular from the 5th century B.C. on was of Egyptian origin and had four curved legs ending in lions' feet.

The piece of furniture typical of Greek style was undoubtedly the *klismos*, a chair of light construction with curved legs, a back, but no arms. The supposition that the *klismos* was a Greek invention which was developed as a simplification of the throne is supported by some early *klismos* examples whose backs have swan terminals similar to those on thrones. The fine proportions of this piece were established in the 5th century B.C. and depend on the relation between the height and the curve of the back and legs. The verticals of the back are curved backward, with a horizontal panel inserted between them at shoulder height. The legs are composed of rectangular pieces, the front legs curving forward and the back legs curving backward in a continuation of the back verticals. The *klismos* is usually made of wood. It has no decoration, and its beauty lies in the perfect harmony of its lines. However, the fine balance of the proportions decreases from the 4th century on. It is of interest to note that in 1961 the designer T. H. Robsjohn-Gibbings introduced an elegant modern chair based directly on the 5th-century *klismos*.

The second main type of furniture to develop a characteristic form was the bed or couch. Whereas the throne with animal feet was particularly common, the couch with animal feet was the least frequent among the couch types — much less frequent than the couch with rectangular legs. It was characteristic of the rectangular-leg type of couch to have a raised headrest in the form of a double Aeolian volute and a small footrest composed of a simple strip. The rectangular-leg couch underwent a series of transformations and reached its highest stage in the 5th century B.C.; thereafter the purity of line declined and decorative elements dominated, especially the confronted sigmas, the palmette, and the volute. The type also became rarer and was documented only as a luxurious funerary bed or as a cult object. It was replaced by a couch that already appeared sporadically during the Geometric period. Here the most typical leg was similar to that of the stool, com-



posed of two sections with a ringlike thickening at the joint. At the same time the forms became more complex, as they did in all Hellenistic furniture (PL. 430).

Another important piece of furniture to develop in Greece was the table. Small and light, and brought out only for meals, the table was less important in Greece than in Rome, where its use was less restricted. The most prominent type from the 6th through the 4th century was the three-legged, or tripod, table (*tripous*). It had straight legs decorated with vertical fluting and, often, lions' feet. The rectangular table with four legs was a work table used by women in the home and by craftsmen in shops. Like the rectangular table, the round table with a single central support was of Egyptian origin, but it never became as popular as the round table with three legs, a Greek innovation which eventually replaced the earlier type. The tables from the island of Delos were made with such particular care and especially fine materials that they constitute a separate category within 3d-century furniture.

The chest was a piece whose antiquity was comparable to that of the chair and bed. Usually it was a simple piece of household furniture, but at times it served more important purposes. Unfortunately Pausanias, in his famous description of the chest of Kypselos in the Heraion at Olympia, limits himself to describing the scenes depicted on it and says nothing of its shape. The type of chest used during the archaic period in the eastern part of the Mediterranean is known from a few pieces found at Hagia Triada and Anoyia Messariti on Crete. These are crude terra-cotta pieces with four simple feet and a peaked cover with projecting terminals. In the classical period this type became a rectangular box with a flat, slightly projecting lid. The decoration was usually limited to palmettes, but a type with a register containing metopes with scenes is known from a relief from Locri, Italy. During the 4th century B.C. the overly sober lines of the chest were animated by the introduction of lions' feet. The chest did not undergo any important changes in Hellenistic times, although greater care was taken in the choice of materials and in decoration.

Although it is not impossible that cupboards were already in use in the classical period, they did not really develop or become an integral part of furnishings before the Hellenistic period, when they occasionally replaced the chest. The cupboard was larger than the chest and had the advantage of being equipped with shelves, so that it answered the new demands for comfort and supplied a place for many objects that came into use at this time. On the whole, the cupboard kept its simple and geometrically compact lines.

**Etruria.** Ways of life native to Greece and the East were adopted in Etruria in the 6th century B.C. The types of furniture and household objects of these foreign areas were also imported and their forms superimposed on the indigenous elements already developed. A rough and unfinished quality in Etruscan work betrays the fact that construction methods are of foreign origin and suggests that the Etruscans merely adopted them without working the problems through themselves. Etruscan furniture is much more massive than is structurally necessary. Smaller household objects show a much finer feeling, and here the Etruscans can be said to have made a valid contribution (see HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS).

Important sources for our knowledge of Etruscan interiors are the tombs at both Tarquinia, where there are paintings, and Cerveteri, where the decorative elements are carved out of the tufa. There is also documentary evidence for the use of multicolored hangings, embroidered and vividly colored textiles, and truly luxurious furniture in which metal was frequently used for both the construction and the decoration. The forms themselves, however, are not particularly beautiful and never achieve the elegance of the Greek pieces.

The indigenous habit of eating while seated, documented in the Montescudaio cemetery, was replaced in Etruria by the reclining position. The couch therefore became the principal piece of furniture. The couch with rectangular legs (sarcophagus from Cerveteri) and the type with turned legs (Cerveteri, Regolini-Galassi Tomb) are known to have been used. These

types were used until the end of the 6th century B.C. They were overdecorated in comparison with the Greek models and were also covered with pillows and textiles in strong colors.

In chairs, the Etruscans preferred heavy and full forms, which may be why the *klismos*, the most graceful Greek example, was not popular with them. The stool was common in Etruria, especially the type with turned legs as well as the folding stool with animal feet. The Greek types of throne (those with animal feet, with turned legs, and with rectangular legs) were all used. Among these the throne from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb was particularly important because of the Orientalizing decoration on the metal facings (PL. 429).

Along with these well-defined Greek types there was another widely diffused type of seat that reappears unchanged over the centuries. It has a curved and everted back and a somewhat conical continuous lower part. It was probably made of a light material such as wood or wickerwork. Fine representations of this seat are known in bronze, terra cotta, and stone, in the thrones from the Tomb of the Chairs and Shields at Cerveteri, and from the Barberini Tomb at Palestrina, which, because of its geometric, Orientalizing decoration, is a noteworthy example of conservative repetition of traditional decorative elements.

The forms of Etruscan chests are reflected in some funerary urns and are represented with greater fidelity in a relief in the Tomb of the Chest at Cerveteri, depicting a rectangular chest supported on feet; the yellow decoration may have been intended to suggest bronze fittings.

The tables used at banquets to hold the dishes or as trays to carry the dishes away also basically follow Greek models; however, they are given a great deal more decoration.

**Rome.** There were no major differences between the early Italic (PL. 429) and archaic Greek domicile. Furnishings of the early Roman house consisted of crudely made chests, chairs, and beds that served the immediate needs of daily life. During the early centuries this basic character was supplemented by Etruscan elements. By the 3d century B.C., however, strong Hellenistic currents began to spread to Rome. Styles and objects were not passively adopted but consciously adapted, so that freshly experienced motifs were superimposed on Etrusco-Italic foundations. On the whole, Roman furniture presented original solutions utilizing motifs of Greek origin acquired either through the Etruscans or through direct contact with the Hellenistic world.

From Alexandria, and from the Near East in general, Rome acquired a love of elegance and wealth that conceived of furniture as something more than utilitarian and gave Roman interiors a new direction. In domestic architecture two new trends became apparent: rooms were assigned specific functions, and there was also a growing need to separate rooms which had an immediate daily use from those which had a social function. The latter type of room also became more numerous and gave the house a new appearance. A study of some of the houses at Herculaneum and Pompeii is useful in understanding this new direction, which can best be illustrated by the construction of the bedroom. This room was divided into two parts, one of which had a barrel vault and was reserved for the bed. The bed had evolved into a well-defined type and was given a specific place in the home. Often beds were built into the wall, so that they became an integral part of the architectural plan and determined the character of the room. Cupboards with shelves and doors were also built in. These unmovable pieces were in accordance with the developing interest in greater convenience and the concept of a room that had a single specific use.

Though practical considerations still determined the general choice of furniture and its over-all form, luxurious and subtle effects become increasingly important, influencing not only structure but also decoration, which became ever richer and more fantastic. As in Greece, this change was gradual, at first limited to the ornamentation of surfaces but then invading the basic structure. It eventually gave rise to an exaggerated play of chromatic effects that destroyed the unity of the piece.



The technical perfection and the subtlety of the solutions suggest that in Roman times furniture was considered as important as architecture and had achieved an autonomous position; at times various pieces were considered works of art.

A profusion of paintings, textiles, stuccoes, and mosaics created new spatial effects and also helped break up the unity of the space. Nero was probably not the only one who spent fortunes on carpets and draperies of precious stuffs. Despite the increase in the actual furniture used, the Roman interior still emphasized those elements which hid the bareness of the surfaces and created new spatial and coloristic relations. It is interesting to note the close relation of furniture and household objects to the elements of wall painting, particularly to the Pompeian "Style III." For instance, the animal feet on table legs found at Delphi assume, both in the stylized and the naturalistic versions, a new plasticity that makes full use of the possibilities of the metal. Late Hellenistic models were the point of departure for the Roman couch. At first, modifications of the Greek types were minor, limited to the changes in the height of the head- and footrests. Since a sufficient number of couches have been preserved, it is possible to follow the general lines of development of the decoration. The simplest one is the couch from Boscoreale, in which ornament is negligible. Couches from Pompeii and Ancona display some bronze figures added as decorative elements, especially at the head. Parts of the couches from Pompeii were improperly assembled into a supposed seat, the so-called *bisellium* (PL. 430), but the elements may be compared with the more complete examples in PLS. 430 (above) and 431. The entire surface of the bronze couch from Amiternum is covered with inlay; the couch also has some elements cast in the full round (PL. 431). At the end of the 1st century B.C., a new type of couch came into being with very high armrests that connected with a back. This piece, which was similar to the modern settee, is only one example of the innumerable variations that flourished during the empire.

Not one example has been preserved of the "sigma," a semicircular dining couch serving the same purpose as the triclinium (the three joined couches), but it is documented from late-antique times and is shown in an illumination in the Vatican Virgil (Vat. lat. 3225) and on the Cesena plate (III, PL. 387).

The differences between Roman tables and their Greek models is much greater than in other furniture types. The table with four legs occurs in innumerable variations, each the product of a specific demand and corresponding to functions the new usages assigned to it or to the room in which it was placed. Structure and decoration both became much richer and much more varied. Table legs were often given the form of animal legs, and other sculptural forms were also used. Plant motifs were frequently employed in Rome. The round, three-legged table was usually made of bronze, which was conducive to exceptionally elegant and elaborate forms. Among luxury tables, the one with a central support was important. The trapezoidal tables excavated at Pergamum and datable to the 3d century are related to the Roman ones and seem to be a convincing prototype, though this form continued only in Rome. These tables were often given excessive decoration, were almost always made of marble, and were used out of doors as, for example, at the edge of the impluvium.

The Greek *klimas* found a direct successor in the Roman cathedra, used mainly by women. Fundamentally the cathedra followed the Greek prototype, though there were some changes as well as variations that represented an intermediate stage between the true cathedra and the *solium*. In Rome, as in Greece, the most common seats were stools, both folding and with fixed legs. There were two types of folding stools: one with straight legs that were rectangular in cross section, the other with curved and twisted legs that were circular in cross section (PL. 430). The second type of folding stool became the form used for the seats of Roman officials, the *sella curulis*. Stools with fixed legs displayed no innovations except the usual tendency toward heavier forms and the multiplication of elements.

The seat of honor was the *solium*, and it corresponded in every way to the Greek throne. It was often placed in the atrium and used by the head of the family to receive clients.

The most common type had turned legs and a straight back, either plain or with a panel decoration, and cylindrical armrests supported on elements that were either turned or in the form of a human figure. The throne with rectangular legs ending in animal feet also continued almost unchanged in Rome, and the few innovations were limited to the addition of plant motifs in relief in the lower part of the leg. Besides these Greek derivatives, another type of chair came into use in the 2d century. It was a fairly modest chair, of which the sides and back, top to bottom, were all in one piece, thus creating a large plain surface. It was popular mainly in provincial areas in the 4th and 5th centuries. The chair bore a striking similarity to the Etruscan type, which, despite the long gap in time, must be considered its prototype.

A piece that acquired new dimensions and a new appearance was the cupboard (*armarium*). It was not merely a derivative of the *arca* (chest) but seems to have been devised by closing up the space inscribed within the top and legs of the table, as may be argued from the representation on the Ptolemy Cup and from a sepulchral painting in Paestum. The transition from this sort of table cabinet to a real cupboard was rapid. The basic material was always wood, sometimes inlaid with ivory or precious woods and often enhanced by bronze mounts. The two doors were solid, or their upper panels were in openwork. Folding doors are also known to have been used, particularly for medium-sized pieces. The feet were usually simple, with the top sometimes crowned by a simple projecting cornice or by a true pediment with figures. The inside, as Plautus relates, contained shelves for household objects, personal belongings, provisions, tools, jewels, and money. These cupboards could also be used as bookcases, as may be seen from various Roman reliefs and paintings on which they are seen filled with books. An interesting variation found in Herculaneum shows a cupboard with a prostyle aedicula, with folding doors adapted for a shrine to the household gods (PL. 429). Such a use is confirmed by a painting in the house of the Vettii (Pompeii) and by a passage in the *Satyricon* of Petronius. Besides these pieces of furniture there were also cupboards built into the wall; niches of different sizes were furnished with shelves and at times with doors.

The chest did not undergo any important change in Roman times. It could be placed in the atrium, against a wall or pilaster, and attached to the ground by a large bolt. It then served as a strongbox, which explains the heavy construction of many pieces and their covering of sheets of metal (PL. 430). Other chests were also used in Roman houses; these were smaller and were placed wherever need dictated.

*The late-antique period.* With minor variations, classical furniture types continued in use in late-antique and Early Christian times. Furniture was characterized by the same refinement and sobriety of line found during the Roman period. In the absence of preserved examples, the extensive documentation provided by sculptures, ivories, embossed silver, and paintings is particularly useful.

Seats varied according to the importance of the sitter; the ancient distinction between ceremonial seats and those for common use was continued. Emperors and consuls — in sacred scenes Christ and occasionally the Virgin — are shown seated on a throne derived from the Greek *diphros* and the Roman *sella curulis*. In the late-antique period this throne assumed a more monumental and elaborate form, with carved legs and vegetable motifs; it was usually without a back (see Pilate's throne on the so-called "Lipsanoteca," Brescia, Mus. dell'Età Cristiana, 4th cent.). The seat was covered with a cushion, and the throne, which was sometimes on a stepped platform, was always accompanied by a footstool. On occasion the throne was covered by a precious textile (apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome, 401-17). In scenes of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi, the Virgin always sits upon a cathedra, which is sometimes decorated with rinceaux (6th-cent. medallion in Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Coll.); this fact supports the hypothesis that the cathedra was most commonly used by women, as was the case in Roman times. The form of the ca-

thedra, however, was somewhat altered during the late-antique period; the semicircular back was heightened at the center, with the sides lowered to form arms (Adoration of the Magi in a 5th-cent. silver pyxis in the Louvre).

The use of the cathedra by teachers and philosophers became even more frequent. This use was taken over by the bishops, the piece gradually assuming the status of a throne. A remarkable example of this kind, completely covered with ivory carving, has come down to us in the throne of Maximian of Ravenna (mid-6th cent.; PL. 432; II, col. 822). This throne has the semicircular back; others, however, apparently made of wood, have flat, rectangular backs and are devoid of arms (silver reliquary of S. Nazaro Maggiore, Milan, late 4th cent.). Less often mentioned in this context but of considerable importance is the 6th-century throne of St. Peter, which is rectangular in shape, with arms and arched back; it is now incorporated in a sumptuous 17th-century setting by Bernini in St. Peter's, Rome (II, PL. 275). Christ as a teacher and the Evangelists are normally shown seated on cathedras.

In late antiquity the Greek *klismos* seems to have disappeared, yielding its place to a type of seat with crossing feet and a curved back like that of the cathedra. It appeared armless (Christ before Caiaphas in the Brescia lipsanoteca) or with simple open arms (II, PL. 439). A light, portable folding chair is shown a number of times in the Vienna Genesis of the 6th century (Cod. vindob. theol. graec. 31) and seems to have been widely diffused. The most common form of stool was a four-legged type with transverse stretchers (Brescia lipsanoteca); another stool had outwardly curving legs and was covered with a cushion. The *trapezoid sella curulis*, whose legs, often worked in the form of lions' legs, crossed to form an X, is represented with some frequency (Pilate washing his hands, sarcophagus of Junius Bassus of A.D. 359, Vatican Grottoes; II, PL. 282).

The *kline* for reclining at meals seems to have been altered into a kind of semicircular divan without a back (Last Supper on an ivory diptych of Milan Cathedral, mid-5th cent.); sometimes, however, it was replaced by individual seats (Abraham's Hospitality, wooden doors of S. Sabina, Rome, 5th cent.) or by stools. The triclinium table was either semicircular or circular; in the latter case, it was of reduced size, almost like a *tripus* (agape scene, Rome, Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus). Tables supported by a single leg were available for various purposes (mosaic decoration of the dome of St. George in Salonika, ca. 400; Benediction of Isaac in the Vienna Genesis). Simpler tables were available for common use; they were rectangular and supported by forked legs or by four square legs (Abraham's Hospitality, Rome, S. Maria Maggiore). The furniture in the triclinium, or common dining hall, seems to have been completed by a rectangular service table (Abraham's Hospitality, Rome, S. Maria Maggiore) and by a low wooden tripod for wine and water cruets (Brescia lipsanoteca). Lamps were placed on a high candelabrum in the form of a small table supported by three small zoomorphic legs; evidently these legs were sometimes of turned wood (Brescia lipsanoteca). The bed continued the traditional sigma form with a back curving rather higher than it had before and completed at the sides with two dolphins. Another type of bed, however, had a straight back formed by four circular wooden forms surmounted by a transverse bar (Joseph's Dream, Vienna Genesis). A step was normally placed next to the bed, as the turned legs of the latter appear to have been very high. Cupboards were rarely used, except as bookcases. The book cupboard was in the form of a rectangular chest with two doors, supported by fairly high legs and surmounted by a small pediment (Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, Ravenna, "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia," 5th cent.; Ezra Writing, Codex Amiatinus, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 7th-8th cent.). An unusual piece that has come down to us is the 6th-century domestic reading stand of Queen Radegund, now in the Abbey of Ste-Croix, Poitiers, France. Of carved wood and employing small turned bars, it closely resembles the missal stand used today in many European churches.

**Byzantium.** In Byzantium and the Christian East, the evolving taste in furniture decreed a more luxurious and elaborate

outward appearance — accomplished, however, without radical structural changes. Except for a rather provincial group in Georgia of the 10th-11th century, no actual examples are known to have been preserved. Representations in ivory, manuscript illuminations, and mosaics — especially of the 11th and 12th centuries — provide a fairly complete picture of the forms. The most striking feature is the tendency to cover the finer pieces with luxurious silken hangings and cushions, or to embellish them through the use of gold, silver, and mother-of-pearl inlays. Even everyday pieces frequently had surfaces covered with decorative carvings.

The throne, one of the prime symbols of imperial authority, enjoyed particular preeminence. Considerable evidence for this may be derived from images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Hetimasia. Although some of the earliest throne examples were without backs, the predominant type had the back (*Madonna Enthroned*, Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, 6th cent.), which was sometimes lyre-shaped (II, PL. 442). A full-size podium tended to replace the footrest and was decorated with a precious incrustation of geometric motifs. Often the throne was covered by a canopy (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. gr. 510, fol. 239, A.D. 880-86). Sometimes the throne took on a kind of architectural form with the masses articulated by one or two rows of arches (II, PL. 443); or it had turned elements. Famous in the sources were the throne of Justinian (527-65) located in the hall of the Consistorium; the throne of Theophilus (829-42) in the Trikonchos; the throne of Constantine VII (913-59), as described by Liutprand of Cremona (see AUTOMATA); the throne of the Comneni in the Blachernae Palace; and the 10th-century throne in the Chrysotriklinos.

The cathedra continued in use. At first it was of the type previously discussed, with a high back and rinceau decoration; later it appeared with a low semicircular back (St. Luke in a gospel book of the 13th-14th cent., Baltimore, Walters Art Gall.). Widely diffused was another type — incrustated with gems and with a high rectangular back — resembling a throne.

Through the 11th century the Byzantines continued to use the *kline* as their normal seat at table; then this was replaced by a three-legged seat with a semicircular back, and by stools and benches (often without backs). Tables might be round, semicircular, square, or rectangular. The most solemn type was the round table; this was used at official court banquets and, by a natural process, became the normal form used by artists in depicting the Last Supper. Round tables were sometimes of precious materials and, like the throne, could be incrustated with gold, silver, and ivory.

A unique object in the imperial palace in Constantinople was the Heptapyrion, a kind of showcase in which precious objects might be viewed (Constantine VII, *De ceremoniis*). In the bedroom the chief piece was the bed, which was supported on four legs (*Birth of the Virgin* mosaic in the church at Daphne, Greece, 10th-11th cent.); sometimes it was tall enough to require steps for access. Other beds, however, were simpler and rested directly on the floor. In the finest beds, which were covered with the most sumptuous textiles, the feet were inlaid or carved; simpler ones had turned or smooth legs. Persons of modest means slept on cots, as shown in scenes of the miraculous healing of the paralytic (e.g., Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. gr. 20, fol. 172). Textiles and precious objects were kept in chests with zoomorphic motifs (a 6th-cent. Coptic fragment is preserved in Berlin, Staat. Mus.) or simple geometric motifs (Georgian chests of the 10th-11th cent.). Jewel caskets of ivory and wood were decorated with figure scenes, zoomorphic motifs, rosettes, etc. (II, PL. 481).

Numerous Evangelist portraits enable us to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of a small study and its furniture. A characteristic element was a small tablelike piece on four legs (Nicaea mosaic; II, PL. 444). Also found was a rudimentary writing table with doors and shelves within to hold ink, pens, etc.; in the center of the table, or on one side, was fitted a lectern (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Coislin 195, fols. 9v, 171, 240, 349). Sometimes a similar table, though without the lectern, appeared (Bib. Nat., Ms. gr. 54, fol. 111). Books were kept in small cupboards of the type referred to above in the mosaic

of the "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia." Rolls were kept in a cylindrical container known as a *capaa* (Mount Athos gospel book; II, PL. 444). The Evangelists are shown seated on simple stools, on cathedras, or on very light armless chairs with crossing legs and backs of straw (Bib. Nat., Ms. gr. 71, fol. 24v). In general, the furnishing of these studies was in keeping with monastic simplicity, contrasting with the sumptuousness and monumental dignity of court furniture.

*Iran.* There are almost no remains of actual pieces of Iranian furniture. Furthermore, because genre and purely narrative scenes are lacking in Iranian art, owing to its ceremonial emphasis, illustrative documentation is sparse. Only the throne, in its many forms and with its wide range of symbolic values, can be studied in any detail.

With the exception of a neo-Elamite relief of the 9th–8th century B.C. (representing a seamstress seated in Oriental fashion on a low upholstered stool, with a small table bearing food before her), illustration of the earlier phases of Iranian furniture is almost nonexistent. Fragments of a bronze chair from Nimrud dating from the early Achaemenid period provide the only actual example. The documentation in seals is too unclear and sparse to provide anything more than a vague indication of types. In the above-mentioned neo-Elamite relief, a notable heaviness of structure is discernible. The legs (if they are not in bronze) seem to have been turned with shell motifs and double rings; they end in lions' feet. Strip supports, certainly metallic and adorned with geometric motifs, were used to secure the furniture legs above the feet. Two ivories from the Zawiye treasure representing banquet scenes with persons standing before loaded tables are of interest from the point of view of style (we are dealing with provincial Assyrian art) and of typology. The taste in furniture revealed in these objects is not far from that evidenced by the thrones and stools shown in the great Assyrian bas-reliefs of Sennacherib and Ashurnasirpal II. For the rest, our understanding of the general structure of the furniture may be extended, with some variants, by evidence from the Hittite world and elsewhere. It should be noted, however, that one of the tables shown in the ivories presents a molded central axis which does not touch the ground; in both tables the lions' feet do not serve as true supports but rest on what seems to be a shelf; the shelf in turn is raised from the ground by feet in the form of inverted truncated cones and is surmounted by half spheres, these worked to suggest shells or articulated in segmental fashion. The use of double feet in a piece overlaid with engraved ornamental motifs reveals a taste for heaviness in furniture ornamentation; it also demonstrates a preference that had long persisted and was manifested, though with greater elegance, in Achaemenid thrones. Differences between the two tables of the same type suggest that there were considerable variations among pieces of furniture.

Also from the Zawiye treasure, lion and griffin protomas in gold have been recovered. Originally these were probably terminals of armrests and must have served in some fashion as throne ornaments. The materials used demonstrate conclusively that some pieces of furniture must have ranked as precious objects in their own right, independent of their undisputed artistic value.

In common with other Achaemenid representations, the throne in the scene of *Darius Enthroned*, which adorns the outer walls of the so-called "Treasury" at Persepolis, indicates a notable shift in taste. Here the sovereign is shown seated in European fashion with his feet resting on a footstool. The shoulder-high straight back of the throne forms a slightly obtuse angle with respect to the seat. Lacking armrests, the seat of the throne is connected to the four turned legs by means of conical supports. The upper portion of the legs consists of closely set disks; below these are more or less stylized animal feet. The lowermost portion of the legs consists of two rings surmounted by the inverted half spheres already noted at Zawiye. There is no trace here of the structural heaviness discernible in the Elamite creations, nor of the excessive ornamentation of the example shown on the Assyrian ivories from

Zawiye. Although the influence of the Elamite prototypes is still evident, Achaemenid furniture appears to be transformed by a new Greek element. In other representations of this period, a gigantic throne with several rows of tribute bearers placed one atop the other between the throne legs accompanies the figure of the seated or standing king. In these scenes, however, symbolic values play such an important part that we cannot be certain to what degree the depicted objects mirror the actual ones. Nevertheless, besides the value conferred upon the throne as an essential accompaniment and symbol of royalty, it is possible to observe a continuing preference for turned legs, with swellings and hollows that must have been common in Achaemenid furniture.

In the Parthian period the throne sometimes assumed the aspect of an Occidental episcopal throne; or became a chair with armrests and simple openwork panels on the sides, as in the inscribed bas-relief of Artabanus V at Susa; or took the form of a bed (*kline*) with cushions on the left side in the form of eagles, as in the relief of Tang-i Sarvāk in Khuzistan. This last type, the throne-bed, was probably of Central Asian origin, although its derivation is much disputed; at any rate, it was certainly used by peoples with Central Asian connections, such as the Parthians and Kushans. The high-backed throne with low armrests and lion protomas seen in the statue of, presumably, Kadhises II (Muttra, India, Curzon Mus. of Arch.; see INDIA; KUSHAN ART), as well as in Dura-Europos (painting in the synagogue, A.D. 245–46, where it seems to have been inspired by the throne of Ahasuerus), is also of Parthian derivation in type and symbolism.

The thrones depicted on the Sassanian silver plates developed the motif of the throne-bed, ignoring the earlier traditions of the chair. The throne-bed sometimes appeared sheltered beneath a canopy (e.g., plate from Kazvin, near Teheran). Great variation is found in the animals used as supports; these include lions, griffins, and winged horses.

Of considerable importance is the symbolism connected with the throne. In some cases the symbolic values must have given rise to very intricate and complex structures. There are indications of this in the Klimova plate (III, PL. 490), where a carriage-throne expresses religious values associated with the moon. Chinese sources yield information on Central Asian thrones, which present a variety of symbolic ornaments and in some cases — following a literal interpretation of the texts — would seem themselves to have taken the form of animals. The golden throne-bed of the king of the Hephthalites, for example, had feet shaped like phoenixes, according to the description of Sung-yün. The queen's throne-bed, also of gold, had the form of an eight-tusked elephant, owing to the influence of the Buddhist *Śaḍḍanta Jātaka*, and was carried by four lions — or rested on four lions functioning as feet. The king of Zabul sat on a throne in the shape of a golden horse (*Pei-shi*, chap. 97). The throne of the king of Fergana was made in the form of a sheep or ram, and the throne of the king of Bukhara took the form of a camel (*Sui-shu*, chap. 83). Although no confirming archaeological data are available, these descriptions are of considerable interest, since in each case the authors tend to identify the nature of the throne with the symbolic values of the animals that adorn it.

MARIO BUSSAGLI

**WESTERN FURNITURE. The Middle Ages.** With the barbarian invasions and the political and economic decline of the Roman empire, a general depression of the level of culture set in, necessarily affecting house furnishings and furniture. For the early Middle Ages the evidence from literary sources is scanty, and very few actual pieces have been preserved. Furthermore, since barbarian art production was almost entirely limited to goldsmiths' work, in demand by these peoples of nomadic background (see EUROPE, BARBARIAN), no evidence may be gleaned from representations in painting and sculpture. For ease of transport, furniture was reduced to a bare minimum. The only example of barbarian furniture that has survived — and this of a rather late period, the 8th–9th century — is the *sella platiensis* of Pavia, Italy, which is considered a Lombard work

(Pavia, Mus. Civici). This folding stool, which may be compared to some fragments of miniature pieces found in a Lombard cemetery at Nocera Umbra, is of chased metal and is provided with very low arms and a single joint.

The general observation holds true that the barbarian peoples did not introduce any types of their own into the existing repertory of furniture; but once they had settled in the conquered countries, they contented themselves with rude and occasionally deformed versions of the types current in the classical Mediterranean world, discarding only the *kline* (see above). This may be concluded from the few remaining Carolingian examples and the representations in ivory and manuscript illuminations.

Carolingian furniture reveals a conscious attachment to Roman forms and traditions, maintaining certain elements symbolic of authority (see CAROLINGIAN PERIOD). In the furniture of this period, however, the devices used by the ancients to make the pieces more comfortable were abandoned. The preferred material was wood, but bronze pieces appeared (e.g., the so-called "throne of Dagobert" of the 9th century; III, PL. 68; the back was added by Suger in the 11th cent.). In this example the only ornamental elements, aside from animal figures derived from the classical world, are the openwork inserts; the gold, silver, and mother-of-pearl inlay favored by the Byzantines is absent.

The dwellings of Carolingian and Ottonian times were extremely poor, excepting only those of the ruler, the nobles, and the higher clergy. But even in the houses of the more affluent groups, furnishings must have been limited; the sources relate that in his administration of justice the ruler would transport tables and chairs from one castle or seat to another.

Probably traceable to this habit of moving from place to place was the popularity of the folding stool, which was derived from the Roman *sella plicatilis* and perhaps also from the *sella castrensis*. As the name implies, the object could be folded up like a modern campstool. Normally equipped with two joints and frequently adorned with lion protomas (as in the ancient *sella curulis*, or curule chair), the folding stool became a symbol of authority in the Middle Ages, almost equivalent to a throne. It was used by popes and bishops as well as temporal sovereigns. Extensive documentation of this object is found in the numerous Evangelist portraits in Carolingian manuscripts. The above-mentioned "throne of Dagobert" also belongs to this class. The use of the *sella curulis* was revived in Carolingian times (III, PL. 59), though it tended to become a rectangular seat, either simple in type, or else with one or two rows of small arches; invariably it was provided with a cushion.

The thrones on which the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors are represented as seated show various forms. They may have a flat back terminating in a semicircle (III, PL. 52); they may be adorned with precious textiles and provided with a cushion (III, PL. 64; *Virgin and Child*, ca. A.D. 1000, Mainz, Cathedral Treasury); or they may appear in an altogether unusual form with a high back of circular plan and surmounted by a canopy (miniature of the glorification of the monarch, Rome, Bible of S. Paolo fuori le Mura). The throne is usually accompanied by a footstool or a small platform consisting of several steps.

The high clergy preferred to use the cathedra with fixed rectangular back, with or without arms, decorated in openwork, and sometimes of metal (Vivian Bible, Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 1, fol. 25). The throne of Ste-Foy at Conques, France, is a splendid example, which should be studied in this context, however, only for its form and not for the sumptuous goldsmiths' work in jewels and filigree with which it is adorned. The late-antique type of episcopal throne decorated with rinceaux disappeared completely in the medieval West, though it continued to be used in the Byzantine world.

The Evangelist portraits in Gospel books yield information about the forms of other kinds of chairs. Of considerable interest is a type which seems to derive from the Greek *klismos*; it may be seen in the Bamberg Bible (Bamberg, Germany, Staat. Bib., cod. bibl. 1, fol. 260v) and the above-mentioned Vivian Bible (fol. 330v). The back is slightly curved toward the rear, and terminates at the sides in protomas or plant motifs, which are sculpturally executed and face outward. Benches for sev-

eral persons are also documented (scenes from the life of St. Jerome, Rome, Bible of S. Paolo fuori le Mura); they are of a simple rectangular type, and the effect is frequently lightened by the addition of rows of small arches to the backs and sides. Rather widely diffused was the four-legged stool (e.g., ivories at Halberstadt, Germany, the Cathedral Treasury; A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* . . . , Berlin, 1914, II, pl. XIV, p. 44; Madonna in the Cathedral of Essen, Germany, ca. 1000).

Both round and rectangular tables are known. The round ones, which may be seen, for example, in the 9th-century Utrecht Psalter (Script. eccl. 484, fol. 48v) were the more sumptuous. In structure they may derive from the Roman *tripus* (a three-legged piece) but the top is larger and the legs, always in sculptural form and surmounted by lion protomas, may be as many as 12. The common rectangular tables could be easily disassembled; they were supported by X-shaped legs and were without any decoration. Initially beds appear to have adhered to the late-antique type with a back curving outward (ivory in Oxford, Bodleian Lib.; Goldschmidt, op. cit., I, pl. III, p. 5), but later they seem to have been replaced by beds with turned head and foot parts and very high legs.

Furniture for study rooms was different from that of the late-antique period and of the Byzantine world, as may be seen once again from the Evangelist portraits. For pens, ink, and books there was a rectangular chest with a flat, hinged cover (Vivian Bible, fol. 3v), sometimes on low feet (ivories in the Louvre and in the Br. Mus.; Goldschmidt, op. cit., II, pl. XLIX, p. 107), suggesting the existence of chests for clothing. A surviving example is the Terracina chest (in the Cathedral of Terracina, Italy; PL. 340). It shows Eastern influence in its sculptural decoration, but was probably made on Italian soil; it is assigned by some scholars to the 9th century, by others to the 10th-11th century. Lecterns were supported by a tall pedestal resting on a tripod; when necessary they could serve as writing desks (Godescalc Gospels, Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1203). In general, it may be said that the Carolingian period developed a repertory of furniture types and forms that was to remain valid through the Romanesque period.

From the 11th century onward, actual examples have survived in some numbers, and our knowledge becomes less dependent on pictorial representations. One of the earliest ecclesiastical chairs from this period is the 11th-century example recovered from beneath the masonry of the Cathedral of Benevento, Italy, in 1942. It has a simple metal structure recalling that shown in the Vivian Bible (fol. 25v), and which is seen again in the examples in the church at Aspö, Sweden (PL. 435, 11th-12th cent.), and in the cathedral at Anagni, Italy (13th cent.). Another type is represented by the episcopal chair from Blaker, Norway (PL. 435), with a gently curving back and adorned externally with relief sculpture; this doubtless derives from the type of Carolingian chair mentioned above as continuing the Greek *klismos*. Naturally the development of episcopal thrones followed the over-all development of style and the various local and regional trends. Figures placed in niches hollowed in the back of the throne are sometimes found, as well as elaborate work in the round (Auvergnat Virgin in the Louvre), interlace sometimes mixed with plant motifs (Aspö chair), and, especially in southern Italy, decorative motifs of Eastern derivation (Montevergine throne, 12th cent.). The folding stool continued to be used; an example is that of St. Raymond, in the Cathedral of Roda de Isábena, Spain (11th cent.), and one in Perugia (12th cent.). The folding stool was used also by women (folding stool of Abbess Gertrude of Nonnberg of 1242; PL. 437). An interesting 13th-century bench comes from Alpirsbach, and is now in Stuttgart (Landesmus.). It is constructed of turned forms, whose simplicity and honesty had an enduring influence, reaching down to the 17th century in Scandinavia.

The storage chest came into some prominence in the Romanesque period. Sarcophagi and wooden coffins served as prototypes for these chests; this derivation accounts for the preference for flat rather than pitched lids, permitting the chest to serve

also as a seat. The *Schedula diversarum artium* by the monk Theophilus yields information on the kind of decoration employed in chests; they might have simple carvings or be covered with painted parchment, fine linen (also painted), or stucco ornaments. A group of 12th-century chests preserved in the Musée Historique de Valère in Sion, Switzerland, has applied architectural motifs or deeply carved decorative forms. Later, however, the tendency to cover at least the front of the chest with ornamentation incorporating armorial bearings became increasingly prominent. No early examples of tables have survived; the ordinary dining tables, which could be easily dismantled, must have offered little scope for decoration.

With the diffusion of the Gothic style, a clearer picture emerges, not only of the development of furniture forms themselves but also of their setting. This period sees the beginning of a differentiation, not strongly marked at first, between the furniture forms in use north of the Alps and those of Italy.

In northern Europe, including England, the chief determinant was the bourgeois culture of great cities such as Paris, Antwerp, Augsburg, and Nürnberg, which supplanted the influence exercised for a time by the court of Burgundy. The technique of furniture construction was more refined, and consequently forms also improved. The introduction of sawmills facilitated this development (the first was erected at Augsburg in 1322). Although new technical means were not invented, those of antiquity were reacquired, in response to the growing public demand for furniture. Beginning in the 14th century, chests constructed with a framework and panels were preferred to the earlier type built of planks. These panels could be incised with ornaments, or raised linen folds could be carved out of them; the latter type enjoyed great popularity throughout Europe. Naturally, the availability of wood in a given area was of prime importance for the production of chests, as of all other furniture. In England, the Low Countries, northern Germany, northern France, and along the Rhine, walnut was favored. In southern Germany and the Alpine lands, beech, maple, and various conifers were preferred; linden wood, oak, and walnut were used for carved decoration (PL. 437). Coniferous wood was often veneered, as with Hungarian ash. Despite the embellishment of basic furniture types, the working of the wood itself remained at the level of modest carpentry through the late Middle Ages. The frame was visible, and the silhouette, which was marked by corner posts, was enlivened by carved ornament. The use of coniferous wood permitted the decoration of the chest surfaces with flat-carved rinceaux. Ironwork was frequently employed, either as an ornament (PL. 437) or for more practical ends.

Among the special furniture types developed in the 15th century, the counting table (*Zahlisch*) deserves particular mention. Common in southern Germany and the Alpine lands, it consisted of a flat desk on trestles; the top could be lifted up to reveal a writing surface and pigeonholes.

In princely houses the continued use of tables that could be disassembled delayed the appearance of permanent tables for a long time; in bourgeois homes the former had long since been superseded. Round and rectangular tables have been found, employing heavy, often twisted pedestals in the center. Table tops were of wood or, occasionally, of stone; some were provided with incised decorations and mottoes. In 1506 the German city of Würzburg commissioned a richly carved table pedestal of the great sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider (q.v.).

The bed tended to have a very high headboard surmounted by a wooden canopy (PL. 438). The rocking cradle was common at this time, either provided with sledgelike supports or suspended from two lateral posts. The latter construction is shown in a painted nativity crib (PL. 433), used for the image of the Christ Child.

Gradually the wardrobe came into use; it appeared first in sacristies, as a great chest made up of several components and closed with doors, often with richly carved or painted decorations recalling great winged altarpieces (PL. 436). In the home, for economy of space, the wardrobe was formed initially of chests placed one atop the other. The handles at the sides that continued to appear in later models betray this origin;

the new type of wardrobe was equipped with doors instead of lids. The strong legs at the corners, like the high cornice, were often richly carved and decorated. From a single chest supported by high legs, there developed the *Stollenschrank*, a piece of medium height that had as its essential feature a chest accessible by one or two doors; stretcher rails were placed between the corner posts not far from the floor. It is likely that this piece originated in the circle of the Burgundian court. Depending on its use in the court or in the home, the piece was susceptible to complex formal and decorative transformations. Articulated in several stages, it served as a court dresser for the display of precious vessels. Much can be learned about the contemporary use of the pieces discussed here from the engravings of Albrecht Dürer (q.v.) and Israhel van Meckenem.

In the course of the 14th century the use of the *prie-dieu* was diffused. Normally placed in the bedroom, the *prie-dieu* gained popularity because of the development of private devotional habits in the Gothic period and the growing demand for specialized furniture.

HANS HUTN

In the development of medieval furniture, Spain occupies a place apart. This is due to the fact that Spanish furniture of all periods, like every aspect of the national art, has been deeply affected by Islamic influences. These are expressed in the constant use of leather, intricately wrought metal, geometric inlays, carving, and polychromy. Walnut and chestnut are the woods most frequently employed. This furniture, with few exceptions simple and stalwart in form and without complex cabinetmaking, can best be studied in the museums of decorative arts of Madrid and Barcelona and at the Hispanic Society of America in New York.

The most important Spanish piece surviving from the Middle Ages is the set of three attached canopied seats from Tahull (12th-13th cent.; Barcelona, Mus. de Bellas Artes de Cataluña; PL. 436). This piece was strongly influenced by Catalan Romanesque architecture, in the use of arched console tables, and by Mudéjar taste, through the employment of horseshoe arches and incised stars as ornament. The subsequent vogue for French Gothic architecture is reflected in the silver-gilt throne of Martin, king of Aragon (late 14th cent.; Barcelona Cathedral), spectacularly designed in tiers of trefoil arches with arms formed of crocketed scrolls. Fifteenth-century furniture was dominated by the marriage chests and wardrobes of prosperous Catalonia. These pieces had drawers behind doors that were either carved or painted in imitation of Italian *cassoni* (chests), the style gradually passing from late Gothic to Renaissance.

C. ROBERT SMITH

An important source of information about Gothic furniture in Italy is provided by the domestic scenes in the vast fresco cycles painted at the time. Actual pieces are rare; among them may be cited the wardrobe in the sacristy of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (PL. 438), Petrarch's chair and bookshelves at Arquà, and several *cassoni*. Compared to Europe north of the Alps, and also to Spain, one finds a greater sobriety in decoration and a marked simplicity of line. Monumental chairs recall the episcopal thrones of central and southern Italy (e.g., the *Maestà* by the Badia a Isola Master in the church of Badia a Isola, near Siena). When they are of wood, the panels are adorned with simple moldings (e.g., Pietro Lorenzetti's *Madonna with Angels*, Cortona Cathedral). A fairly clear idea of the appearance of interiors at this time may be obtained from contemporary scenes of the Annunciation and the Birth of the Virgin. Simple benches of the *cassone* type were set against the wall. Beds, with or without headboards, were also set against the wall, and *cassoni*, providing a step, were placed alongside the bed (Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin*, Siena, Opera del Duomo; Andrea Orcagna, *Birth of the Virgin*, Florence, Orsanmichele).

In the halls of hospitals and monasteries, tables were frequently set horseshoe-fashion around three sides of the room;



benches were placed against the walls for seating (Ms. of the *Regula hospitalis S. Spiritus* in Rome, Archivio di Stato, Ms. S. Spirito I, fol. 216v). The older type of rectangular table on horses continued in use (frescoes by Giovanni da Milano, Florence, Sacristy of Sta Croce). Stools were employed in more modest households, though there were also chairs with a high, straight back (*Tacuinum sanitatis* Ms., Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus.; Strozzi chair, Florence, Fondazione Horne). The folding stool was in common use, and from it was derived another type of seat, exemplified by Petrarch's chair, with folding legs joined to form an X. This latter chair is probably of Sicilian origin, as evidenced by the carvings employing Islamic ornamental motifs. (There is a similar chair in Turin, Mus. Civico.) Small study rooms, as they are depicted in Tommaso da Modena's fresco in S. Niccolò at Treviso, were provided with a benchlike table and shelves on the walls. In the schools the teacher sat on a cathedra, with a high lectern in front of him; simple tables, supported by horses, and stools sufficed for the students (tomb of Cino da Pistoia, Pistoia Cathedral).

*Renaissance to mid-17th century. a. Italy.* Gothic furniture was still widely used in Italy during the 15th century, especially in the north. With the rise of new trends in art in Tuscany, however, a distinct division between Italian and northern European styles became apparent after the middle of the century. The *palazzo*, with its large rooms and severe architecture, required imposing pieces of furniture. The stately, architectural concept of furnishings found its best expression in the bedchamber, which had become the center of the living quarters by this time. Besides serving as a place for rest, it was also a place for meeting friends and even for official receptions. The bed dominated the room and almost took on the status of a throne. It was given tall posts and a canopy, and was surrounded on three sides by *cassoni* (chests). This type of Renaissance bed is often shown in paintings (e.g., I, PL. 250).

In less than half a century the *cassone* developed from a simple container to a sumptuous showpiece (PL. 439; IV, PL. 26; VI, PL. 11) and was frequently used in pairs. Its decoration could imitate antique sarcophagi carved with figures; it could be richly gilded, and profiled moldings on the front could frame panels with pictures painted by members of the guild of *cassone* painters. These *cassone* panels may be recognized by their elongated, horizontal form, although many of them are known as separate paintings today, for example, those by Piero di Cosimo (q.v.). There were also simply decorated *cassoni*, which achieved extraordinary effects through the use of precious materials, intarsia, or finely carved volutes at the corners. The *cassapanca* was created by placing the *cassone* on a platform and giving it a back and armrests, and at times also a canopy; it could be either a simple, benchlike seating arrangement or a throne-chair, depending on the furnishings.

The credenza was the Italian counterpart of the northern *Stollenschränk*, but it was considerably more spacious than that narrow wardrobe, and was not supported on legs. In both cases the height could be increased by additional open tiers, on which *objets d'art* could be displayed. The basic structure of the credenza — a pair of doors below, and drawers above — always remained the same, although the forms and the decoration varied from region to region. The finest pieces came from Tuscany, where ornament was used more sparingly than in Rome (PL. 442). Regional peculiarities are not well enough known to permit more than general statements, as, for example, that simple pieces, with brass mounts in the form of round-headed nails, were preferred in Bologna.

Although permanent tables that could not be readily disassembled only made their appearance in Italy in the 15th century, they were soon richly adorned. As a rule they were very large, and marble or inlaid-stone tops often rested on carved stone supports. The variety of chairs was unusually large, and their shapes reveal considerable imagination.

The simple folding chair evolved into a chair with crossed legs, either with or without a back, which was often carved or

decorated with *certosina* work, that is, inlaid with mosaics of tiny pieces of colored bone, mother-of-pearl, etc. Stools with richly carved, boardlike, lateral supports were also very common. One of the most ingenious inventions was a chair created for the Strozzi, a leading Florentine family; the lower part consisted of a simple three-legged stool, but the very high and narrow back, crowned with a coat of arms carved in the round, gave the chair an aristocratic elegance. Turning of legs and other parts was rare, and only came into common use on chairs at the end of the 16th century.

Wardrobes (PLS. 438, 440) were not used much in Italy, except in sacristies for vestments. Instead in *palazzi* a small room next to the bedchamber was set aside for this purpose. It was called a *guardaroba*, a name also used for similar rooms in which works of art and other valuable objects were kept. These storerooms supplied the objects for the princely museums and galleries that came into fashion at the end of the 16th century. The prince would retire to his *museo* or *studiolo* to work or to enjoy his collection with his friends (VIII, PLS. 100, 103). To give the *studiolo* a more intimate atmosphere, the walls were often paneled with *trompe-l'oeil* intarsia (see INLAY) so that other objects seemed to be added to those actually displayed in cabinets. The precise form of these cabinets depended on the requirements of the prince's collection or secret documents placed in them. One of the earliest of these cabinets is the *stipetaio* from the Palace of Mantua (ca. 1500; London, Vict. and Alb.). In this piece a strict division between the upper and lower parts is still maintained (in later pieces the parts fuse) so that the cabinet can be transformed into a double-tiered cupboard for precious objects, or into a writing cabinet.

*b. France.* In the course of the 16th century, France gradually became important for the development of furniture. In the south, Italian influence was evident; in the north, the creative stimulus of the Ile-de-France made itself felt. The most significant piece of furniture was the dresser (a cupboard with a display shelf mounted on a pedestal, whose basic structural form remained the same though there were changes in the size, as well as the amount and style of ornamentation (PL. 441). Renaissance motifs began to dominate, particularly vine scrolls and classicizing heads. As far as it is possible to draw conclusions from the few surviving pieces, it would seem that furnishings were plain and insignificant in comparison with their settings, such as the magnificent châteaux of Blois and Chambord.

A truly French style of furniture emerged only in the reign of Henry II (1547-59), and is known by his name. The school of Fontainebleau, the style brought to France by Italian mannerist painters, had a considerable influence on French furniture. Elongated, sinuous forms found a new expression, especially in female figures, and replaced Renaissance ornament. Multitudinous variations of these elements were used in reliefs carved on the backs of chairs, on the panels of dressers, and on double-tiered cupboards [*armoires à deux corps* (PL. 442)]. Most important in introducing this new world of the bizarre were the engravings of J. A. Ducerceau (q.v.). His designs displayed such a wealth of invention that they were probably never carried out whole, but they were constantly used as models for individual parts. This extreme and mannerist style was most common in the south of France, as well as in the neighboring areas of Burgundy and western Switzerland. The name of Hugues Sambin, a master of Dijon, is associated with writing cabinets and dressers with grotesque ornamentation. In 1572 he published designs of richly ornamented furniture, on the basis of which a number of similarly decorated pieces have been attributed to him.

The calmer and more balanced effect of furniture originating in the Ile-de-France is due to its more logical design and the more elegant manner of inserting the relief into the classicizing framework; this furniture is typically French. It is characteristic of the inventiveness of the French that as early as the 16th century they made use of small tables that provided luxury and convenience, rather than being essential pieces. The same trait is evident in the development of chairs. Besides the Italian models there are obviously French designs constructed with



graceful little columns and often embellished with finely carved reliefs on the backs. Ducerceau's models were perhaps followed in stately beds, as for example in the particularly ornate and fantastic one formerly in the Gavet Collection (Sale cat., n. 889, Paris, 1894).

*c. Germany.* The Renaissance style penetrated more slowly into Germany and the areas connected with the old Holy Roman Empire than into France. Moreover, in its basic structure German furniture followed Gothic prototypes for a long time, even when it was embellished with new decorative motifs. Only with the introduction of classical columns from Italy did the proportions of furniture and their articulation change. This new style, which became dominant only after the middle of the 16th century, constituted the beginning of the true Renaissance in Germany. Henceforth a knowledge of classical and Renaissance orders was fundamental for cabinetmakers.

During the first half of the century, cabinetmakers began to publish woodcuts of furniture designs. Designs for wardrobes are known from the hand of Peter Flötner (before 1522-46) of Nürnberg; two wardrobes in the Germanisches National-Museum in Nürnberg can be attributed to him. The extent to which these wardrobes were still bound by Gothic principles is pointed up by a comparison with a wardrobe (1465; Ulm, Mus.; once owned by the Lupin-Gienger family) by Jörg Syrlin, a master from Ulm. The structure is similar in all the parts, but the decoration is decidedly different. And the later pieces rest heavily on the ground, while the wardrobe in Ulm is supported by light, graceful elements. Wardrobes became popular after 1500, and their fronts were treated architecturally. Four doors, used earlier, were replaced by two large ones. The decoration of the fronts was increasingly three-dimensional, with full columns and heavily profiled, broken gables that clearly reflected baroque tendencies, which had spread to Germany by this time. The same trend is apparent in the greater number of figures, herms, and niches that animate the fronts. The furniture designs by various artists that appear in the so-called *Schneeyffbücher*, published by Bussemacher in Strasbourg (1696-99), are even more ornate and overloaded. In these designs the various kinds of typically German ornaments of the 17th century abound (PL. 443). Contemporary artistic motifs and styles were applied to furniture, and gradually replaced the classical Renaissance forms.

Augsburg was an important center for the production of cupboards and cabinets, and the latter especially were exported in large quantities. These cabinets were show objects consisting of a combination of receptacle and desk, displaying a wealth of decoration which was apparently limitless. Two particularly fine examples are the writing table of Charles V made by Leinhardt Strohmeier in 1555, now in Madrid (Mus. Nacional de Artes Decorativas), and the one ordered by Philipp Hainhofer for the city of Augsburg and made by Ulrich Baumgartner before 1632 (now Uppsala, Univ. Mus.). In all these pieces great technical proficiency and esthetic consideration took precedence so that practicality and convenience often had to give way, as the Augsburg chronicler Paul von Stetten recorded. Stetten, however, judged these pieces with the attitude of the 18th century, and by then personal comfort had become of much greater importance than during the 16th and early 17th centuries. Most new developments in German furniture were initiated in the south, probably because cities like Augsburg and Nürnberg had closer contacts with Italy and other parts of Europe than the north.

The Hanseatic towns of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg and the Rhenish bishoprics and princedoms followed these developments, though with varying time lapses and with greater or less conservativeness, depending on their attitudes. Since oak continued to be the favorite wood for furniture in northern Germany well into the 18th century, carved ornament was consistently retained. Intarsia and the use of woods of different colors was a specialty of Cologne, and spread from there to parts of the Low Countries. In the Rhineland and the neighboring districts, artistic currents generally followed the boundaries of the dioceses and not those of the modern political divisions.

An over-all view of production in Germanic lands from the late Renaissance to the beginning of the 17th century reveals a general profusion of motifs, which have not, however, always supplanted Gothic forms or achieved a unity and strength of their own. The cabinet of about 1600, with its unlimited diversity of form and detail, is representative of the situation (PL. 442). The furnishings of the home (rather, of the aristocratic residence) had become much richer, but as yet had not a true harmony or great comfort. This lack of unity and the inconsistencies of taste form a most apt parallel to the political conditions of Europe in the years just after 1600, conditions that in Germany were to lead to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the unsettled times following it. As a result, no innovations or important changes occurred in German furniture during the first half of the 17th century.

Only after 1650 was there a resurgence, and it was most evident in the homes of the wealthy burghers. The wardrobe with two doors was the rule by then, but there were variations from region to region. It developed along similar lines in the northern German cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Danzig, but local differences in minor details, such as in the form of the cornice, permit identification of the provenance of particular pieces. The doors were set between three carved pilasters on a low base, and the raised fill of their panels and drawers was set off by finely carved profiles. The center part of the cornice was profusely decorated with carving. In Frankfurt a special form developed and it also penetrated the region of the Upper Rhine. The whole inner area of the doors was filled with broad, heavy moldings arranged in a series of frames, one inside the other. Sometimes there was a single pilaster between the doors and one on each end of the wardrobe front. Only in Swabia and Bavaria did the wardrobe with four doors continue to be produced alongside the two-door type up to the end of the 17th century, when it had to be given up because of changes in fashions that made it impractical. Southern German furniture continued to display a greater wealth and variety in its decoration. Many designs appeared in the so-called *Ohrmuschelstil* published by Johannes Rumpp, the Augsburg etcher and cabinetmaker, and Friedrich Unteutsch (d. 1670), of Frankfurt on the Main.

*d. The Low Countries.* Despite disruptive wars the Low Countries enjoyed a comparatively tranquil development. In 1579 the seven northern, Protestant provinces (now the Netherlands) became independent and separated from the southern, Catholic provinces (now Belgium), which remained under Hapsburg rule. While the southern provinces adopted Italian baroque forms, Holland developed an independent style. This artistic independence was in keeping with the country's improved economic conditions and its intermediate position between France and the German states. Of particular importance to Dutch furniture were the designs published by Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1617) and Crispyn de Passe (1564-1637). The double-tiered buffet cabinet, successor of the old *Stollenschrank*, was the most typical piece. Its heavy, architectural construction was enhanced by deeply carved, plastic forms whose articulation was always emphasized by dividing friezes. One of the most frequently recurring ornamental motifs was the lion head holding a ring; it appeared on the cornice or between the drawers. Small pieces of black-dyed wood, at times cut to imitate the facets of precious stones, were used within the geometrical fill. The legs of the chairs were often turned or in the form of round or square balusters. The furniture and interiors of no other country have been so thoroughly documented in the paintings of the period, including those of such masters as Pieter Janssens, Pieter de Hooch, and Emanuel de Witte. Again and again in these works, one can see the two-doored wardrobe, of which the Dutch were so fond and which they took with them to their North American colonies.

*Mid-17th century through the 18th century. a. France.* From the middle of the 17th century France took the lead in all the arts. This, however, did not exclude a certain amount of independent development in other countries, especially in Holland and England, where the fashion for *chinoiserie* origi-

nated; this fashion was also followed in France and the rest of Europe. French 17th-century furniture can best be seen in the engravings published by Abraham Bosse (1602-76). These show not only that tapestries and cloth hangings were in vogue, but that such materials were used to cover woodwork wherever possible. For table and chair legs thin colonnettes were preferred, and these were also used for the then-fashionable ebony cabinets, which, however, originated in Flanders.

The bourgeois environment and taste of Abraham Bosse had no contact with the developments that followed, for a basic change in the social structure was to be of fundamental importance for furniture. With the emergence of the absolute monarch, the castle could no longer be the result of individual fancy but became a necessary social instrument whose structure was determined by the hierarchy of the court and of society. The construction of furniture as well as the plan of the building had to be logical and functional enough to accommodate all the events of the day, from the levee to the evening receptions. Furniture could no longer be used haphazardly, and each piece had to find a definitive form and place. Seating followed rank: the king had his throne, princes armchairs, the nobility taborets. The demands of such formality could only be met by a centralized workshop, and the Manufacture Royale des Meubles de la Couronne was founded in 1667. Important artists furnished designs for the minor arts, and the Academy established the artistic criteria. Since Charles Lebrun (q.v.) was president of the Academy, virtually everything was under his direction. An extraordinary number of crafts were represented: cabinet-makers, joiners, artisans who made small objects in wood, those who did only the marquetry (inlay in wood), those who carved ornaments, sculptors in wood, sculptors in stone, mosaicists, bronze casters, modelmakers, upholsterers, weavers employed in making wall hangings at the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins (or who worked at the Savonnerie, associated with it, where carpets were made), experts in stucco, gilding, lacquering, incising designs, embroidery, and a host of others. Many of these workmen were foreigners who introduced stylistic elements characteristic of their native traditions. Nonetheless, the projects undertaken by them were executed in so unified a manner that they have always been considered typically French.

The Louis XIV style had its source in the baroque church art of Rome which was transmitted to France by the many members of the French Academy in Rome. The most important designer of ornament was Jean Lepautre (1618-82), for he translated the wealth of baroque motifs into graphic designs, which made them available to artisans producing furnishings. The leading furniture workshop was that of André Charles Boulle (1642-1732), which was later taken over by his sons, who continued his traditions. For this reason the style developed by Boulle can be traced from about 1664 to the end of the 18th century. The sons imitated the father, other artisans again took up the style about 1750, and finally it had another revival about 1850. Although Boulle and his successors worked in a variety of designs, the most typical pieces of this furniture were those with brass and tortoise-shell inlay, richly decorated with ormolu mounts (PL. 444). Viewing Boulle's production it is also possible to follow the development of certain types of pieces, such as the chest of drawers (or commode). In his workshop this piece developed from a cofferlike chest, touching the ground and supported on lateral, almost freestanding legs, into a piece that could properly be called a chest of drawers. This new piece soon replaced the lavishly decorated wardrobes still produced in his workshop in his lifetime, but which later continued to be used only in the country, and there in a simplified version. In France itself the style had run full cycle some years before the death of Louis XIV, and the freer way of life that emerged [under the regent, Philippe II, duke of Orléans (1715-23)] was reflected in furnishings; but in other countries the older style continued to be dominant well into the 1730s. Indeed, throughout the 18th century France played a leading role in the development of furniture, although leadership had passed from the court to the residences of the nobles and the powerful bourgeoisie. Social life centered around the *salon*, or drawing room, since this was the appropriate place for its most important

activity, conversation. It was furnished with comfortable armchairs, sofas, and tables. The private apartments of the lady of the house also received greater attention, and a new type of room, the boudoir, came into being. Here, in the course of the morning, while still at her dressing table, she could receive tradespeople, friends, and artists. New types of furniture, such as the dressing table, various kinds of mirrors, and footstools, were created to fill new needs.

It is usual to identify Continental European furniture by the names of the kings of France, often, however, adding the name of the local ruler for the individual countries. The style of the 18th century may be considered the final stage of baroque art and may be subdivided into Régence (about 1710-30), Louis XV (1730-75), including the rococo and, in its last 15 years, a transitional style, and Louis XVI (from 1775 to the French Revolution). This was followed by the Directoire (as a furniture style, roughly 1785-1810) and then the Empire (ending about 1830). As a rule changes in style were initiated, or brought into a cohesive whole, by the publication of engravings of ornament and furniture designs. These designs, together with the extensive *L'Art du menuisier* (1768-75) of André Ruobio the Younger, the descriptions of various crafts in the *Description des arts et métiers*, published under the auspices of the Académie Royale des Sciences (1761-88), as well as innumerable etchings after contemporary genre painting, constitute the main sources for historical studies.

Although there was a certain amount of independent activity in such provincial centers as Grenoble, Lyons, the south of France, and Normandy, Paris remained the center of progress and innovation. The Parisian guild of the *menuisiers-ébénistes* was a complex organization with strict rules about the division of labor. The *menuisiers*, or joiners, produced everything made of wood: beds, tables, console tables, cupboards, clock stands, etc. They were permitted to use turned wood and to embellish pieces with simple, carved ornament, but the more important carving had to be executed by members of the sculptors' guild. Painted decorations and gilding were entrusted to the *peintres-doreurs* and *vernisseurs*. The *menuisiers* were not allowed to make ormolu decorations but might attach them to the furniture. Upholstery was the preserve of the *tapisseries*. The *ébénistes* made chairs and sofas, as well as the same type of pieces as the *menuisiers*, but it was their specialty to enhance these pieces with veneers, marquetry, or complex mechanical parts. From 1743 to 1790 members of the Parisian guild were required to stamp their names on their furniture; frequently they also added the mark of their corporation, for example, JME (Jurande Maître Ebénistes), though the *menuisiers* were less likely to do so than the *ébénistes*. Similar ordinances existed in other French cities. But the fact that a piece has such a stamp today is no proof of its provenance or date, for these stamps are easily imitated. A more secure identification is the inventory number that was often stamped on pieces made for the crown.

During the Régence (not to be confused with the term "Regency" used for English furniture), furniture lost its heaviness, as may be seen in the designs of Jean Bérain (ca. 1638-1711), and gained in freedom, as André Boulle's work shows. It was during these years that the chest of drawers took the form still in use. This piece could have a straight, curved, or convex front, and the application of more or less elaborate ormolu mounts, veneers, lacquers, or the use of different woods in its construction gave it considerable variety. At this time the writing table (*bureau plat*), too, was given its definitive form and imposing size; a *cartonnier* (a cabinet consisting mainly of pigeonholes holding cardboard boxes for sorting papers) could also be placed on one end of it. Under the influence of Boulle, these pieces were often adorned with some of the finest examples of ormolu, with masks and heads at the corners, and continued to be decorated in this way for some time. Chairs and beds usually were of natural wood or painted and were often richly carved. The new fashion in ornamentation often used straight lines combined with short, broken curves to form *quadrillé* work (lines running in checkerboard fashion) in the framing elements; stylized plant motifs were arranged symmetrically within the ornamentation. *Chinoiserie* also became popular,

and throughout the 18th century it periodically reappeared with variations. These developments were inspired not only by Bérain's designs but also by the decorative works of such leading artists as Jean Antoine Watteau (q.v.) and by the imports of fashionable Oriental lacquer ware.

The richly inventive engravings of Gilles Marie Oppenord (1672-1742) and the opulent forms introduced into ornament by Justin Aurèle Meissonier (1695-1750) made the transition to the style of Louis XV. There emerged a preference for interlaced C curves, *rocaille*, and a certain asymmetry, which, however, always managed to be balanced in some way. Plant motifs were treated naturalistically, but figure motifs (with occasional exceptions, such as putti) were not. The construction of the furniture was generally lighter. There were numerous innovations in the forms of chairs and small tables, and such pieces often had hidden mechanisms with which the owner could surprise his friends. French furniture of this period was superior to anything made in the rest of Europe at the time, both in its technical execution and in its design. Ormolu mounts at corners and edges, and used as framing elements, played an important part in fine furniture, and on truly elegant pieces these bronze mounts were gilded. Since professional *bronziers* supplied the *ébénistes* with these decorations, identical decorations sometimes appeared on the products of several *ébénistes*.

Jean-Baptiste Tilliard I (1685-1766) and several members of the Foliot family deserve mention as the leading *menuisiers* of the period. The most outstanding *ébéniste* was Charles Cressent (1685-1768), who was already active during the Régence. Although he did not sign his pieces, they are of such high quality that they cannot be mistaken. The *ébéniste* Antoine Robert Gaudreau (ca. 1680-1751) is less well known, but his production is perhaps even finer. At times he collaborated with René Michel Slodtz (1705-64), called Michel-Ange, who supplied him with the designs for his ormolu mounts. Other important *ébénistes* included several members of the Migeon family, Pierre Roussel (1723-83), and the one formerly known from his signature, BVRB, and recently identified as Bernard van Risenburgh, one of the most talented craftsmen of his period. But the most famous names of the period are Jean François Oeben (ca. 1720-63) and his artistic successor, Jean Henri Riesener (1734-1806). Both were German by birth and training, but adapted themselves so readily to 18th-century Paris that they may be considered its most important representatives. Oeben is best known for very elegant pieces of furniture that are distinguished by their clever mechanical apparatus. His most famous piece is the writing desk known as the *Bureau du Roi Louis XI*, which he began in 1760 and which Riesener completed after his death; it is one of the most sumptuous and impressive pieces of the period. Oeben's style was transitional and Riesener remained partially bound to his master's motifs until about 1770, but then he developed independently in the style of Louis XVI. Riesener's furniture of the 1770s has the relatively heavy proportions appropriate to a period that turned to the models of the early Boulle pieces and even imitated Boulle's technique. Riesener's proportions always remained elegant and the elements clearly articulated, but he began to employ a much richer marquetry. His ormolu mounts are particularly fine and may well have come from Pierre Gouthière's workshop. The harmonious effect of Riesener's late style, beginning about 1780, is extraordinary, as is the incomparable smoothness with which the bronze mounts are integrated with the surface of the wood. (Several good examples are in London, Wallace Coll.; PL. 454.) As late as 1790, one year before the King's unsuccessful attempt at flight, Riesener made the elaborate set of ebony pieces that is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. His was the age of classicism, and the forms taken by furniture may be seen in the engravings of Jean François Neufforge (1714-91) and Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734-89).

England, too, played an important part in the growing fashion for antiquity. England's influence was most strongly felt after 1758, when the fame of the architect Robert Adam (who had recently returned to England from Italy) was spread throughout Europe by his works and his publications. Furthermore, the taste of Marie Antoinette was of considerable impor-

tance for this style. *Rocaille* was replaced by straight lines and right angles; curved forms and convex fronts gave way to flat ones; bronze mounts were used more sparingly so that mahogany, the favored wood, could be shown to greater advantage. Small, unobtrusive pieces fitted well into the *petits appartements* of the palace and even into the Hameau, the Queen's farm retreat at Versailles, which she preferred to the great state chambers. Nevertheless, elaborate pieces, such as Riesener's imposing lacquer set, were still ordered in 1790. Besides Riesener, the most important men were Jean Guillaume Benneman (active 1784-1804; PL. 464); Adam Weisweiler (master in 1778), and Martin Carlin (master in 1766). They worked in the style of the French court, but were sensitive to influences emanating from the workshop of David Roentgen (1743-1807), the excellent cabinetmaker at Neuwied on the Rhine, who had also become a member of the Parisian guild. Even though the court was no longer the sole arbiter of taste during the 18th century, many of the Parisian cabinetmakers were financially dependent on court circles, and the revolution disrupted their activities drastically; but many of them continued to work for new clients.

b. Germany. From the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century, Germany, like the rest of Europe, followed the French models. But characteristic differences in various details permit the definition of a separate style. The outstanding furniture-manufacturing centers included Munich, Würzburg, Dresden, Berlin-Potsdam, and the Rhineland. As a result of the close ties of the elector Maximilian II Emanuel and his successor with the French monarchy, the French tradition dominated furniture in Munich from about 1700 on. Throughout the 18th century pieces by leading French cabinetmakers, including Boulle, Cressent, Oeben, and Jacob, were imported, and influenced local production. But the most lasting influence was that of the designs for decorations by the Flemish architect François de Cuvilliers (1695-1768), whom the Elector had sent to Paris for his training. His furniture can still be seen at Nymphenburg, near Munich. In these chests and sofas the French spirit is alive, and yet these concepts have undergone a change that brings them closer to the Bavarian rococo style as exemplified by the stucco decoration of the Bavarian churches. The style seems to be imbued with a new, fresh quality. In the once luxuriously furnished bishop's palace in Würzburg, there remain consoles and chests animated by a lively sense of movement. They are the work of Johann Wolfgang Auvera (1708-56), who was trained in Vienna, where he was exposed to Italian influences. Pommersfelden Castle, like Würzburg the residence of a bishop of the Schönborn family, also belonged to the French sphere of influence, and early 18th-century decorations and furnishings are amazingly well preserved there. The overpoweringly sumptuous decoration of the Spiegelzimmerkabinett (1714-18) by Ferdinand Plitzner (1678-1724), one of the most inventive men of his period, emphasizes intarsia and consoles; numerous other decorations and furniture by him are preserved in other parts of the palace. Important cabinetmakers active about the middle of the century were Johann Georg Nestfell (1694-1762) and Karl Maximilian Mattern (d. 1770). Among their highly refined and imaginative productions were cabinets for the castles of Würzburg, Brühl, Ansbach, and Bruchsal.

In Dresden and its surroundings the electors of Saxony established a furniture center, with roots extending back to the Renaissance, that reached its zenith in the time of Frederick Augustus I (1670-1733) and his successor Frederick Augustus II (1696-1763). The lacquer pieces, tables, and writing cabinets from the workshop of Martin Schnell (active 1710-40) are particularly characteristic of the area. Decorative motifs were taken from Far Eastern vases, which were available in Dresden in quantity. There, as in Munich, French imports, such as furniture by Bernard van Risenburgh, served as a source of inspiration during the Louis XV period, without, however, initiating an indigenous style. Frederick I of Prussia (1688-1713) employed a host of artists and craftsmen in Berlin to create a court similar to Versailles. One of the most versatile among these artists, and not unlike Boulle, was a Fleming, Gerard Dagly (active

ca. 1700), who specialized in lacquer work. [His contemporaries maintained that his cabinets could not be distinguished from "Indian" (i.e., Chinese) pieces, an opinion confirmed by the surviving pieces. But the art of furniture making only reached its full flowering in Berlin under Frederick the Great (1740-86). Some of the most delightful interiors and furniture were designed by the sculptor Johann August Nahl (1710-85), although today it is only at Sanssouci, Potsdam, that one can get an idea of them. Later he moved to Hesse, where he furnished the Palace of Wilhelmstal, which with its contents is also well preserved. Undoubtedly his style is basically French but, like Cuvilliers in Munich, the pieces Nahl made about 1750 for Potsdam are very individualistic, and they belong to the most elegant creations of the period. Like all works made in the peripheral areas dependent on Paris, they cannot be judged by the standards of the capital. But in a comparison of French furniture with German or Italian pieces, there is no question of qualitative differences, but rather of regional variations.]

The Rhenish bishops, many of them members of the Wittelsbach, Wettin, and Schönborn families, tended to be influenced by the styles of their native lands — Bavaria, Saxony, and Franconia respectively — in the furnishings of their residences. But they were not insensible to Rhenish traditions as well as to those of the neighboring Walloon and Flemish provinces.

The extensive series of master drawings of Mainz reveal that writing cabinets with abundant marquetry and a wealth of forms (PL. 445) were favored there. Within this tradition worked the Rhenish cabinetmaker Abraham Roentgen (1711-93) and his son David, whose workshop was active from 1737 to 1799. They combined a thorough grasp of fashionable trends — first French and later English — with their native tradition. The fact that the Roentgens became aware about 1770 of the emerging importance of English furniture was exceptional for a German cabinetmaker. Only the facts that Abraham knew England, that David had established a depot in Paris, and that both belonged to the Moravian sect, which had connections all over Europe, explain it. Abraham supplied furniture from his workshop in Neuwied to the Rhenish bishops, and later David counted the leading people of Europe, from Paris to St. Petersburg, among his clients. The organization of this enterprise, with its monopolistic position and the consistently high quality of its manufactures, was one of the most noteworthy developments in 18th-century furniture production.

*c. The Low Countries.* In what is now Belgium, ornamented and carved oaken bookcases, tables, and chairs were popular during the 18th century. There were close political ties and a constant interchange of ideas and influences between Netherlands and England, so it is often difficult to ascertain in which country an element originated. This is the case, for example, with lacquer cabinets resting on richly gilded supports; and the knowledge that such pieces were based on engravings by Daniel Marot (1661-1718) does not resolve the problem. Furthermore, attempts to establish the beginnings of lacquer furniture, which must have been fairly common, have failed. Because of the Dutch love of faïence and porcelain, a double-tiered cabinet was developed (PL. 453) with the lower part consisting of a convex chest of drawers and the upper of shelves with glass doors crowned by a richly carved cornice. Examples from the early part of the 18th century have marquetry with flower and bird motifs; later, plain mahogany came into fashion.

*d. Scandinavia.* Of the Scandinavian countries Sweden was most active in the production of furniture because of a lively artistic exchange with Paris. In the 18th century Georg Haupt (1741-84), a follower of Riesener whose work equaled Parisian pieces in quality, was most important. Gottlieb Iwersson (1750-83), who was active at a slightly later time, had a tendency to imitate Roentgen, and so did the Danish cabinetmaker Johann Pengel (master before 1778), whose pieces could be confused with Roentgen's.

*e. Italy.* Italian 18th-century furniture shows a particular multiplicity of forms and colors, but distinguishable production

was limited to Turin, Milan, and Venice. The magnificent palaces of the House of Savoy, at Turin, Stupinigi, Mondovì, and elsewhere, required equally splendid furnishings. Many of the furnishings were by Pietro Piffetti (1730-79), the best-known cabinetmaker of the period, whose pieces seem almost like sculptures in their plastic effect. One of his finest creations is a wardrobe in the Palazzo Chiabrese in Turin.

In Venice the richly carved furniture introduced by Andrea Brustolon (1662-1732; II, PL. 220) was used as models in the 18th century, but in a lighter and more delicate vein best exemplified in the gracefully curved chairs and benches placed in the entrance halls of palaces. Venice's fame, however, was based on her painted and lacquered furniture. At times Venetian writing cabinets were so similar to English ones that the question whether they were made especially for export to England arises. On the other hand, the chests of drawers with convex fronts that frequently taper markedly at the bottom used indigenous forms and were sometimes imitated elsewhere. Because of the limitless inventiveness with which effects were sought through form and color, Venetian furniture is among the most charming productions of the 18th century (PL. 446). Venice was also the center for the manufacture of lacquer work, although records indicate that isolated examples of the technique were also made in Rome, Turin, and other cities. In Rome heavy, baroque forms maintained their sway. At the end of the 18th century a curious development occurred in Naples, one that had also occurred in Portugal: English forms, taken either from engravings or copied from imported furniture in the Chippendale and Hepplewhite styles, made their appearance. In the last quarter of the 18th century, Giuseppe Maggiolini (1738-1814; PL. 451) became famous in Milan for his classical intarsia chests. At the same time, in Turin, G. M. Bonzanigo painted writing cabinets, richly decorated in white and blue, that reveal Wedgwood influence.

*The 19th century. a. France.* In French furniture styles the name *Directoire* is applied to the period that extends from about 1785 to about 1810. In that period the free and lively expression of the Louis XV and Louis XVI periods became formalized and stiff. Although the great flowering of the Parisian furniture industry had ended with the revolution and the guilds had been abolished, some workshops continued production. Among these was that of Georges Jacob I (1739-1814; PL. 449) and his sons. Of special interest is the furniture with red-and-black upholstery that Jacob made for J. L. David (q.v.) according to designs in the Etruscan manner supplied by the painter himself. A revival of Egyptian motifs and forms was as important as that of Etruscan ones, and such influential men as Count de Caylus, who wrote on archaeology, went so far as to state that the classical Roman art then so much in vogue was derived from the Egyptian and Etruscan.

Out of this situation developed a new style, called *Empire*. Although sponsored by Napoleon, it might not have found such ready acceptance throughout Europe if the Emperor's architects, Charles Percier (1764-1838) and Louis Fontaine (1762-1853), had not publicized it through their attractive engravings. The Emperor's residences at Fontainebleau, Malmaison, and elsewhere became models for all Europe, and were imitated by the rulers of dependent states from Stockholm to Naples. In the heavy mahogany furniture characteristic of the style, bronze mounts reached to the floor, as in the time of Louis XV, so that the furniture was not movable. The light touch in furnishings was abandoned, and symmetry and order were the rule. In middle-class homes the almost unbearable heaviness of the furniture was modified to some extent, depending on the national temperament. Scandinavian and northern German furniture was of mahogany, and in Prussia K. F. Schinkel (q.v.) designed pieces with elegant curves in the antique manner. In southern Germany and Austria lighter forms and fruit woods were used. Everywhere one of the most popular pieces was the writing cabinet with the drop-leaf front.

The small sewing table, at which ladies in Biedermeier portraits so often sit, was an innovation. The name Biedermeier, originally invented as a literary parody of the complacent

burgher, was adopted in Germany about 1900 to describe the furniture style of the period between Napoleon Bonaparte and the revolution of 1848. This style gradually flowed into one called Louis Philippe in France, and in Italy Luigi Filippo or Carlo Felice (of Savoy). More generally it was called "second rococo." It displays slight reminiscences of the style of Louis XV combined with antique forms. Products of this period compare poorly with earlier furniture.

*b. Regional furniture.* Generally the term "regional" or "provincial" is used to describe furniture manufactured outside of the larger cities, and designed for use in provincial residences. It is easier to discuss regional furniture after the 18th century (PL. 452); there is a great deal of information about the furnishings and residences of the upper-class inhabitants of the large cities, but far less regarding regional furniture. (It is possible to draw some conclusions about 17th-century and 18th-century middle-class furniture in Europe from American colonial furniture and interiors that are preserved.)

This kind of furniture is described by various names in different countries, and it is difficult to find a common denominator for its various forms. But certain general statements can be made about the regional furniture of the various countries of Europe. The furniture makers were completely independent of the regulations established by the guilds. Local materials were used in the manufacture of regional furniture. And special types of pieces were devised for special purposes. The furniture reflected both the local traditions and the stylistic currents that, more or less slowly, filtered through to the provincial centers. It should be added that a clear distinction cannot always be made between strictly regional furniture and the simple pieces made for the poorer city dwellers.

The great modern interest in regional furniture was initiated by Artur Hazelius, a Swede, who was active in the fight to preserve the cultural heritage of the Swedish farmers. Since then the problem of regional cultural heritage has been of concern to almost all countries (see FOLK ART).

Hans HUTN

*Spain and Portugal, 17th through 19th centuries.* Spanish furniture attained its finest technical development in the 16th century, when a number of forms were developed, some used for over two hundred years. Among these was the leather-covered armchair (*sillón frailer*) with straight supports, tilted back, straight or scroll arms; the best pieces had flat geometric carving on front stretchers and legs. Another important form was the large writing box (*papelera*) with a hinged top and falling front. One type of writing box was decorated with minute inlays of contrasting woods, both in interlacing Moorish patterns and in arabesques borrowed from Italy. Another important type, now divided between museums in Madrid, Barcelona, East Berlin, and New York, has Renaissance carving that culminates in paired panels with profiles of warriors on the lids' underfaces.

Also dating from the 16th century was the making of massive writing boxes in the form of tables with legs of columnar or vase turning and a row of drawers geometrically carved. This form was retained in the 17th century, but the legs were then given a characteristically Spanish slanting position, while equally typical decorative iron braces joined side stretchers to the center of the boards beneath the drawers. Another type of writing table used also in Italy, had slanting lyrelike supports. In this same period, the golden age of Spanish painting and sculpture, the earlier types of writing boxes were supplanted by a standardized desk called a *vargueño*, resting either on a cupboard base, or *taquillón* (most frequently decorated with prominent lozenge moldings like those of architectural woodwork), or on a base composed of miniature arcades bridging fluted columnar legs (*pies de puente*). The falling front had, traditionally, 10 pieces of pierced metal, often backed with scarlet fabric, some of which contained elaborate iron hasps. The box, rather coarsely constructed and frequently covered with gilt and polychromed gesso, held from 13 to 19 compartments and drawers of various sizes. Some of the frames were enriched with tiny columns and fragments of arches, as though in imitation of grandiose Hispanic

altarpieces. The design of the columns provides a clue to dating. Until about 1650 the shaft was straight; later, under the influences of church façades and retables, it assumed a spiral form. Similar columns were used for the posts of richly gilt and carved late-17th-century beds.

In the 18th century most of these forms continued to be used, although the furniture of the Bourbon court was based on French and occasionally English models. Charles III, who until 1759 had been king of Naples, introduced a taste for pictorial marble intarsia and established a factory to make it. The chief fruit of this venture was a set of sumptuous rococo tables created for the Palace of S. Ildefonso (Madrid, Prado), with tops representing architectural views that appear to have been executed about 1770 after designs of Charles-Joseph Flipart (1721-97), a French painter employed at the court.

The Napoleonic occupation of 1808 to 1812 brought to Spain the style of the French Empire — magnificent *meubles de luxe* — which were shipped from Paris to the Royal Palace in Madrid. Simplified versions of this style of furniture and of the rococo revival (called in Spain the *estilo isabelino*) were made for a long period during the 19th century.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the furniture of the Spanish-American colonies followed the styles of the mother country. The most original and ornate pieces were produced in the viceroyalty of Peru. In Lima, towering wardrobes and elaborate cabinets in two or three sections were made in the *enconchado* technique, with incrustations of ivory, silver, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise shell in tropical woods. At Cuzco, a local type of high-back bench was framed with richly decorated gilt columns, often of spiral form. The furniture of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay, made by Indians, is, like the local churches, decorated with flatly carved stylized flower and plant forms. In the viceroyalty of La Plata in the 18th century, Brazilian rococo furniture was extensively imported and copied by local craftsman in coarser form.

Very little Portuguese furniture has survived from the period before 1600, and these remains show almost no variation from Spanish forms. It was not until after 1640 (the end of a 60-year union with Spain) that national characteristics fully appeared in Portugal. As expressed in the second half of the 17th century, these characteristics included distinctive combinations of decorated leather and brass, a Portuguese type of foot, and spectacular turning, as well as the use of lustrous woods from Brazil. This furniture, quite different from that of Spain, with which it is too often confused — and also much better made — is best represented at the National Museum and Espírito Santo Foundation in Lisbon, where it is exhibited with characteristic examples of later styles.

The typical Portuguese 17-century chair was of walnut with a seat and high arched back, entirely covered with leather that was embossed and incised with coats of arms or vases of flowers; the leather was secured by large brass studs. The turned legs had ball, scroll, or "paintbrush" feet, the last a form of Portuguese origin used in England and colonial America, where it is wrongly known as a "Spanish foot." Beveled-scroll front stretchers, carved with shells or interlacing ribbons in forms closely related to English designs, give these stately chairs a baroque character.

Equally baroque was the spiral turning and the peculiarly Portuguese combinations of balls and disks of varying proportions that formed the legs and stretchers of the tables of Brazilian rosewood (*pau santo* and *jacarandá*) and the stands of cabinets (*contadores*); these stands were the closest approach in Portugal to the *vargueños* of Spain. The supports of both types of furniture were ornamented with plates of pierced brass that stand out from the rich dark surfaces of wood undecorated with inlay or veneer. The supports were also used for the lock plates of drawers, which were frequently convex or cushion-shaped (*almofadado*) and generally surrounded by corrugated planed moldings appropriately called *tremidos*, which were widely used in other parts of Europe but rarely in Spain. The same devices were employed to ornament chests, the fronts of which were often divided into rectilinear panels containing bold lozenges similar to those of Spain; various kinds of metal enriched



the dynamic turning of sumptuously canopied Portuguese beds, which are known to have been esteemed in France.

Foreign influences dominated Portuguese furniture in the 18th century. During the reign of Portugal's John V (1706-50), certain London makers shipped to Lisbon large quantities of lacquered caned chairs, whose Queen Anne lines gradually transformed the design of Portuguese leather chairs and settees by the introduction of the cabriole leg and the hoop back. Similarly, British slant-top desks were imitated in Portugal, but with the addition of serpentine fronts (possibly taken from French Régence commodes) and baroque angle sculpture derived from the conventions of national ecclesiastical woodcarving. English influence was as strong in Portugal, where contemporary window glazing used British sash forms, as French influence was in Spain, and it brought the rococo style of Chippendale during the reign of Joseph I (1750-77). Portuguese furniture of this phase shows such localisms as celery-stalk ornament (especially on parcel-gilt mirrors and headboards of beds), a peculiar vocabulary of scroll ornament found also in the national silver, and exaggeratedly curvaceous legs applied most frequently to flaring console tables oddly equipped with drawers.

In the period of Maria I (1777-1816), international classicism asserted itself, with continuing influences from Britain and France. Some Lusitanian character was, however, imposed through the use of marquetry of coarse-grained and vividly contrasting tropical woods; it was also felt in the painting of the interiors of bookcases and miniature wardrobes fitted up as oratories with crucifixes and images of saints, in patterns imitating spray-strewn fabrics interlined with gold. Among the few known Portuguese cabinetmakers was José Aniceto Raposa, a master of this period, who signed a Sheraton-type drum table in the Espírito Santo collection.

The 17th- and 18th-century forms of Portuguese furniture were skillfully followed in colonial Brazil, whose furniture was scarcely distinguishable from that of the mother country, where many of the cabinetmakers had been trained. However, since the traditional walnut and chestnut of Portugal were not available in Brazil, wider use was made there of rosewood and other tropical woods. Furniture made in the old capital of Salvador (Bahia) and the new one of Rio de Janeiro was considered the finest in South America and was exported extensively to Argentina. Thus the technical superiority of the Portuguese over the Spanish was maintained in the New World.

A very different kind of furniture was made as early as the 16th century for Portuguese use in their Indian colony of Goa. Here Islamic practices (via Moghul influences) prevailed, similar to those which affected Spanish furniture. Various kinds of case pieces of redwood and mahogany were decorated with geometric inlay of ebony, rosewood, and ivory, the last frequently applied in dots forming patterns. Another popular form of decoration in this area was an all-over pattern of foliate scrolls in ebony, which sometimes incorporated masks and confronted animals and birds. These appeared surrounding an inlaid monstrelance attended by angels in the magnificent 17th-century table top found in a Jesuit house at Lahore (London, Vict. and Alb.). *Contadores* with three tiers of drawers or with a pair of compartments at the bottom were made with ivory-encrusted bird and siren supports. Inlaid tables had slightly slanting legs with flat carving of fruits, flowers, and leaves, and — in one notable example (Caramulo, Portugal, Mus.) — angle masks of ivory. This furniture, brought into Portugal for several centuries, showed little chronological development.

*England, 1500-1900.* Fine furniture is one of the prime achievements of English art. From earliest times, British makers have possessed great technical capacity and the ability to assimilate foreign influences. This is especially true of the 16th and 17th centuries, when patterns first from Flanders and then from Holland were continuously channeled into a clearly national expression. In the 18th century English furniture shared with French furniture, with which it became deeply intermeshed, the creative and technical leadership of Europe. In the 19th century England launched a series of independent movements which brought the world a new concept of furniture design

that greatly influenced subsequent developments. English furniture of all periods can best be studied at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. There are outstanding collections of pieces from the 17th and 18th centuries at the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Liverpool and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. (See *PLS.* 441, 445, 447-51, 455.)

The earliest preserved examples of English furniture are boarded and joined church chests of the 13th and 14th centuries. One "architectural" group is decorated with tracery carving, notably English for its crispness and for the national motif of vertical lines above circles. Another "scenic" group derives from Flemish chests ornamented with reliefs of St. George and the dragon in a landscape setting. By 1500 linen-fold paneling, introduced from Flanders, with which England had close commercial contacts, ornamented all kinds of framed furniture. Characteristically English types are both the livery cupboards, with broadly pierced tracery openings for the ventilation of food, and the buffet tables, with oversailing tops, generally designed with five doors and decorated with tracery or heraldic carving evolved from Flemish models. Until the 17th century almost all English furniture was made of native or imported oak.

Italian Renaissance arabesque and medallion ornament first appeared in England in enclosed coffer chairs with high polygonal backs (1520-30), to which are related the English versions of the 16th-century French *caquetouse*. The baluster frame and arms of the latter influenced the distinctly British type of waincot chair widely used in Elizabethan and early Stuart times (ca. 1560-1650), the rectangular backs of which were ornamented with geometric carving or inlay. Turnery chairs, built of demountable socketed spars and spindles, are another distinctive type of Tudor furniture, derived, it seems, from Byzantine prototypes preserved in Scandinavia. Flemish patterns provided the bulbous carved motifs which distinguish the legs of Elizabethan draw tables, with leaves that extend from the case; these tables succeeded the earlier trestle dining tables. The same Flemish motifs appeared on the posts of the monumental bedsteads, with testers and headboards richly carved in designs of double arches, trailing vines, gadrooning, and the herms of Hans Vredeman de Vries. These bulbous cup-and-vase motifs furnished the supports of the equally typical two-story buffets called "court cupboards," which were equipped with open shelves; their cousins, the court presses, were enclosed by doors in both upper and lower sections. These massive pieces, together with carved chests and the lighter turned stools and dining benches called "forms," were the principal furniture of great Elizabethan houses. Other chests and writing boxes with marquetry pictures of a turreted castle (arbitrarily identified with Henry VIII's Nonesuch Palace) appear to have been made by craftsmen from south Germany, where a similar style was highly developed in the 16th century.

Under the early Stuarts, James I and Charles I (1603-49), upholstered furniture became fashionable, as carving temporarily degenerated into a melee of confusing low-relief strapwork and split turning patterns. Following early baroque Continental fashions, the columnar and X frames of English chairs were covered with satins and other fabrics, while couches with adjustable sides and upholstered beds were introduced. Another imported baroque custom dictated the spiral turning of the armless Farthingale chair, so named because of the excessively wide skirts of the period that made chair arms impractical. Later, the contemporary Continental love of luxurious materials inspired the chests of drawers covered by doors inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ebony in bold rectangular and lozenge designs, which were the principal departure during the Commonwealth (1650-59) from a politically dictated austerity.

Charles II and his court, returning in 1660 from a decade of exile, brought with them high-baroque fashions from France and Holland, as well as the new use of walnut. The Dutch in particular inspired the vogue for high-backed caned chairs with spiral turning and carved creating and stretchers, which after 1670 developed the scroll legs and carved splats that were the forerunners of the early 18th-century British chair forms. Light oval-topped gate-leg dining tables, the legs folding and formed



of spiral and other turning, now superseded the heavy draw tables of the past. From Holland came also the taste for walnut veneering (found in every class of Caroline furniture), including oystering veneer, produced by the oblique transverse cutting of the wood, as well as the vogue for vividly colored bird-and-flower marquetry in oval panels for cabinet fronts and table tops (PL. 445). From this the English after 1690 developed their own intricate and less gaudy all-over seaweed and arabesque marquetry, which — for chair splats and tall clock cases, in particular — enjoyed a long popularity. The Dutch also inspired in London a vogue for gilt frames carved with baroque putti and foliage to accompany cabinets of Chinese raised or incised lacquer, rivaling the brilliant color contrasts of European marquetry. So great was the demand for japanning, as this Oriental technique for decorating wood came to be called, that its imitation in paint and varnishes became fashionable. In 1688 John Stalker and George Parker published their influential *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*. A final note of luxurious grandeur came from the towering bedsteads hung with curtains of gallooned and tasseled velvets, with shaped headboards and valances covered with fabrics — the full baroque counterpart of the upholstered beds of the earlier Stuarts. Although almost every fashion of English furniture of the period 1660–90 originated in Holland, in the majority of cases these fashions were gradually given distinctly British interpretations, which were considerably more delicate in design and execution than the Dutch pieces.

With the accession of William and Mary in 1688, the influence of Holland increased, both in the importation of models and of craftsmen, the most distinguished of whom was Daniel Marot (1663–1752), the exiled French Protestant designer, whose name is associated with the last phase of the 17th-century Anglo-Dutch splat-back chair. At the same time, a whole new series of English case pieces was created, which long provided the basic designs for this kind of furniture. These pieces included chests of drawers and writing bureaus with or without upper sections fitted with bookcases; as well as pedestal desks and dressing tables, carried on ball or bracket feet or on legs of cupped or trumpet turning, combined with serpentine stretchers, in a composition that was a prime characteristic of the style of William and Mary. The distinguishing feature of this walnut furniture and its lacquered counterparts was its simple rectangular form and flat surfaces; the English avoided the serpentine and recessed fronts popular on the Continent at the turn of the century.

During the reign of Queen Anne (1702–14), many of these forms were retained. Under George I (1714–27) British case furniture became increasingly decorated with pilasters, broken pediments, elaborate cornices, etc., which gave it a strong architectural imprint, expressing the Palladian taste of contemporary builders. Related in origin, though more exuberant in form, were the consoles and later the serving tables designed by such architects as Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726) and William Kent (1684–1748); these pieces had marble tops and gilt scroll-shaped or eagle supports — the last manifestation in England of Italian baroque furnishing. Simultaneously, new influences from France and Holland brought the use of the cabriole leg, designed in a graceful curve developed from earlier scroll forms. The cabriole leg was used for tables and chairs, first with hoof and club feet (ca. 1710–20), then with lion-paw or claw-and-ball terminations. The hooped backs and vase-shaped splats of chairs (PL. 448), and the rounded shaping of upholstered chairs and settees, represent the first British adaptation of the continuous, carefully controlled movement upon which the contemporary French rococo style was developing.

The second and more literal adaptation of the French rococo took place during the reign of George II (1727–60), when walnut was almost entirely superseded by the use of West Indian mahogany — a wood more suited to the delicate and fanciful carving which is the paramount element of the British rococo. Adaptations are first found in the cabochons and floral, leaf, and ruffled motifs, applied, along with the heavier cabriole leg with scroll feet, to all types of furniture in the 1740s. The adaptations coincide with the first appearance of collections of

engravings for furniture by the architect Batty Langley (1739) and the patterns for brackets and mirrors by the wood carvers Matthias Lock and H. Copland.

Upon this work Thomas Chippendale (1718–79) drew extensively for his richly illustrated *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director* (London, 1754, 1759, 1763; FLS. 448, 449; IV, PL. 197), a book so influential that his name is synonymous with British furniture of the period 1740–60. In his book Chippendale restated in masterful form the designs his generation had inherited, such as the yoke cresting of chairs (derived from Chinese furniture) and the pierced splat, which he elaborated with carved ribbons as part of the "modern" or "French" style that dominated English interior decoration in the mid-18th century; his adaptations of the French upholstered armchair were probably Chippendale's major contribution. The romanticism of the English spirit found expression in Chippendale's imaginative versions of Chinese and Gothic furniture, rendered with great freedom and technical brilliance — best expressed, it would seem, in the almost unbelievable delicacy of the frets and lattices he derived from the Chinese and the interlacing arch patterns drawn from the Gothic. These he used for the adornment of straight legs (a form he restored to favor) and chair backs. Many of the elements Chippendale revived appeared in the sumptuous court furniture of the associates William Vile and John Cobb, who created some of the finest pieces of the "age of mahogany," and in the patterns published by William Ince and John Mayhew (*Universal System of Household Furniture*, 1759–63) and by Robert Manwaring (*The Cabinet and Chair-maker's Real Friend and Companion*, 1763) in imitation of those of Chippendale.

The brilliant rococo period was followed by an equally distinguished epoch (ca. 1760–90) dominated by the style which Robert Adam (1728–92; q.v.; PL. 450) created from his study of classical Roman decoration. For the first time British designers influenced their colleagues in France, especially in the use of certain English types of chairs and case furniture and in the employment of mahogany as a basic wood for construction. At the same time, English cabinetmakers imported so many ideas from Paris that it is possible to discern an Anglo-French style of furniture in the decade preceding the French Revolution.

Like many of his countrymen, Adam had lived in Italy (during the 1750s), where he developed close contacts with such archaeologically spirited designers as the Italian G. B. Piranesi (q.v.) and the Frenchman Charles-Louis Clérisseau, whose leadership was as influential in Rome and Paris as was that of Adam in London. Because of these close international associations it is virtually impossible to determine how great an innovator Robert Adam really was, but current opinion tends to grant him the major role in the development of the new classical style.

Returning to London in 1758, Adam founded a family firm which, in the 1760s, constructed and decorated some of the greatest houses in England. Following the thesis that an architect should be responsible for the design of every object placed in his building, Adam personally provided drawings for a great variety of furnishings, many of which were published in his *Works in Architecture*, the first volume of which appeared in 1773. For this furniture he devised a new vocabulary of swags and garlands, urns, confronted griffins, decorative medallions, and tablets, drawn from the *grotteschi* of antiquity and the Renaissance, which had fallen from fashion in the long period of baroque and rococo taste. In this revival he stressed a new delicacy and refinement of design and application inspired by the elongated elegance of the best antique decoration discovered in the contemporary excavations at Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. To execute his elaborate projects Adam gathered an international group of distinguished craftsmen, including the English cabinetmaker John Linnell, the Italian painters Antonio Zucchi and Michelangelo Pergolesi, and the Swiss painter Angelica Kauffmann.

In the designing of all kinds of furniture Adam's chief invention was the use of a slender tapering straight leg with spade or peg-top feet in combination with friezelike arrange-

ments of his favorite ornaments. Among the old forms he reemployed in novel fashion was the pedestal as a support for wooden urns to house silver in the furnishing of the dining room. Adam also popularized the French commode, which he redesigned with a pair of doors to cover the drawer fronts. Among his technical contributions were the introduction from France of ornolu fittings for chairs and case furniture (splendidly manufactured by Matthew Boulton of Soho, London) and the use of exotic woods, especially satinwood, as well as the revival of painted decoration and pictorial marquetry, basing the marquetry upon current French practices. The resulting English usage (masterfully represented in late works of Chippendale) differs from the French in the use of larger ornaments, more delicate tones, and attenuated delineation.

The tendencies to refine lines and attenuate proportions inherent in Adam's work were considerably augmented in the designs of the men who followed his style in the period 1780-90. These can best be seen in the publications of Thomas Shearer (*Designs for Household Furniture*, 1788), who appears to have created the sideboard set on long tapering legs; George Hepplewhite (d. 1786), whose posthumous *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* of 1788 popularized delicate shield-back chairs and miniature desks and tables; and the *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Drawing Book* (1791-94) of Thomas Sheraton (1751-1806), which helped to introduce the pedestal type of dining and library tables and to disseminate the practice of reeding. Sheraton's later publications provided the bridge to a new period (ca. 1800-20) of more archaeological classicism, expressed in the English Regency style.

The new fashion, deeply affected by developments in France in the 1790s, culminated in the publication in 1801 of Percier and Fontaine's *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures*; it established a procedure which was to dominate one aspect of 19th-century design by substituting massive for delicate proportions and literally employing models of the past, rather than interpreting them freely in the Adam tradition. Regency designers, like contemporary architects, principally imitated the formulas of ancient Greece, Rome, and Egypt. Their favorite models became the *klismos* and curule chairs, the tripod table, and the fulcrum type of bed and couch. Among the ornaments they preferred — as displayed in the pattern books of Thomas Hope, George Smith, and others — were portions of leonine anatomy, Greek and Egyptian cornices, and classicizing brass inlay. Their favorite woods were mahogany and rosewood. Ackermann's *Repository of Arts* (1809-29) contains illustrations that show the gradual coarsening of this style as it departed from the 18th century and the development of ornament (again in close parallel with contemporary architecture of a pseudo-Gothic style) compounded of crocketed finials, pointed arches, and polylobed friezes. A study of the designs of A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52), the best representative of the Gothic revival (a movement which continued throughout the 19th century), proves that he rarely applied medieval ornament to authentic Gothic furniture forms, preferring to adapt such ornament to the most popular classical models of the Regency designers. The hybrid Gothic revival, fed by a romantic respect for great ages of the British past, was accompanied in the first half of the 19th century by a similarly inspired movement called the Elizabethan revival, which gathered indiscriminately into its fold all sorts of furniture styles from Tudor through Queen Anne, emphasizing in particular Jacobean geometrical paneling and various types of heavy turning. A rococo revival, which, like the others, reflected contemporary trends on the Continent, reached its height at the time of the Crystal Palace exhibition held in London in 1851. This great mid-century display of early Victorian styles revealed a tragic abandonment of the rules of good taste through the ugliness of forms, the shoddy results of cheap, misused machine construction, and the employment of inappropriate materials such as papier-mâché. It also revealed that leadership in furniture design had passed from inspired individuals to the mediocre anonymity of large firms concerned with mass production. These characteristics, combined with increased eclecticism, continued to dominate British furniture production until the end of the century.

Fortunately, however, the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 brought countermeasures, which, though not immediately effective in changing public taste, produced distinguished results that were to affect the distant future. The first and most influential of these countermeasures was the movement begun in 1861 by William Morris (1834-96) to recapture the simple, solid forms of medieval furniture, which had survived in country pieces. His designer Philip Webb (1831-1915), and in the 1870s Bruce Talbot (1838-81), revived the use of oak in heavy buffets and tables that emphasized strong linear patterns in place of ornate surface carving. The success of this furniture, which stressed above all clarity of form and honesty of material, led to the establishment in 1888 of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which had a far-reaching effect, first on British and then on Continental furniture.

A second movement, begun in 1868 by the architect E. W. Godwin (1833-86), developed from Japanese sources lighter and more elegant patterns, which by avoiding cloying exoticism stimulated in the 1890s the brilliant linear fantasies of the more original designs of the architects C. F. A. Voysey (1858-1941) and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) of Glasgow. To this movement A. H. Mackmurdo (1851-1942) added, from 1881 onward, the dynamic power of blocklike forms and the sinuous rhythm of plant-inspired ornament in furniture, which anticipated the style of Art Nouveau, associated with the Paris Exposition of 1900. The influence of these men, beginning with William Morris, was especially effective in Scandinavia and helped create one of the main currents of 20th-century furniture design.

C. ROBERT SMITH

*United States, 1680-1900.* A characteristically American furniture style evolved within the first 50 years of colonization, so that by 1680 locally produced furniture could be differentiated from imported examples. The American style was characterized by a simplicity and functionalism which tempered even the most elaborate designs — a fact evident both in the heavy and seemingly primitive early work and in the more timely and elegant furniture made in the baroque spirit at the end of the 17th century. In simplifying English and Continental models, American craftsmen showed a remarkable understanding of their own limitations and the ability to create fresh interpretations of established designs. (See I, PLS. 133, 134.)

The earliest American furniture was small in scale and heavy in proportion. It resembled the provincial English variation of Tudor style that persisted through the 17th century. Oak was the favored wood, although softer local woods were employed, occasionally painted for protection and decoration. Few forms were used, since the middle class, whose taste predominated on the American scene, followed the medieval tradition of furnishing sparsely with heavy, well-constructed pieces. Architectural motifs of Renaissance inspiration (e.g., arcades, pilasters, rosettes — carved or applied as moldings or turned spindles) or carved floral designs of Eastern influence were the most frequently encountered decorative schemes. For storage, the plain chest was more usual than the chest of drawers, and a few small pieces were introduced for special purposes such as storing books or spices. For display, the court cupboard and the recessed cabinet were used, the former with two open shelves above and below for showing off pottery or silver, the latter with splayed sides for storage on the middle shelf.

The three kinds of chairs common in the early period reflected various eras of origin: the chair of turned posts and spindles was a type known at least as early as the 12th century; the wainscot chair, with solid panels and carved classical decoration, was derived from a Renaissance prototype; and the upholstered chair, its back and seat covered in Turkey work or leather, was popular in England in the middle of the 17th century and was known in America soon after.

Toward the end of the 17th century the baroque style reached the Colonies. Walnut and other woods easy to handle replaced oak, with veneers and inlays employed to achieve bold surface patterns. In some instances the baroque approach to the classical occasioned the development of unusual details;

but greater reliance on the antique — through the influence of French designers of the period — is suggested by such details as legs that are trumpet-shaped and scroll-shaped. Both designs were based on antique models which were adapted to local needs, the first turned on a lathe, the second cut simply from the solid wood. With the new style came some innovations in form. For storage, the chest of drawers became the most common form, either low on ball feet or raised on a base of tall legs and a tier of drawers. Perhaps most revealing of the tendencies of the style was the typical chair design of the period. Tall and thin, the frame carved or turned elaborately, with seat and back of cane, this type was a perfect expression of the baroque and a variation of what was popular in England, the Netherlands, and the Iberian Peninsula. The period between 1680 and 1720 saw the evolution of an American style that offered fresh and simple interpretations of the more elaborate fashions of the Old World.

Between 1720 and 1780 the predominant style in America was a restrained, classical version of the rococo style which had come into fashion all over the Continent. The American craftsman chose a few of the outstanding elements of the rococo such as light proportions and richly covered surfaces, but although he attained the height of elegance in his best efforts, he consistently avoided the full-fledged rococo designs by French artists that were commonly borrowed by English and Continental craftsmen. The American version of the style had two phases, both named inaccurately: the earlier was called the Queen Anne style, after the English monarch whose reign (1702-14) had little influence on furniture fashion; the later phase was known as the Chippendale style, for the London cabinetmaker whose publication, *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director* (see above, *England, 1500-1900*), was a compilation of designs more flamboyant than Americans liked ordinarily. A major difference between the two phases was the degree of elaboration, which presumably increased in later examples.

The change in style from the previous period (1680-1720) was more a matter of design than of the forms employed, although many minor innovations were introduced as middle-class life became more luxurious. For storage pieces the scale became larger, but the proportions often were lighter because the leg was transformed from a complicated design to the simple curving animal shape called the cabriole leg. Carved decoration was typical, and broken pediments topped the larger forms. Queen Anne designs were more subdued than their Chippendale counterparts. The shell, favored as a motif for carved ornament in the Queen Anne phase, was replaced in the Chippendale phase by an acanthus-leaf design, which allowed for more variety and exuberance. The differences between the two phases were more evident in chair designs: the Queen Anne chair consisted of a series of pleasing undulations, the back curved up to the round ends of the curving cresting rail, which in the finest examples had a carved shell in the center. The back splat was fiddle-shaped and solid. The seat was curved, often in a horseshoe shape, supported by cabriole legs in front. For the Chippendale chair, the designs were more startling. The back, for example, had a cresting rail that curved out where it met the stiles, to resemble ears; the splat was generally pierced in a rococo design; the seat, most often rectangular, was supported on either cabriole legs with elaborately carved feet or straight legs in a design that Chippendale attributed to Chinese inspiration. Chair designs came closest to reflecting the influence of Chippendale's book because conservatism was important in American design. Although some elements obviously were derived from the latest London fashions, Americans chose to retain early details and forms in designs, proving that it was taste and not ignorance that determined their usage. The elements of difference in the Colonies from region to region were clearly reflected in their stylistic preferences in this period. Wherever urban communities were large, greater elegance existed; however, New England taste generally demanded a lightness and delicacy, while New Yorkers called for heavier proportions and decorations, and Philadelphians sought the greatest amount of exuberant detail in carving. The American approach of the 18th century was consistent in its conservatism

in working out designs of integrity in which the latest fashion was adapted to suit the needs of a people living on the edge of a wilderness.

In the post-Revolutionary period (1780-1800) Americans glorified ancient Rome as the model for republics; their reaction against the furniture style of contrived variations on the classical — apparent even in the subtle American rococo — was reinforced by the introduction of philosophical arguments in favor of a new style that attempted to revive antique motives in simple, crisp designs. The most important stylistic influences on this new furniture style were the English publications of designs inspired by the architect Robert Adam and compiled by Thomas Shearer, George Hepplewhite, and Thomas Sheraton. In the American version, a repertory of classical ornament — thin, small, and delicate — was employed on forms light in proportion and generally straight in outline or of uncomplicated curving lines. Mahogany was the wood most often used, and carved ornament shared the place of prominence with veneers and inlaid decoration; occasionally, painted designs were used on fine furniture. Straight, tapering legs were the common type of the period, either round or square in cross section and often fluted or reeded like a column. Occasionally the front of a square leg had inlaid bell-flower ornamentation, or broader surfaces had inlaid borders of ancient classical derivation. Typical chair designs offered the most obvious elements of the style. The shield back, the rectangular form with a protruding center area, and the oval back were three chair variations that Americans favored and used with carved, inlaid, or painted ornament. In each case, the small scale of the decoration was consistent with the over-all design. New furniture forms were introduced for dining-room use. The sideboard, which had storage space in drawers and cabinets and a relatively high top for serving pieces, varied in its support, having from four to eight legs; it varied also in design, from a simple half-circular shape to a more complicated series of curves across the front; and in ornament, from simple veneer to elaborate inlaid decoration. A bookcase secretary with glass-shelved upper area might often serve for the display of china; the basic form was often widened for dining-room use. The high chest went out of fashion after the Revolution and was replaced by the simple chest of drawers on low bracket feet and by the press, a chest with an upper area of shelves enclosed by doors. Dressing tables with mirrors attached — furniture specifically made for the bedroom — became more common.

The American classical style came very close at times to its English prototypes because at its most elaborate it was a style for urban groups quite similar in taste and way of life to their English counterparts. Nonetheless, the differences from the English style were discernible, for the American examples revealed a consistent simplicity in the exploitation of obvious good craftsmanship to make work impressive. The varying taste of the different geographic areas of the new republic was manifested in preferences for specific decorative details and in the general approach to designs, so that, from New England to the South, the work of each area could be distinguished.

Although the impact of classicism continued to be important through the first decades of the 19th century, a change in approach was discernible by about 1800. Then, actual ancient examples began to serve as models for the classical designs employed by American craftsmen. There was an ever-increasing tendency to heavier proportions, and decorative carving — which at the beginning of the period was delicate — gradually became heavy. The acanthus leaf, earlier replaced by the flat water leaf as a favored carved ornamental motif, came into fashion again when taste demanded deeper carving. The round, reeded leg tended to be widened in cross section. Scroll and curule legs, based on ancient Roman designs but heavy in proportion, were used with greater frequency as time went on.

Although designs by Hepplewhite and Sheraton were followed after 1800, more important was the influence of designs published by Thomas Hope and George Smith early in the 19th century in the French-influenced Grecian style. As usual, chairs revealed this style at its most obvious, with the Greek *klinos* the popular model for side- and armchairs. The ward-

robe, a form all but forgotten in the late 18th century, came back into fashion when large forms were preferred. American craftsmanship reached new heights in the finest work of the period; at the same time, the growth of the middle class brought with it an increasing demand for furniture that superficially resembled fine work, even though it might be made badly to meet a competitive price.

From 1830 to 1900 innovations in design were consistently derived from the existing vocabulary of styles, mainly from prototypes introduced in the previous 600 years. However, the approach to design changed during the period; the earlier styles were generally reinterpreted to suit the new needs of the 19th century and new methods of producing the furniture. At first, furniture design was based on the function of the room: the rococo revival was preferred for the parlor, Elizabethan and Renaissance for the dining room. Later, furniture design was based on the style considered suitable for a specific piece, as Renaissance for a chair, baroque for a table, and rococo for a chest; the pieces — more precise copies of the prototypes than their earlier versions — might be designed for a single room.

Innovations in the techniques of manufacturing, during this period, were more obvious than innovations in furniture design. By the 1850s, Americans had developed firms producing low-cost mass-production furniture which, and at its best, was well designed in knowing simplifications of the Grecian, rococo, and Renaissance styles that were prominent. That fine furniture might benefit from mass-production techniques is suggested by the work of John Henry Belter, whose bentwood parlor suites in the rococo revival style are the most elegant output of the period in the United States. Americans were famous for their inventions in the field of furniture between 1850 and 1890, when all sorts of contrivances were devised to increase comfort. Rocking chairs and double-purpose furniture were among the most common of the inventions. Upholstered furniture, in which the work of the cabinetmaker was unnecessary, came into fashion in the United States after the 1870s.

Marvin D. SCHWARTZ

*Modern furniture.* A new and radically different phase in the development of furniture began with William Morris (1834-96; q.v.), who has justly been called the prophet of the 20th century (Pevsner). Morris's program for restoring to the crafts their artistic values gave rise to the Arts and Crafts Movement, whose central tenet — the necessity for an interrelation of art with contemporary social and political conditions — reflected his belief that art is not for the few (any more than education or freedom is for the few) and that no art is completely valid unless everyone can benefit from it. As a designer, Morris was able to put his theories into practice; and in 1861 he founded in London the firm of Morris, Marshall & Faulkner, manufacturers and decorators, who made furniture and did painting, engraving, and metalwork. The firm's importance may be gauged from the fact that its members included Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, and Philip Webb. Morris himself designed textiles, wallpaper, objects of daily use, and furniture (his Morris chair has become a classic).

Both by precept and by example, he stimulated in other designers a consciousness of the social function of their works. When in 1902 Henri Van de Velde (1863-1957; q.v.) was invited to head the School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar (which was combined with the Sächsishe Hochschule für Bildende Kunst in 1919 and, with Gropius as its director, became the Bauhaus), he had already assimilated some of Morris's concepts, though he overcame Morris's repugnance toward machine production and expressed his faith in a future in which beauty would dominate industry. The buildings and furniture of Van de Velde are even more important than his theoretical work, which found expression in his teaching and in numerous lectures given between 1894 and 1900. His most outstanding works are the Folkwang Museum in Hagen (1900-02), the theater for the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne (1914), the furniture for the Düsseldorf Exhibition (1902), and a whole series of chairs, armchairs, and objects designed during the first decade

of the 20th century. In all of these works the principle that each line and each form must be the result of a functional need is clearly applied.

During a lecture given at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels in 1933, Van de Velde said that over the centuries the works of the architect have given rise to a feeling of beauty similar to that produced by the works of nature; but this occurs only when the former are so perfectly thought out as to appear as logical and spontaneously natural as the latter. In the fluid lines of his furniture Van de Velde's idea of equating line with force is eloquently stated in an article in *La Cité* (1923).

Van de Velde, Victor Horta (1861-1947), and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928; q.v.) were the leading exponents of the Art Nouveau (q.v.) movement, which corresponded to the Jugendstil in Germany, the Liberty in Italy, and the Wiener Sezession in Austria. The Sezession was led by Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956) and by J. M. Olbrich (1867-1908), who has been called a "painter-architect" because he used polychrome materials so extensively and whose interiors are notable for the refined elegance of their detail. A different trend in Austrian architecture was represented by Adolf Loos (1870-1933), a pioneer functionist (e.g., his Steiner house, Vienna, 1910). He began a campaign against decoration, which was to find its most absolute expression in the works of J. J. P. Oud (b. 1890), Le Corbusier (b. 1888), Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (b. 1888), and Walter Gropius (b. 1883; qq.v.), and was as important to the development of furniture as to architecture.

Walter Gropius first became influential in the development of style as the director of the Bauhaus, which was conceived as a school of architecture and applied arts where artists were trained to design for factories. The curriculum of the school combined theoretical study and workshop experience, and its faculty brought together some of the most influential artists of the postwar years, among them Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Kazimir Malevich, László Moholy-Nagy, Marcel Breuer (qq.v.), and Theo van Doesburg. For furniture, the most important years were those immediately after the Bauhaus was moved to Dessau in 1925. The furniture workshop was under the direction of the Hungarian architect Marcel Breuer (b. 1902), who was the first to use steel tubing in the construction of furniture. Some of the products of this workshop, produced commercially, attained world-wide distribution and were of great importance in shaping the taste of subsequent decades.

In order to understand contemporary design, we must grasp the relation between form and methods of production. One of the fundamental principles of modern design is to consider the form as arising through the interaction of the qualities of the materials and the technological possibilities available for working them. Nevertheless, it is an oversimplification to say that the laminated wood furniture of Alvar Aalto (q.v.) or the tubular metal chairs designed by Breuer in 1925 (PL. 456) and by Mies van der Rohe in 1927 were exclusively the results of new industrial processes — as much an oversimplification, in fact, as it is to say that these works were exclusively the result of genius. The relation between form and machine is not a static one, and there is no absolute dependence of one on the other.

Mies van der Rohe's famous steel and leather Barcelona chair (so named because it was designed for the German Pavilion at the Barcelona Exhibition of 1929) is one of the most beautiful examples of modern furniture. It is, however, very expensive because the two pieces cannot be joined by an industrial process. Obviously this does not in any way detract from the purity of its line; but it does make it something of a rarity. Alvar Aalto's chairs and stools are, on the contrary, designed and worked out in the factory itself so that the designer can take into account both esthetic considerations and the technical exigencies of mass production. As a result, his furniture is inexpensive and has been extensively marketed in many countries. This factor is of artistic importance in that only through wide distribution is it possible to establish modern taste and to raise standards effectively. Michael Thonet, a German, accomplished this in 1830, when he invented the process of steaming and bending wood and began the produc-

tion of bentwood chairs. He created the first furniture type to spread all over Europe and the United States and to find its way into homes of all social and economic groups. The functionalist architects, especially Le Corbusier, used these chairs in their interiors. Even today Thonet's simpler designs retain their validity.

The general level of design in the Scandinavian countries is presently higher than anywhere else. These countries have produced some of the most renowned contemporary furniture designers. By far the most famous is Aalto, a Finn, but Arne Jacobsen (PL. 456) and Finn Juhl of Denmark and Bruno Mathsson of Sweden should also be mentioned. Juhl is best known for the three-legged chair with seat, armrests, and back all made of one piece bent in reversed curves (designed 1952). Bruno Mathsson uses laminated bentwood for the curved supporting members of his pieces. He and many other Swedish designers work in close contact with the factories producing their furniture. A unique institution is the Swedish Society for Applied Arts, whose aim is to cooperate with both artists and industry for the improvement of furnishings. In Sweden, furniture is conceived as a part of housing, so that state support for housing, which is particularly extensive in Sweden, also includes furnishings. Because of these two conditions—the designer's collaboration with industry and the realization that furnishings are an integral part of the problem of housing—Sweden today can be considered one of the most progressive countries in the field of home furnishings and furniture design.

In America, two outstanding designers are Eero Saarinen (q.v.) and Charles Eames, who have designed important chairs (I, PL. 135). The Saarinen chair (1942) consists of a single curved piece of metal completely padded with foam rubber and covered with cloth. It is the latest step in adapting new materials to the double curve of the seated body. Eames (PL. 457) recently designed a swivel chair with three curved forms that correspond to seat, back, and headrest, completely upholstered and covered with leather, and mounted on a metal shaft. His earlier laminated wood chair, built to fit the human form, was one of the first pieces of this type in the United States and as such exercised an unprecedented influence.

Mass production of furniture has brought with it the problem of making pieces that can be assembled in various ways. As early as 1927, Gropius designed for the Feder Stores in Berlin a series of pieces for various uses that consisted of certain modular elements in a number of combinations. The advantages of modular furniture are obvious: great flexibility, the possibility of expanding pieces, and adaptability to different uses and rooms. In this area, too, Sweden has produced some of the most outstanding works, for example, Nils Strinning's sectional bookcases of iron and wood.

Recent developments in furniture have been influenced by architectural developments. Rooms in modern houses and apartments frequently merge one into another, so that at times a piece of furniture is given the function of a divider between two areas, taking the place of a wall. Another facet of the tendency to see the house and its furnishings as a unit is the use of built-in pieces (cabinets, storage areas, and tables).

During the last century, furnishings in the West have undergone a more radical change than at any time since their inception. Industrialization not only permitted mass production but also contributed methods that led to the invention of new forms and the use of new materials—such as steel, aluminum, laminated wood, and plastics. The long-established tradition of furniture making by individual craftsmen gave way to a method of production in which designers work in conjunction with factories. The relation between furniture and architecture has been strengthened. New conceptions of furniture have developed in response to the altered conditions of life.

Carlo CHIARINI

**EASTERN FURNITURE. Islam.** Owing to the special way of life in the Islamic countries of the Near East there was little indigenous development of furniture in the Western sense (e.g., tables and chairs). With their conquest of the Near East the

Arabs introduced a nomadic preference for living close to the ground level. Only with the penetration of European culture in the 19th century did full-size furniture come to be adopted for domestic use. In India, climatic conditions dictated a change in the habits of the Islamic conquerors (see below, *India*).

Islamic culture developed certain types of furniture for purely religious use in the mosque (e.g., *mimbars*, chairs for readings, chests for sacred texts). These pieces display the Islamic taste for rich surface ornament (PL. 458; see *ISLAM*).

*India.* Until recent times furniture in India was not greatly developed, owing partly to the necessity for keeping pieces easily movable, partly to the destructive effects of climate and animal life. Wide variations in temperature between day and night, and between indoors and outdoors, required frequent relocation of furniture from closed lower rooms to airy top rooms and from gardens to roof terraces. Most types of wood were consumed by white ants; leather was ruined by mold. Through the windows and doors open for ventilation, dust and humidity penetrated, while all manner of insects, reptiles, and birds found access to the chinks and corners of the house. Thus stone shelves and niches in the walls, so high that snakes could not reach them, took the place of cupboards and chests of drawers. Fine dresses and shawls were kept in trunks and chests made of teakwood, brass, or steel; food was stored in tightly closing metal or clay vessels. Carpets were generally spread sparsely in order to make them inaccessible to snakes and to permit easy inspection.

The only furniture pieces were beds (*charpāi*, *chārpoī*), stools or small tables (*chauki*), thrones (*āsana*, *takhtapōsh*), swings (*hindāla*), folding chairs and tables, round wicker chairs (*morhā*, *pīthā*), and litters (*palki*). Basically all this furniture retained forms once common in ancient Egypt and Babylonia. Beds (also used as benches by the addition of cylindrical cushions on which to recline) consisted of four short legs into which a frame of four poles was fixed, the whole kept together by cross-wise plaited straps which could easily be removed for cleaning or tightened in case they became too loose. The legs of the beds were often nicely carved, painted, or lacquered; legs of princely beds were carved of ivory, or silver- or gold-plated, or cast in silver and engraved or chased. Thin mattresses, used during the cooler months, were covered with beautifully printed or embroidered spray designs. Under Moslem rule, beds of a more massive type similar to those in Europe were occasionally used; under British domination huge four-posters made their appearance, covered with carved figures of heavenly nymphs or highly erotic reliefs.

The Indian type of throne was originally shaped like a bed but had a richly carved, often gold-plated and jewel-studded frame with lion feet (*simhāsana*). Later a back was added, first rather simple, but after the Gupta period (4th–8th cent.) decorated with figures of the elephant, dragon (crocodile), and ram (or stag), symbolizing the three worlds of earth, water, and air. In the Middle Ages the throne backs were also decorated with a halo (*prabhā*) topped by a demon mask (*kirtimukha*), the whole crowned by an umbrella. The Moslems introduced the Central Asian throne (*takht*), a rectangular or octagonal platform on projecting animal feet, provided with a high, richly decorated back and lower railing on the sides. The throne was so high that it could be reached only by a footstool or steps, and broad enough to be used for sleeping or seating several persons. Extant examples are the "Ghazni throne" at Pugal and the "Kanauj throne" at Bikaner (PL. 458). The most famous *takht* was the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan in Delhi Palace, brought to Persia by Nadir Shah; however, the Peacock Throne at Teheran was a Persian work of the time of Fath Ali Shah. For less ceremonious occasions a chair was used, but only as a seat of honor. From the 17th century on these chairs fell under the influence of European art, first richly carved with baroque European leafwork, gilded, and studded with jewels; in the 18th century the chairs became merely expensive variants of contemporary European furniture executed in silver, gold, and ivory. We have such chairs from the courts of the Nawabs of Oudh



and the Nizams and the sultans of Mysore (Hyderabad, Salar-Jang Mus.; London, Vict. and Alb.).

Wicker chairs (simply reversed baskets) were used from earliest times; in the 18th century they were first provided with backs. Folding chairs with three legs, tables for books, and waterpot stands (often decorated with carved horse heads) once were common, but now are chiefly used in temples and monasteries. Swings (rectangular, rarely oval, wooden platforms with railings, suspended on brass chains from the ceiling or from a wooden frame) were used in the de luxe private rooms of Hindu houses and in temples. The links of the chains often consisted of female figures; the supporting frame sometimes had similar figures. Small tables, taborets, and footstools were used as side tables, stands for water pipes (hookahs), or for the bath, rather than for eating or writing. There are many varieties of these tables, from plain wooden platforms to those of finely engraved silverwork.

Litters consisted either of a boxlike frame in which to recline, carried on poles; or of a long curved pole under which a bed platform was suspended. The curved part of the pole might be expanded into a roof. Good examples of these litters may be found in many temples, in the Bibi-kā-Rauza at Aurangabad, and in the Chambā Palace.

Few old trunks seem to have been preserved. Northwest Indian trunks of the 16th century were apparently covered with leather appliqué work, with brass, or with iron fretwork. In the Deccan the wood was often inlaid with tree designs and figures of ivory intarsia, or even completely covered with ivory or silver panels. The only really old piece known is the portable chest of a princess, which was excavated at Begram (Kapisa) in Afghanistan, once pieced together from numerous ivory panels and ledges and carved in relief or *à jour* in the south Indian (Sātavāhana) style of the 2d century (with some slight admixture of features in the Roman style); fragments are now in the Musée Guimet at Paris and in the Kabul Museum, Afghanistan. Similar fragments, of minor quality, were excavated at Brahmanabad, Sind (9th cent.), and are now in the British Museum. Minor ivory boxes and caskets have been preserved from Bijapur (Baroda Mus.), south India, Ceylon (public colls. at Munich, London, Paris, Colombo), Goa, and elsewhere.

In recent years European manners and the increased use of disinfectants, air conditioning, and lacquered steel have brought to India new types of furniture with a wider range of materials and, in some quarters, an adjustment to the Occidental way of life.

Hermann Goertz

*China.* The requirement that the outside and the inside of a building must be conceived in unison is as old as architecture itself. Rarely has this demand been more impressively fulfilled than in the two most creative centuries of the Ming dynasty, roughly between 1400 and 1600. The domestic architecture of that period had been reduced to the basic elements of the primeval post-and-lintel design. Economy in the use of structural detail and an absence of florid embellishment served to enhance the power inherent in this earth-bound pillar device. Anyone gifted with a feeling for space and rhythmic proportions who has wandered through the successive gates, courts, ambulatories, and halls of an old domestic compound of the Ming period has surely felt the sway of that measured life, as ample and timeless as the architecture which sheltered it and as serene as the furniture these buildings once enclosed. The household pieces of the Ming dynasty — seats, tables, and cabinets — display a purity that borders on austerity, subservient in their array to the rectangular symmetry of the hall itself. Their character would be entirely severe were it not for the vital beauty of the amber-colored woods and the cunning of their joinery. Such furniture was in harmony with the timber architecture for which it had been made.

The two basic units from which all principal types of Chinese furniture derive are the rack and the box. Both are architectonically conceived and constructed. The experienced eye will recognize the original form in combination or concealed through adaptation. The primary uses of the box are as a platform which

may serve as a low tray and as a seat raised from the dampness of the floor. The earliest example of box construction is the bronze table of the Pao-chi set, dated late Shang or early Chou, about 1000 B.C. (New York, Met. Mus.). Archaeologically it has been identified as the *chün* of the ritual classics, a stand to receive sacrificial wine vessels. The piece imitates in bronze a contemporary wood construction of the frame-and-panel type. Each of the panels, of which there are four on the long sides and two on the narrow sides, is embellished with two long rectangular cutouts. These cutouts are first indications of a motif which was to become the basis of all subsequent formal and structural development of the platform. In monumental size the platform was employed as a ceremonial dais in the center of the main hall, where it must have been installed as an immutable part of the interior architecture, perhaps as a cover over a core piled up in the *pisé de terre* technique. After a millennium and a half its appearance had undergone formal but no essential structural change. The box-type platform of the T'ang period is well attested through examples preserved in the Shōdōin at Nara, in Japan, which was built in the middle of the 8th century. Many of the pieces in this ancient Japanese treasure house are of Chinese origin, among them a backgammon board made of *Lingoum santalinum*, commonly known as red sandalwood, bamboo-lined and inlaid with ivory, hartshorn, and various woods. Structurally and esthetically the piece represents the T'ang interpretation of the box-designed platform at its best. The two superimposed cutouts of the Shang-Chou type have been replaced by one large rounded cutout with a low ogee arch of Indian chaitya origin. Both frame and panel, although simplified and partly fused, are still discernible. The quoin uprights — two slats meeting at a right angle with the inward spread of their bottom portions — foretell the coming of the solid club foot with its more or less pronounced inturned flares. This type of foot, technically called *ma-t'i* (horse hoof), seems to be a creation of the early Ming period, perhaps from the end of the 14th century. In the course of the 18th century it was replaced by a weak scroll ornament. The authentic Ming *ma-t'i*, carved out of a log, with its dynamic inward thrust, cannot be mistaken. In this survey only the classical Ming interpretation of the platform can be discussed.

The footstool designed so as to receive a rug within its slightly raised border edges is of fundamental significance, as was the bronze stand mentioned above. Raised and magnified it became the dais of the main hall, a convenient day bed in any of the living rooms, a couch when supplied with a railing, a four-poster with tester, a side table, or, when high and narrow, a bench.

The gradual change from living close to the floor on mats (as it survives in Japan), or on mats covering a platform, to isolated high sitting in the Western way seems to have started in the 3d century, although one of the old modes of sitting on the dais — with one leg pulled under — never entirely disappeared. With the coming of Buddhism (ca. 3d cent.), folding stools of Indian origin — ultimately of Hellenistic-Roman origin — first appeared, to be followed by true chairs with various types of backs (PL. 462). They were introduced from Central Asia, or possibly directly from India, but they did not become the common high seat employed for the Western way of sitting before the end of the 9th century. The backrests were originally independent supports used for reclining on the mat of the dais. One example of the classical Ming armchair (PL. 462, right) is made of amber-colored wood (*Lingoum indicum*). Its back, which is particularly interesting, derives from the railed rack and has been transformed into a yoke rack enriched with a central splat; its origin derives from the Sung period. This type of back occurs with and without arms; without arms it is also constructed as part of the standard X-shaped folding chair or is mounted on cabriole legs. Examples with this same back, without arms, and on cabriole legs survive only in Ming illustrations and in some Japanese prints of the Nagasaki type.

A pair of folding chairs with yoke and splat found their way into the Escorial in the time of Philip II, in whose reign, after 1581, Portugal (and thus also Macao) became temporarily Spanish. A hundred years after Philip, the splat back with yoke



or with hoop became as fashionable in Europe as the Queen Anne chair, but only in its cabriole-substructure form. This form, with its club foot replacing the earlier *pied-de-biche*, appealed to the florid taste of the time so much that it became the very symbol of the rococo. The manner in which the cabriole migrated from China to Europe is still obscure. Possibly the Dutch carried it to Holland from Nagasaki, where Chinese chairs and tables had been used. From Holland it may have come to England after the accession of William of Orange in 1688, to be adopted by the cabinetmakers of Queen Anne. These craftsmen, with their instinct for proportion, lowered the seat of the Chinese chair (the height of which had been adjusted to the obligatory footstool) without lowering the back, thus obtaining the 18th-century high-back elevation.

Tripod stands occurred as early as the Han and T'ang periods and were more fully developed in the early Ming. The occasional table of Southern Sung design (PL. 459) is datable about A.D. 1200. The difference in formal feeling between these two types is apparent, and it due not merely to the difference of material and technical treatment. While the Sung style rejoices in delicate breaks of the profiles and thus in rhythmic articulation, the Ming taste evidenced in the tripod stands brings the form under the control of an undulating harmony unrivaled in furniture making. Legs, top rail, and bottom rail of the Ming pieces blend together in a manner that suggests the form of a violin with its acoustically determined outlines. A comparison of the Ming tripod stand with three-legged Hellenistic-Roman tables shows the merits of the Chinese version to full advantage.

The structural essentials for both tables and cabinets are provided by the rack, whose conception follows the post-rail-and-lintel principle. All furniture of this category has an architectural character with postlike legs slightly splayed, a basic pattern, seen also in the Japanese torii, of all Far Eastern timber structure (see PL. 463). The substructure of the chair (PL. 462) represents a combination of box and post-and-rail design. The stilted feet in a fine cabinet of unusual height in the Taliani del Marchio Collection, Rome, endow this type of furniture with particular distinction. More common is the plain rectangular chest design, in which the descent from the box is evident. The Shōsōin in Japan preserves T'ang examples of Chinese cabinets — footless cubic chests supported by stands. It was a matter of structural development that the outer uprights of the supporting stand were eventually fused with the stiles of the chest, thus producing the typical Chinese *Stollenschrank* (see above, *Western Furniture*). The chest-on-chest combination also multiplied, with as many as six chests arranged vertically in one piece, again indicating the cathetic ideal and the architectural inspiration of the Chinese cabinetmaker. (See PL. 461.)

Two woods employed in the Ming period were extremely hard varieties of the *Lingoum* group, known for their aromatic qualities and called rosewoods (see PLS. 459-63). More common of the two was *Lingoum indicum*, which was imported from the Sunda Islands probably until the middle of the 18th century. A Chinese chronicle of the 13th century states that the wood was named by cabinetmakers after its musklike odor. The color ranges from amber to deep chestnut brown. To describe the difference in color from that of new material, Chinese experts refer to a subtle golden shimmer which seems to be reflected as from a foil, suffusing the polished satin surface with a special glow. *Lingoum santalinum*, another variety, was the most precious of all cabinetwoods used in ancient China. It survives in pieces of the T'ang dynasty (PL. 459). This wood has practically no veining and its grains are still more densely crowded than those of the *indicum* species; its surface is enriched by a metallic gleam which the Chinese call "golden." Through the polishing of the ages its natural violet color darkens into a kind of purple black, which is different from the pitch black of ebony used in China only for inlay. The coloring matter present in both species readily dissolves and is still used by Chinese gourmets of the old school to stain white millet spirits. The dye was early isolated for commercial purposes and became known under such names as "dragon's blood." The structural denseness of the rosewoods made pos-

sible not only intricate and daring joints but also a steel-like slenderness and dynamic vigor which are among the outstanding features of Chinese tectonic design.

Second to these rosewoods was the cedarwood of Szechwan (*Persea nanmu*). Its color is sand brown, its grain fine, with a pattern soft and cloudy; it takes on a velvetlike polish. Now almost extinct, the tree was used by both Ming carpenters and cabinetworkers.

An old inventory of the Berlin *Schloss* says of a Chinese rosewood tester bed once in the Electoral Collection: "The curiosity of the bedstead consists in the fact that no nails have been employed in its construction. In every other respect it displays the art and skill of its maker. Its wood is said to emanate a delicate scent." The quality of material and joinery impressed this Western expert in an age that still possessed a sound craft tradition. He at once perceived the precision of the cabinetwork that is so distinctive a feature of traditional Chinese craftsmanship. As has been observed, no nails were ever used; neither were wooden pins unless they were absolutely unavoidable, as in the frames of seats or in repair work. Glue was equally abhorred. The spokeshave did the work of the turning lathe, as may be observed in the rounded rails and stiles which are ovoid in section and wrought by eye and hand. Cabriole legs, club feet, and curved uprights are true works of sculpture carved out of the solid log.

In his respect for wood the Chinese cabinetmaker never veneered, except on cheap pieces not meant to last. For the finish, no coloring matter was added to the wax, which already had a yellowish hue of its own. The maturing of polish and luster was left to time — to centuries in the old patrician houses. Handled and waxed throughout generations, an old surface of rosewood is endowed with that quality which Mallarmé calls "la grâce des choses fanées."

No ornamental carving in the florid sense was used in Ming hardwood furniture. Instead, the joiner employed beads, straight or in calligraphic curves; cutouts, in their outlines as natural and graceful as plant forms; miter joints; trapezoid joints; and the visual impact of countergrains as means of subtle enrichment. The vigorously profiled frame-and-panel device added not only articulation but also the play of light to the total design.

As important as ormolu for European rococo furniture were the mounts in their rhythmic display. The old English name for the metal of which they were made was paktong, now called nickel silver. The former term derives from a Cantonese word and thus indicates where the Western craftsman became first acquainted with this copper-zinc-nickel alloy. Chinese metalworkers still use it. Their traditional way of treating this alloy is to cast it into sheets and then to cut and hammer it in the cold. They finally hand-polish it with charcoal powder and gourd skin. The metal never tarnishes or dulls but preserves its soft and blanching luster, unless spoiled by clumsy hands.

In order to represent Chinese classical furniture we have provided only scattered examples. Ancient illustrations help to complement their setting, Ming narratives recreate their atmosphere, and surviving pieces reveal their splendor.

Gustav Eckst

*Japan.* The Japanese interior excludes superfluous decorative features that serve only to fill space within the area artistically defined by the linear frame of the room. Consequently furniture plays only a modest role within this scheme; Japanese furniture never underwent a development analogous to that of China or the West. The traditional furnishings of the Japanese interior, whether ancient or modern, are extremely simple and consist of a very few pieces which are quite low. The habit of sitting on *tatami* (rice-straw mats) placed on the floor is traditional, and the mats are regarded as indispensable to family life; tables and chairs of normal height are completely absent.

Almost all Japanese furniture follows types and forms established in China. Much of it is characterized by a linear structure in which the post-and-lintel principle of the traditional architecture of the Far East is the most significant

feature; by this means, slender and soberly elegant forms are obtained, assuring a harmonious relationship with their surroundings. A different basic structure is found in the box-type furniture, which adheres more closely to the Chinese originals; here, however, the forking legs serve to lighten the heaviness of the body of the piece. Despite Japanese changes in the Chinese types introduced, these two basic principles of Chinese furniture — linear structure and box structure — have not been modified since the Asuka period (A.D. 552–710). The rare and famous pieces preserved in the Shōsōin (Imperial Treasure House) in Nara, and in the National Museum in Tokyo, as well as those in private collections, show great similarity to contemporary pieces in the traditional style. Only the decoration and incorporated paintings show the stylistic changes imposed by the development of lacquer and inlay techniques. Decoration in these media includes the *hyōmon* (leaf decoration), *raden* (mother-of-pearl inlay), *makkinru* (gold dust), *maki-e* (spray painting), and *kin-gin-e* (painting in gold and silver).

Among the simple box types of furniture, the *karabitsu* ("Chinese coffer") is of particular interest; this is a chest for domestic use or for the preservation of religious objects. The *karabitsu* has short legs, inconspicuously forked, and may be decorated with lacquer, mother-of-pearl inlay, and gold and silver. This piece, whose Chinese origin is revealed by its name in Japanese, began to develop independently of its model in the Heian period (784–897), giving rise in the Fujiwara period (898–1185) to a more typically Japanese style with *maki-e* decoration. In this new style the basic form remains unaltered, but the decoration recalls the Japanese landscapes of the time, including animal scenes (birds, small deer, stags), flowers, and water plants. *Karabitsu* for religious use, however, employ Buddhist deities and symbols. The Shōsōin preserves various examples of *karabitsu* from the Nara period (710–84), and the Kongōbuji on Mount Kōya (Wakayama prefecture) has a splendid piece decorated in *maki-e* showing golden plovers in a swamp (this latter attributed to the Fujiwara period).

The linear-structure class, more strongly marked by the Japanese feeling for simplicity, includes cabinets, writing desks, tables, reading stands, and lamp stands. The form of the cabinets, which may have short legs or none at all, recalls the architecture of Japanese interiors. The lightness resulting from the interruption of vertical lines by horizontal planes endows the objects with a feeling of airiness and austere beauty. The piece, known variously in Japanese under the names of *ko-dansu*, *kodana*, and *oi*, may have several open shelves (like a whatnot), or several closed ones. Other variations are a series of drawers (three, four, five, or nine according to type). The exterior surfaces are entirely lacquered and richly worked with *maki-e* motifs, mother-of-pearl inlay, and cherry blossom, convolvulus, and water-plant decorations. Objects of this kind, datable to the Tokugawa period (1615–1867), may be seen in the National Museum, Tokyo.

Writing desks and tables, very low with short legs, are characterized by a vertical structure. Although tables maintain a uniform over-all structure, they vary considerably according to function. Both writing desks and tables have *mokuga* decoration, consisting of inlay designs executed in various materials over the wooden base of the object. One type of table, which goes back to the Heian period, is of unusual shape and height. Of evident Chinese origin and no longer in common use, the table was placed before Buddhist images as a support for censers and other ritual objects. Its surface is entirely covered with black lacquer and rests on legs inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The legs are rather high (ca. 28 in.) and are in the form of herons' legs, gently everted and marked by a slender nervous line. The lightness of this piece is in harmony with its decoration; a unity of effect is provided by the transparency of gold dust through the mother-of-pearl.

Reading stands are small pieces in which the box type of structure meets, and is completed by, the linear type. The most common form of reading stand is a pedestal in the form of a parallelepiped, from which spring two vertical supports; on these rests an inclined support. The pieces are entirely

lacquered in *maki-e* decoration with flowers and grass stalks. Lamp stands, consisting of a shaft supported by a circular pedestal with mother-of-pearl decoration on a ground of *heijin* (*maki-e* with polished surface), also exemplify linear structure in Japanese furniture.

Careful attention to the Japanese interior reveals the importance of other furnishings characteristic of the Oriental way of life, especially the sensibility and esthetic taste of the people. Typical features of this kind are floor mats, movable screens, and hanging scrolls. Mats (*tatami*) provide the normal covering for the wooden floor in the traditional Japanese house. Rectangular in form and of fixed size (ca. 3 × 6 ft.), the mats provide a modular unit for the architectural dimensions of the interior; esthetically their textural quality contrasts with the bareness of the walls. The movable screen consists either of a single panel (*tsutate*) or one of several folding leaves (*byōbu*). The rectangular framing of the screens is of thin wood, lacquered or left in its natural state. In the *tsutate* the frame is completed by two light strips of wood. The area defined by the frame is covered with paper or silk, and the resulting surface is decorated with paintings or calligraphy. Screens are known by such notable artists as Kanō Hideyori (mid-16th cent.), Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610), Tawaraya Sōtatsu (early 17th cent.), Kanō Naganobu (1577–1654), Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716; q.v.), and Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–95). Although the types are of Chinese origin, the screens — especially the *byōbu* — have a lightness and sobriety of line that reflect the Japanese feeling for the delicate and simple. While the *byōbu* are now found only in temples and special houses for the tea ceremony, *tsutate* are used in private homes, serving to screen off the open space of the doorway to the main room.

The most important decorations of the Japanese interior are the vertical scrolls hung in the *toko-no-ma* recess; they are known as *kakemono* or *kakejiku* when painted, and *kakeji* when provided with ideograms or calligraphic poems. The scrolls are composed of two long vertical strips of paper or cloth running continuously from top to bottom. The painting is glued to a base of paper or cloth and marked off at either end by heavy multicolored brocade. The size of the scroll is determined by the height of the *toko-no-ma*; for this reason small or medium-sized paintings were preferred, with much shorter mountings than in China. Small *toko-no-ma* generally contain only a single hanging scroll (*tanfuku*), whereas in larger *toko-no-ma* one finds two (*sefuku*), three (*sampukutsui*), or even four (*shifukutsui*). The scrolls are usually shown in the *toko-no-ma* of the main room, the ideal center of the house; psychologically the painting may be said to exemplify individual taste and feelings or to maintain a quality of symbiosis, or interaction, with nature. The *kakemono* are constantly changed with the seasons, according to special qualities associated with the moment, or for happy occasions and particular states of mind. In the pavilions for the tea ceremony (*chashitsu*) the scrolls form the chief base for furnishing; for this reason, and because only one is shown, the scrolls must be chosen with great care. Their intrinsic artistic quality must harmonize with the spirit of the ceremony. Mountings must be specially executed with old brocade, which acquires a delicate tonality through the fading of once-brilliant colors. While a private residence may exhibit landscape or flower paintings executed in bright colors and employing brilliant brocade, in a *chashitsu* the preference is for small paintings of Chinese ink on paper or writings from the pens of famous *chajin* (masters of the tea ceremony) of earlier times. The custom of showing the hanging scrolls in the *toko-no-ma* may have originated in the 12th century through the influence of Chinese monks, who adhered to the esthetic ideals of the Sung period.

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Illustrations: PLs. 425-464.

**FUSELI, HENRY** (JOHANN HEINRICH FÜSSEL). Swiss painter (b. Zurich, 1741; d. London, 1825). In the house of his father, the portrait painter and art critic Johann Caspar Füssli, he met many intellectuals, including Bodmer and Winckelmann. He was later associated with Johann Caspar Lavater, the physiognomist. A brilliant scholar, he studied theology, but soon after ordination (1761) he was in trouble for preaching advanced political views and left Switzerland to start a new career in Germany as a writer. In 1764 he settled in England, adopting the Anglicized spelling of his name, by which he is best known. For a time he continued with literary work, translating into English Winckelmann's *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke* . . . and publishing anonymously his own *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau*. He had long been interested in drawing and painting, and in 1767, on the advice of Sir Joshua Reynolds, he turned wholly to art. In 1769 he set out for Italy, where he studied for eight years, absorbing especially the style of Michelangelo and the 16th-century mannerists, whose vigor, elegance, and fantasy accorded with the demonic romanticism of his own character, nourished on the *Sturm und Drang* movement of German literature. Fuseli exhibited from 1774 at the Royal Academy of Arts and became a full member in 1790. He contributed to Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and in 1799 opened his own Milton Gallery of 40 large paintings, but this unsuccessful venture brought him near to bankruptcy. He was appointed professor of painting at the Royal Academy (1799-1805), and his tenure of this chair, where he was very popular with the students, was renewed for life in 1810. From 1804 he was also Keeper of the Royal Academy.

Fuseli's style, combining "gothick" fantasy and extravagance (see DEMONOLGY) and respect for classical principles of design, became fashionable and in varying degrees influenced his English contemporaries, Blake especially. Although he adhered to the heroic scale of academic history painting, he was an important pioneer of the romantic movement in his choice of literary subject matter, favoring the more "sublime" and melodramatic episodes in Shakespeare, Milton, Ossian, and other poets. Examples of his paintings are: *The Oath on the Rütli* (1778; Zurich, Rathaus), *Titania and Bottom* (ca. 1790; London, Tate Gall.), and *Hotspur and Glendower* (ca. 1790; Birmingham, City Mus. and Art Gall.). From about 1810 his influence dwindled steadily in the face of the naturalistic and sentimental narrative style of Wilkie, Leslie, and others. Only in the 20th century has Fuseli been rediscovered as an artistic personality of genuine originality and power.

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Richard JAMES

**FUTURISM.** See CUBISM AND FUTURISM.

**GABO, NAUM.** Russian sculptor and designer (b. Brianak, Russia, Aug. 5, 1890). The family name was Pevsner, which he changed to Gabo in 1914 to distinguish himself from his brother Antoine (see PEVSNER, ANTOINE), also a sculptor. His father, a copper executive, sent him to the University of Munich in 1909 to study medicine, but Naum preferred science and engineering. He also attended art-history lectures of Heinrich Wölfflin, met Kandinsky (q.v.), and became interested in avant-garde theories of art. In 1913-14 he visited his brother Antoine in Paris, where he saw the painting and collages of the cubists and the sculpture of Archipenko. At the outbreak of war he moved to Oslo. There in 1915 he experimented in relief compositions, creating a head with small intersecting planes of wood, rather like a collage but with the planes affixed at angles which gave the head a three-dimensional quality. In the following year, similarly using sheet metal, he made a *Bust* (now in U.S.S.R.), and from celluloid a *Head of Woman* (New York, Mus. of Mod. Art). After the Russian Revolution he returned to Moscow and helped to frame (with Tatlin, Malevich, and Pevsner) the *Constructivist Manifesto* (1920) acclaiming the machine age and the use of its new materials and techniques (see also EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS). He designed a *Project for a Radio Station* (1919) and a *Kinetic Model* (1920; owned by the artist) of a steel blade with vibrating machine, possibly the earliest mobile. In 1922 he broke with the Soviets and moved to Berlin; then in the late 1930s he went to Paris, and in 1946 to the United States, where he lives and works. With Pevsner he designed for Diaghilev the constructivist sets and costumes for the ballet *La Chatte* (1927). In Berlin he prepared a *Project for a fête lumière* (1929) — an abstract pattern with rays of light. His constructivist theories led to the creation of such works as the *Monument for an Observatory* (1922; now destroyed) and *Column* (1923; New York, Mus. of Mod. Art), a geometric tower of intersecting glass planes, 41 in. high, on a metal base. Many of his works dating from the 1930s are in clear plastic: planes contrasting with spirals in continuous surfaces with convex and concave curves, some incised with a linear pattern like taut wires, and a few in color. His large *Project for Esso Building, Radio City* (1952; New York) was never executed, nor was his brilliant model *Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner* (1953; owned by the artist). His most important work of recent years is *Bijenkorf Project* (1954-57; Rotterdam), a vertical composition in metal and plastic rising three stories on a plaza in front of the Bijenkorf store. (See also AMERICAS: ART SINCE COLUMBUS and I, PL. 132.)

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Henry R. HOPE

**GABRIEL, ANGE-JACQUES.** French architect (b. Paris, 1690 d. 1782). Ange-Jacques Gabriel was the most prominent 18th-century member of a French dynasty of architects and contractors who worked principally for the Crown. This family claimed among its distantly related members the important 17th-century architect François Mansart and the extremely influential first architect to Louis XIV, Jules Hardouin-Mansart. Associated with the latter was Jacques V Gabriel (1667-1742), father of Ange-Jacques, who worked mainly in provincial cities on city-planning projects, the foremost example among which was the Place Royale in Bordeaux (1733). On the death of Robert de Cotte in 1735, Jacques V Gabriel became first architect to Louis XV. This position brought Ange-Jacques into an increasingly close relationship with the King, who took keen interest in his designs for vast architectural projects. France's financial resources, however, did not permit the realization of these plans. The principal work of the royal architects consisted in remodeling or in making minor additions to the already-existing royal palaces. Such a commission — rebuilding the 16th-century Gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau — was the first major work (1737) Ange-Jacques executed for the King. Its design reflects a careful concern for creating a harmonious

whole out of the heterogeneous assembly of buildings that made up the vast forecourt of the château. This concern is typical of all of Gabriel's work. His awareness of the effect of an entire building or complex assured a harmonious relationship between the building and its site, and provided the spectator with a wholly integrated design from any viewpoint. This attitude was probably engendered by Gabriel's early experience of working on the design of city squares under the direction of his father. The necessity for accommodating these projects within an already-existing city plan encouraged Gabriel to become particularly sensitive to the most minute ways in which the appearance of a building may be affected by its surroundings. In all his work for the King (whose principal architect he had become on the death of his father), Ange-Jacques Gabriel produced only two types of designs: (1) the small, independent, pavilion building placed in the gardens of the larger châteaux (e.g., Fontainebleau, Choisy, Compiègne); and (2) enormous projects involving numerous structures within a specific site (e.g., Ecole Militaire, Château de Compiègne). In each of these fields he produced a significant and influential example that ranks among the world's architectural masterpieces: the Petit Trianon at Versailles (1762-64), and the Place Louis XV (Place de la Concorde) in Paris (1755-75). The latter work is indicative of the bold manner in which Gabriel was able to manipulate a vast open space, organizing and articulating the area with a minimum of building mass. He depended instead upon a subtle control over the entryways into the square and a knowing arrangement of the proportional relationships between near and distant structures. The design of the two principal buildings of this complex reveals Gabriel's appreciation of the Louvre Colonnade, built some ninety years before, and marked the beginning of a revival of interest in the classical purity and simplicity inherent in the archaeologically inspired design of the east front of the Louvre. Like that of the other small pavilions, the design of Petit Trianon (PL. 421) is characterized by the stress given to the cubic mass of the structure. Although each of its four sides meets the demands made by the different sites and each is given a distinct and integral setting, the design of each façade echoes and restates the other through such a delicate adjustment of proportions and through such fine variations of detail that the appearance of the building as a whole is one of classical balance and uniformity. The air of perfection which is characteristic of Gabriel's buildings, as well as their classical vocabulary, is mainly responsible for the identification of French 18th-century architecture as the physical embodiment of the age of reason.

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Bates Lowry

GADDI, TADDEO and AGNOLO. Florentine painters, father and son. Taddeo (b. Florence, ca. 1300; d. Florence, 1366), the son of the painter and mosaicist Gaddo di Zanobi, was one of Giotto's most renowned pupils. Essentially a fresco painter, he employed a monumental style even in small panels. To his documented works belong a triptych called *Madonna and Child with Saints and Scenes* (1334; Berlin, Staat. Mus.), a polyptych called *Madonna and Child with Angels, Saints, and the Annunciation* (1353; S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoia), and *Madonna and Child with Angels* (1355; Uffizi). Attributed are 28 scenes of the lives of Christ and St. Francis — early panel paintings from the sacristy of Sta Croce, Florence, most of which are in the Galleria della Accademia, Florence; the *Story of Job*, frescoes and sinopias, Camposanto, Pisa; and frescoes illustrating the life of Joachim and Anna, the childhood of Mary (VI, PL. 380), and the infancy of Christ in the Baroncelli Chapel, Sta Croce. These light-colored wall paintings, probably produced during the 1330s, are remarkable for their elaborate architectures and realistic light effects which increase the illusion of spatial depth. The subjects are in part the same as Giotto's in the Arena Chapel, Padua, but the compositions are totally different. In contrast to Giotto (q.v.), who strove for archi-

tectonic simplicity to emphasize the psychic state of the figure, Taddeo strove for elaboration and illusive naturalism because he was primarily interested in scene (cf. IV, PL. 269). His use of unusual iconography, such as the form of the Christ Child in the star observed by the Magi, is the result of the influence of Fra Simone Fidati's contemporary mystical interpretations of Biblical stories.

Agnolo, the only one of Taddeo's three painter sons whose works are extant (b. Florence, ca. 1345; d. Florence, 1396), worked with his brother Giovanni and with Giovanni da Milano in 1369 on Vatican paintings which have disappeared. His frescoes in the choir of Sta Croce illustrating the legend of the True Cross (VI, PL. 380) were probably produced about 1380, and those from the life of Mary and the legend of the Holy Girdle in the Cathedral of Prato between 1392 and 1395. Both cycles were executed with the help of assistants, who painted most of the frescoes in Prato. The earlier cycle, with expansive fairy-tale landscapes lacking realistic scale relationships, has a romantic character; the later one — in which landscape plays less part, compositions are more unified, figures more sculptural, and colors more sober — has a classical quality.

Agnolo lacked his father's interest in grandiose architecture, and his tendency to crowd scenes obscured his composition, but he outshone Taddeo as draftsman and colorist, and his rhythmic line and delicate color influenced Lorenzo Monaco.

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Gertrude Coor

GAINSBOROUGH, THOMAS. English painter (b. Sudbury, Suffolk, 1727, d. London, 1788). Gainsborough received his early art training in London between ca. 1740 and 1748, working as an assistant to the engraver Hubert Gravelot, among others. His first documented landscape was *The Charterhouse* (1748; London, Foundling Hospital). He probably worked with Francis Hayman for a time and certainly was much influenced by him. In 1748 he returned to Sudbury, having married in 1746, and settled in East Anglia (at Ipswich from ca. 1750) until 1759, where he did portraits of the local gentry and developed an ornamental landscape style. His first London landscape commissions were for two overmantels for the Duke of Bedford. He moved to Bath in 1759 in search of wider patronage and lived there (probably with an annual visit to London) until, 1774, finding many patrons for portraits but few for landscapes. From 1761 on he exhibited full-length portraits and landscapes at the London Society of Artists, and he was the only portraitist from outside London among the original members of the Royal Academy, founded in 1768. In 1774 he moved to London, where he was the first painter to have an annual exhibition of his own works in his own gallery. His first commission from the royal family was in 1780, the same year in which he painted the first of his "fancy pictures." His known works include about 800 portraits, about 20 "fancy pictures," and about 200 landscapes. His only pupil was his wife's nephew, Gainsborough Dupont (ca. 1754-97).

Gainsborough's style (in contrast to that of Reynolds) was formed under predominantly French and Netherlandish influences, although he never traveled outside England. The artistic ambient in which it was formed was that of Hayman and the engraver Gravelot, who had been a pupil of Boucher, at the time when they worked together on the decoration of the boxes in Vauxhall Gardens (Gowing, 1953). Here pastoral and rustic subjects are frequent, with small-scale figures set in an artificial and ro-coco landscape. The unreal artifice of French rococo style, however, was mitigated for Gainsborough by his study of Dutch 17th-century landscapes (Ruisdael, Wynants, and others), on whose restoration he worked for art dealers. He sought to retain informality of pose and gesture in his portraits, but the increas-



ingly formal character of English society made this difficult except in pictures of his own family and friends (PLS. 465, 466, 469). His earliest Ipswich portraits on a small scale, with the figures set in a naturalistic landscape or against a rococo backdrop, are profoundly original creations (*Robert Andrews and Mary, His Wife*; prob. 1748; Redhill, Surrey, G. W. Andrews Coll.) and mark the arrival of a new genre, the English rococo portrait. The first of his "landscapes with rustic figures" — an English variant on the Boucher pastoral, with the figure content having more affinities with the ideals of Rousseau — date from a little before 1755. The relation of Gainsborough's portrait figures to the landscape setting, the mood of his landscapes, and even his later "fancy pictures" all show a sympathy with the ideals of the Encyclopedists. This must have been largely unconscious, since Gainsborough's interests were little given to literature; he frequented especially the society of musicians and of the theater.

The most harmonious expressions of his natural gifts are shown in the portraits and landscapes of his later years at Bath (e.g., *John, 4th Duke of Argyll*, 1767, Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery; *Isabella, Countess of Sefton*, 1769, Croxteth Hall, Lancs., Earl of Sefton Coll.), in which his response to the Van Dycks which he had seen at Wilton and to Rubens' landscapes and figure compositions is evident. *Peasants Returning from Market* (ca. 1767; Toledo, Mus. of Art) and *The Harvest Waggon* (ca. 1767; Birmingham, England, Barber Institute) mark this new perfection, and the figure composition in the latter is derived from Rubens' *Antwerp Deposition* (a study for which he would have seen at Corham). Although his principal success during his lifetime was derived from portraits, his heart and his creative energies went into his landscapes, which took on a different and more varied character after he had settled in London. He explored marine pictures in 1781; in 1783 he experimented with a few scenes in the manner of Salvator Rosa, in accordance with the prevailing taste of his patrons; under the influence of the *Eidophusikon* of de Louthembourg (who had been a pupil of Vernet), he experimented also with complex and contrasting light effects; but at the very end of his life (*The Market Cart*, 1787; PL. 468) he returned to a more direct and Dutch interpretation of English nature, which provides a link with the generation of Constable. His later landscapes often anticipate or illustrate the theories of the picturesque which were being propounded by Uvedale Price from 1794; Gainsborough's early friendship with Price's father (in 1760) suggests a direct connection.

From 1780 onward he began to produce a series of what Reynolds called "fancy pictures," a genre which perhaps originated with Giorgione but which was suggested to Gainsborough by seeing a Murillo. These provide an English parallel with certain works of Greuze (cf. one of the most striking, *The Cottage Girl*, 1785; Russborough, Co. Wicklow, Ireland, Beit Coll.), although both Greuze's sentiment and his often neoclassic overtones are lacking; it is as if the rustic figures in Gainsborough's landscapes had come to life and sat for their portraits. Something of the same style also blends with his most romantic portraits from this period, where the sitter's lack of strong individual character or the absence of well-defined social requirements permitted invention. In *The Morning Walk* (1785, PL. 467) the figures suggest Watteau; in *The Mall* (1783; New York, Frick Coll.) Gainsborough consciously experimented in imitation of Watteau. His last landscapes and last "fancy pictures," however, lead on to the world of Wordsworth's early poems; Gainsborough may perhaps be considered as having found his full poetic maturity only toward the end of his life. He was also experimenting during these years with mythological compositions (*Diana and Actaeon*, London, Buckingham Palace, The Royal Colls.; *Musidora*, London, Tate Gall.), on a new kind of heroic portrait (*Lord Rodney*, 1783, Dalmeny, Coll. Earl of Rosebery), and on rococo animal compositions in a sort of French variant of Frans Snyders. Unlike most of his English contemporaries, Gainsborough executed his pictures, portraits included, entirely himself. He set special store by the musical rhythm of the whole composition, accentuated by brushwork of conscious virtuosity.

His imaginative compositions were in advance of contemporaneous taste and found numerous buyers only after his death,

when the "grand style," toward which official taste had been directed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, began to give way in England to an increasing sympathy for Dutch and Flemish art. Even so, Reynolds (in *The Fourteenth Discourse*, delivered at the Academy after Gainsborough's death) recognized him as one of the founders of the revived British school. The generation that followed Gainsborough's death imitated his landscapes and "fancy pictures." His seascapes anticipate Morland and lead on to Turner; and his last landscapes profoundly influenced Constable, who recognized his debt to them.

It was only after Gainsborough's death that his numerous landscape drawings (which are usually independent of his oil landscapes and had never been intended for sale) became known to the public. They form a rich repertory of picturesque motifs, which were abundantly used throughout the 19th century. Later generations copied Gainsborough's landscapes, and many copies have not yet been clearly distinguished from the originals.

With certain notable exceptions, Gainsborough's excellence as a portrait painter is most evident in his full-length figures. Sitters of strong character and prestige usually preferred to sit for Reynolds, so that Gainsborough only occasionally (*Sir Benjamin Truman*, Spitalfields, England, Messrs. Truman, Hanbury and Co.; *Duke of Argyll*) had a chance to display his psychological gifts as a portraitist. What survives suggests that his powers in this direction were greater than he often had a chance to display.

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Illustrations: PLS. 465-469.

**GALLO-ROMAN ART.** Although Gaul formed a single geographic, ethnic, and economic unit, it was divided politically and artistically into two regions. From early times, the south-eastern portion of Gaul was deeply affected by the influence of Mediterranean civilization. When the Romans conquered and organized the province of Gallia Narbonensis in 118 B.C., monumental works of marked originality already existed there. The construction — immediately following this Roman conquest — of the Aurelian and Domitian roads between Italy and Spain (recently documented by the discovery of the oldest Gaulish milestone) and the progressive founding of numerous colonies assured the rapid Romanization of the whole territory. "Long-haired Gaul," on the other hand, remained isolated from the culture of the Mediterranean. A few Greek or Italian masterpieces (e.g., the crater of Vix) did reach this region, and its civilization — known through the testimony of Caesar's *Commentaries* — became famous for the metalwork that it produced. Nonetheless, it remained remote from the artistic developments of the south. "Long-haired Gaul" was not conquered until 50 B.C., after a long resistance. The Romans established only three colonies there at first, and subdivided it into three imperial provinces: Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica (FIG. 753, inset II). These provinces were linked together by the federal council, which had its seat at Condate. This town, situated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône and near modern Lyons, was now elevated to the rank of a metropolis. The danger of invasion from Germany led to the subsequent founding of two new military provinces, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, and gave impetus to the further Romanization of the Rhine Valley. Changes in the character of the art of the region followed the political and cultural Romanization





Principal Gallo-Roman centers in France and Germany. Key: (1) Modern political boundaries. Inset I: Principal Roman roads in Gaul. Key: (2) Modern political boundaries; (3) roads. Inset II: The geographical area of the Gallo-Roman world, with principal towns shown for Britain and Raetia. Key: (4) Boundaries of provinces; (5) limes of Caracalla; (6) Wall of Hadrian; (7) Wall of Antoninus Pius.

of the country. The new art forms combined elements from the preexisting Celtic civilization (see **CELTIC ART**) with others that were imported from Greece and generally encountered in the colonies and in the markets of the Mediterranean coast (see **GREEK ART, WESTERN**). Because of its diffusion over a vast territory containing peoples of diverse racial and cultural origins and because of the multiplicity of its centers of production, this art is extremely varied in its general aspects as well as in its characteristic details and technical features. The art of Romanized Britain is closely related to that of Gaul, owing to its similar origins and historical development (see also **FRENCH ART; GREAT BRITAIN, ART OF**).

**SUMMARY.** Architecture (col. 755): *City planning; City gates and arches; Trophæa; Sacred buildings and altars; Buildings for performance; Bridges, aqueducts, and baths; Funerary monuments; Villas and houses.* Sculpture (col. 762). Metalwork (col. 765). Coinage (col. 768). Minor arts (col. 768). Ceramics and glass (col. 768). Painting and mosaic (col. 770). Britain (col. 771). Conclusion (col. 772).

**ARCHITECTURE. City planning.** The Gauls adopted the general principles of Roman building technique and city planning. After the Roman conquest, intense building activities transformed rural hamlets into urbanized areas, and the cities that were to become centers of Romanization began to develop. Many well-situated villages expanded on their original sites, but some hill forts, placed on heights for strategic reasons, were moved down near the avenues of communication. Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) took the place of Entremont, Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand) took that of Gergovia, and Augustodunum (Autun) took that of Bibracte. The combined influence of Greek and especially Hellenistic city planning, of Etruscan ritual, and of the Roman castrametation gave to many cities of the imperial period — such as Arles, Orange (where parts of the cadastre have recently been discovered), Autun, Trier, Lutetia (Paris), Senlis, and others — a plan divided geometrically in the form of a chessboard; this plan was often adapted to that of the Celtic towns (which had grown by simple agglomeration) and to the configuration of the land. Roman streets are still preserved in Vaison-la-Romaine, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Vienne, Lyons, and other cities. The two main streets (the *decumanus* and the *cardo*) usually intersected at the forum, which sometimes incorporated special structures. The forum at Arles, for example, is surrounded by a cryptoporchis formed by two vaulted galleries that are supported by stone arches and receive light through embrasures. This is a type of structure which, in Italy, was ordinarily found in villas; here it must have served as a storehouse. A large subterranean building at Bavai seems also to have been used in this way. Analogous remains exist at Aosta, Narbonne, and Reims.

**City gates and arches.** The principal colonies of Gallia Narbonensis were surrounded by fortifications in which each portal or gate was protected by two towers and a semicircular wall. This system — occurring for example at Fréjus, Aix-en-Provence, and Arles — is found outside Gaul only at Mantinea. One such city gate is partially preserved at Nîmes (PL. 471): it is divided into two central arches and two lateral openings; at one time it had an upper gallery, two projecting half-towers, and an interior courtyard. Autun possesses a city gate of the same kind, the lower part of which dates back to the time of the founding of the city, while the upper portion — which has 10 arches — may have been restored under Constantine. The Augustan type of arch was revived and developed further in the Porta Nigra at Trier (PL. 471). The two elements of this structure are separated by a courtyard, and each element contains a double arch flanked by enormous towers having two and three superimposed galleries; usually attributed to the "renaissance" of the 3d or 4th century, the Porta Nigra has also been associated with the Porta Maggiore in Rome, which was built under Claudius.

The cities of the northeast were fortified in the 2d and 3d centuries. The city gate at Besançon — apparently belonging to the period of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80) — reflects the

influence of Eastern art in its profusion of figures and in the disposition of the design in registers or tiers. The gate at Reims, which has three bays, is datable in the Severan period (A.D. 193–217). Cities like Toulouse, Périgueux, and Saintes were transformed into fortified encampments (*castra*); the worried rural population returned to the Celtic *oppida* (provincial towns, not self-governing), girding them with new walls.

Triumphal arches, which usually mark the sacred limit of the *pomerium* (the space left open on each side of the town wall), are similar to city gates. The most ancient arch of this kind in France seems to be that of Arles. It is decorated with a relief frieze of warriors in republican armor, a trophy with a *teste coupée* (decapitated head) which belongs to Celtic tradition, a Victory clothed in light draperies, and spiral motifs. The prisoners carved in high relief on the arch at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (PL. 470) are reminiscent of the Pergamene motif of the battle against the Gauls and of Hellenistic funerary statues; everything in these reliefs combines to produce the impression of a masterpiece with a regional stamp arising from the treatment of technical details. The impressive arch at Orange (PL. 470) was built under Augustus, and later — perhaps in A.D. 21 — a dedication to Tiberius was added to it. The combatants in action and the heap of Gallic spoils and of maritime attributes seem to record the land and sea campaigns undertaken by Caesar during the war against Marseilles. The cruder and more modest arch at Carpentras still preserves at each side a large trophy of Gallic arms and two prisoners (PL. 476), while of the arch at Cavaillon, which was probably a quadrifrons arch, only two richly decorated vaults remain. Fragments of reliefs elsewhere testify to the existence of other such monuments now destroyed.

**Trophæa.** Trophæa (monuments commemorating victories) of two types are preserved in Gaul. The trophæum at La Turbie was erected by order of Augustus in 7 or 6 B.C., and its dedication was recorded by Pliny the Elder. It consisted of a large square base, a rotunda surrounded by columns, a stepped pyramid, and an imperial statue. The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus inspired it, and it is also stylistically related to the later monument of Trajan from Adamklissi (Romania; IV, PL. 111). It is the only trophæum of the Augustan period (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) that has been dated with certainty. The Tour Magne (PL. 472), which has a great octagonal base and three cubelike stories decorated with pilasters and columns, dominates Nîmes at the point where the Domitian Road passes through the city. It is not certain what purpose this structure — which may also be Augustan — may have served. Another trophæum consecrated to Augustus (probably in 25 B.C.) was built in the city of Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), where fragments of this monument, carved in the local marble, are preserved. Like the trophæum at Pergamum, this structure consisted of three sculptural groups which were placed against the wall of a temple; it commemorated the victory of Actium and the submission of the Cantabri and the Aquitanians.

**Sacred buildings and altars.** With the spread of the imperial cult and the religion of the classical world, Greco-Roman temples were widely built. The first of these temples appeared in the colonies of Gallia Narbonensis, where two fine examples dating from the Augustan period are preserved. The Maison Carrée at Nîmes, which was originally framed by three immense porticoes, was dedicated by Agrippa in 20 B.C. and later consecrated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, in A.D. 1 or 2. It harmoniously combines Roman majesty with Hellenic grace. The temple at Vienne — which is similar but less refined, especially in the interior — seems to have been dedicated twice, first to Rome and Augustus, and then to Livia, who was deified in A.D. 41. Like the other temples of Gallia Narbonensis, the one at Orange had a crypt, an apse, and friezes with Dionysiac subjects. The temple of Valetudo in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence was reconstructed by Agrippa. It has an acroterium of Etruscan type decorated with a Gallic torque, and its small twin sanctuaries — containing statues of the Augustan family — are adorned with antefixes in Hellenistic taste. The so-called "Temple of

Diana" (FIG. 758) at Nîmes, which was connected with the cult of the local spring and was perhaps used for incubation rites, is a good example of Roman architecture in Gaul. It does not belong to the period of Agrippa (63–12 B.C.), as has been suggested, but dates from the early 2d century of our era. This fact is indicated by the vault, which is made of large blocks and carried by 10 arches, and by the walls, which are decorated with Corinthian columns and niches whose alternating triangular and curved pediments recall the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Of the temple at Aix-les-Bains, which probably served a similar purpose, the walls and big blocks of stone are preserved; and of the temple of Riez, four handsome columns from the portico remain. In the 3d century of our era this type of temple attained enormous proportions (e.g., the Temple of Tutela at Bordeaux, of which drawings have been preserved).

The spread of the Oriental religions gave rise to the introduction of other types of buildings. There seems to be evidence of the beginning of a cult of Cybele during the reign of Claudius in a theater of mysteries at Vienne—the oldest such theater known in the Occident. Standing on a flight of steps, this structure is surrounded by high walls that are built of large blocks of stone and decorated with subjects inspired by the cult of the goddess. A temple with vast annexes and numerous altars for bull sacrifices bears witness to the presence of the same cult at Lyons in the middle of the 2d century. The cult of Mithras was celebrated especially in the northeast, in particular at Mackwiller, where the sanctuary showed Greco-Oriental structural features.

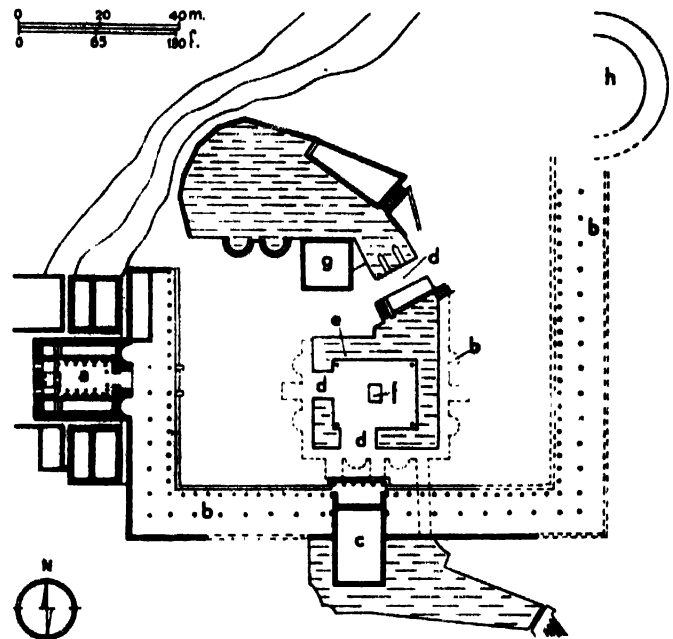
"Long-haired Gaul" maintained and developed indigenous traditions, for example, the Celtic custom of reserving a place of honor at the center of the sanctuary for the hero's tomb. This custom was preserved on Mont Donon on the boundary between Alsace and Lorraine, and it may explain the existence of numerous temples with round, square, or polygonal cellae, which are sometimes provided with pyramidal roofs and surrounded by galleries under porticoes. This characteristic Gallo-Roman plan is found especially, from southwest to northeast, at Périgueux (Tour de Vésone), Chassenon, Sanxay, Talmont, Autun (Temple of Janus), and Mainz.

Some of the altars that stood beside the temples were monumental, for example, the altar that Drusus erected in 12 B.C. at Lyons, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône rivers, for the federal cult of Rome and Augustus. Among other ornaments, it had two victory statues on tall columns, statues representing the 60 cities of Gaul, and a fine oak garland.

A *dodekathemon* (temple to the 12 Olympian gods) at Arles also belongs to the category of religious architecture. This was built at the beginning of the Christian era by "Philiscus mar[mora]rius"; its *exedra*, which contains 12 niches for statues of the Greco-Roman pantheon, recalls the one that adorned the Forum of Augustus in Rome.

**Buildings for performances.** Buildings of this type were more numerous and more varied in Gaul than in any other part of the Roman world. Some 150 theaters have been discovered, and the majestic but only partial remains of six of these give us a good idea of what an entire theater looked like. Of the theater at Arles (PL. 473), which was built on a level site during the reign of Augustus, there remain the lower tiers of seats, the pavement of the orchestra, two columns from the *porta regia* (the main entrance of the stage), statues of Venus and Augustus, and two decorated altars. The theater at Orange, which is of the same period and of equal dimensions, is built against a hill, in accordance with the Greek custom. Especially noteworthy is the state of preservation of its stage. The fine wall of the façade, about 112 yards long and 40 yards high, has blind arches and two rows of corbels which carried poles for a *velum* (awning); the interior was decorated with superimposed columns, statues of Venus and Augustus, and friezes with subjects inspired by Hellenistic art. The theater at Vaison-la-Romaine—smaller and less carefully built, and partly cut into the hill—contained some thirty statues, mostly portraits of cuirassed emperors. The theater at Vienne, built against a high hill and dominated by a temple, is interesting for the

width of its auditorium, its cut-stone facing, the network of small water channels and drains, the orchestra steps and pavement, and the animal frieze on the *pulpitum* (stage). The theater at Lyons (PL. 474) is framed by a monumental stairway and a paved street. It shows signs of a restoration in which a third story of seats was added without touching the girde wall; within the orchestra are preserved elements of the balteus, the four rows of seats for the senatorial order, and the polychrome pavement. The theater at Autun was the largest in all of Gaul (about 162 yards diam.). The podium (the bal-

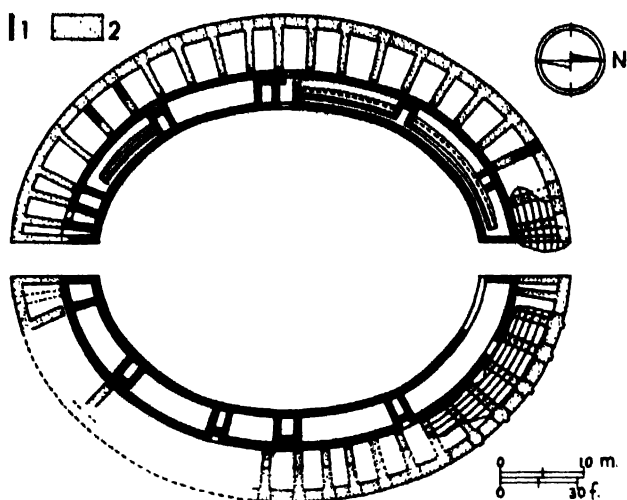


Nîmes, reconstruction of the sanctuary of the spring, with buildings dating from the Augustan age to the late 2d cent. of our era. (a) Aula, or "Temple of Diana"; (b) portico; (c) temple or basilica erected in honor of Plotinus (?); (d) bridge; (e) nymphaeum; (f) altar (?); (g) temple of Nemausus (?); (h) theater (from Naumann).

cony in which the high officials sat nearest the arena and below the rows of seats) at this theater was built fairly high above the arena in order to protect the public at violent spectacles.

The odea were used mainly for music and lectures, and accommodated a select public in a luxurious setting. They were much less numerous than the large theaters. Only two odea have been found in Gaul, in the cities of Vienne and Lyons (PL. 474), and of these only the latter has been excavated. Its diameter of about 80 yards and its approximately 3,000 seats place this structure among the largest odea after that of Herodes Atticus in Athens, with which it seems to be contemporaneous. The girde wall with five doors forms a mass that once supported a roof covering two-thirds of the auditorium; the orchestra has a polychrome pavement and three rows of seats faced in white marble for the senatorial order. The stage, which is smaller and less easily accessible than are the stages in the theaters, rises about 23 ft. above a level space paved in mosaic.

Amphitheaters were unknown to the Greeks, appeared fairly late and in small numbers in Italy, and were popular in Gaul, where some fifty have so far been identified. The two principal amphitheaters, at Nîmes and Arles, seem to date back to the beginning of the Antonine dynasty (A.D. 138–92) and are among the most grandiose of those in the Roman world. The amphitheater at Arles (PL. 473) is noted for the plaques that form the ceilings of two superposed galleries and for the high podium that carries the dedicatory inscription. The amphitheater at Nîmes has an inscription in uncial letters that includes the name "T. Crispus Reburus," perhaps the name of the architect. The federal amphitheater of the three Gauls, on the slopes of La Croix-Rousse at Lyons, is in process of excavation, and



Cimiez, plan of amphitheater. (1) Walls from the 1st cent. of our era; (2) walls from the 3d cent. of our era (from P. M. Duval, *Gallia*, IV, 1946, p. 103).

a dedicatory inscription dating from 1 B.C. (?) has been found. The remains of the amphitheater at Saintes are impressive; and the smallest such structure, that at Cimiez, seems to consist of a podium from the 1st century and a *maenium* (a type of projecting balcony) from the 3d (FIG. 759).

In the 3d century, the architects of Gaul conceived of a new type of monument in which features of the Greek theater and of the Roman amphitheater are combined. In these structures the auditorium, built against a hill, is usually more than a semicircle. The arena is sometimes circular, sometimes elliptical, and sometimes formed of two-thirds of a circle and two straight lines. The cells for the gladiators and beasts are disposed under the podium, and the stage is reduced to a background wall. There are about a dozen examples of such arenas, most of them in central Gaul. The largest (about 142 × 105 yd.; FIG. 760) and the best-preserved arenas are located at Paris, and others are at Evreux, Berthouville, Lillebonne, Vieux, Valognes, Germes, Chennevières, Drevant, Nérès, Sanxay, and Chassenon.

In Gaul, as elsewhere, little is left of the circuses. Those at Arles and Vienne have been identified by the structures that marked their centers, in the first instance an Egyptian obelisk and in the second a Roman pyramid (PL. 472) raised on a quadrifrons arch. The few remains are supplemented by representations, in various places, that show how the races were conducted. A mosaic in Lyons, for example, seems to portray the circus of that city in its characteristic details.

**Bridges, aqueducts, and baths.** Although few vestiges of the roads of Gaul have survived outside the cities, many bridges are still intact. Among these are the Julian Bridge near Apt; that of Saint-Chamas, which is framed between two arches, on each of which is written the name of the donor — a contemporary of Augustus; and that of Saintes, whose arch with two openings was dedicated in A.D. 19.

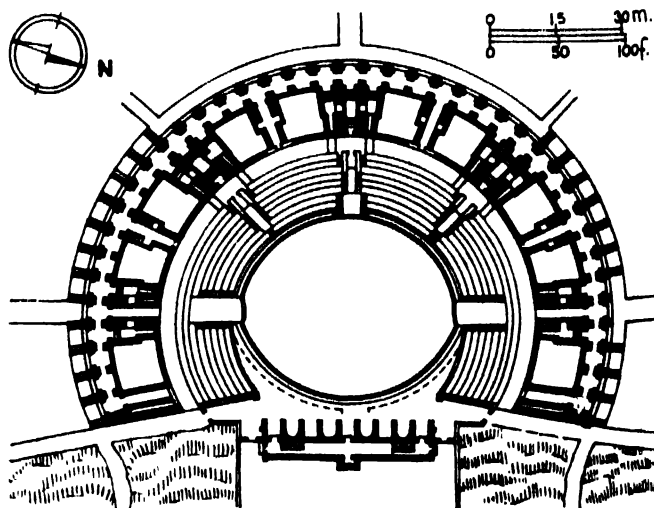
Other bridges carried aqueducts. The Pont du Gard (PL. 474), which was constructed by Agrippa to supply water to the colony of Nîmes, has three arched stories and is the most imposing example. When it reached the city the water passed through a *castellum divisorium*, which is very well preserved. Among the four successive aqueducts of Lyons, that of Hadrian (about 46 mi. long) illustrates the principle of the siphon as given by Vitruvius. Here the method of building with big blocks that was used for the Pont du Gard is replaced by a construction of rubble with a double facing of *opus reticulatum* interrupted by stringcourses of big stones or bricks.

Innumerable remains of baths have been found, but they are often quite uninteresting. The biggest and most beautiful

baths, situated at the gates of Vienne, occupied an area of nearly three acres; because of their sumptuousness, they are called the Palais du Miroir. In the heart of Paris, a frigidarium remains in the most unusual and best preserved of the baths. An unusual feature of the frigidarium is the intact vaults which rest upon corbels in the form of prows of merchant ships decorated with Roman weapons. These details indicate that the monument may have been donated at the end of the 2d or the beginning of the 3d century by the powerful corporation of the Parisian *nautae* (seamen). In the baths at Arles, whose construction in all likelihood was ordered by Constantine, the apse of the caldarium is illuminated by three large, arched windows and is covered by a vault — on squinches — having six ribs formed of large bricks. The Romans also took advantage of most of the thermal sites. At Aix-les-Bains, for example, they equipped a large establishment that was heated by the steam of the spring and provided with bathing pools lined with marble and decorated with statues.

**Funerary monuments.** Thousands of tombs of every epoch and every type are preserved throughout Gaul. The oldest and most beautiful monuments reflect Greek and Roman traditions simultaneously or alternatively; they are found for the most part in Gallia Narbonensis and at Lyons, but also in those territories of the Rhine Valley that had been occupied by the Roman legions. By the 2d and 3d centuries of our era, the aristocracy of the old colonies had given up — for religious and economic reasons — the commissioning of sumptuous monuments. The artists therefore emigrated and established their workshops in the southwestern, central, and northeastern cities, where prosperous manufacturers and merchants competed in magnificence. Meanwhile, especially in those areas remote from the great avenues of communication — the region of the Vosges in the 1st century and that of the Pyrenees in the 2d and 3d centuries — local artisans were developing indigenous styles.

The monumental type of mausoleum is represented mainly by the tomb of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, which dates from the end of the 1st century B.C., and by the columns of Trier and the pillars of Aquitania, dating from the 2d–3d century of our era. The tomb of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence — derived from the choragic monument of Lysikrates in Athens, inspired by the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and akin to the Tomb of the Istacidi at Pompeii — combines influences from the Orient, Greece, and Rome. It is distinguished by the richness of the reliefs that decorate it and by the harmonious superposition upon a great base of a quadrifrons arch, a rotunda, and a conical roof. In designing the reliefs, the artist followed the models provided by Greek and Hellenistic sculpture, and he compensated for the weak plasticity of a graphic style by using the deeply furrowed contours that are typical of Gallo-Roman carv-



Paris, plan of the arena according to the reconstruction of J. Formigé (from Gremier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*).

ing technique. Trade between Trier and Aquitania related these regions, and the monuments that were built there were derived from the mausoleums of Provence, from the Syrian pyramids (an influence transmitted either from Aquileia and the Danube Valley or directly from the East), and from the steles of the Celtic world. The columns are distinguished, however, by an exuberance of decoration that is inspired by Eastern art. The one at Igel (near Trier), erected in the Severan period (A.D. 193-217) by the family of the rich tradesman Secundinus and covered with reliefs, differs from the rest. As may be seen from the reliefs from Neumagen, these monuments were painted in bright colors. Some tombs in the region of Lyons are more squat and sober; they look like sanctuaries of chapels. Funerary inscriptions contain mentions of a *templum*, an *aedes*, a memorial cella preceded by an *ara*, a heroon (sanctuary in honor of a deified hero), and a basilica.

The use of the sarcophagus, which was introduced into Gallia Narbonensis through Marseilles, spread along the Rhone Valley as far as Cologne and into Aquitania as far as Saint-Médard-d'Eyrans. While the finest sarcophagi — which have representations of Dionysiac scenes — seem to have been imported from Italy, some must have been carved on the spot, mostly in the region of Arles. The indigenous type of sarcophagus was developed there in the 2d century of our era, and this development was renewed in the 4th century with the arrival of new artists and under the inspiration of the Christian conceptions of Constantine.

The custom of using steles as funerary monuments spread from Italy to Gallia Narbonensis and particularly to Germany. Steles subsequently became common throughout the three Gauls, where they were decorated with a portrait of the deceased or with scenes from daily life.

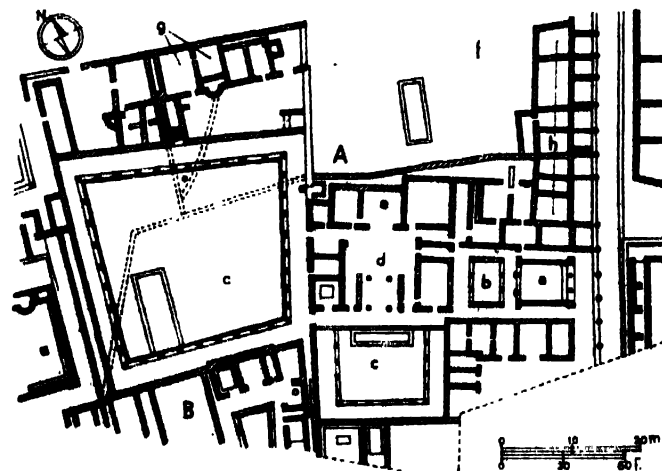
The Roman type of altar, adorned with niches containing funerary busts, quickly won favor in the region of Nîmes and in the city of Narbonne. From there it invaded Aquitania and eventually spread from southwest to northeast Gaul. The cippus (which is derived from the altar but leaves more space for inscriptions) and the funerary plaque (which carries only an epitaph) were found mainly in Lyons.

Three types of tombs continued indigenous traditions. The first is the tumulus, which — with two additional Roman features, the internal sepulchral chamber and the external stele — remained in use particularly in the Moselle and Rhine valleys. Second, there are those steles that suggest the primitive schematization of the human figure through a rosette or a disk surmounting a cippus. Finally, and most important, there is the stele in the form of a house that is found throughout Gaul. Two main subtypes may be distinguished within this last group. In the northeast, these steles — created in the 1st century of our era by local artisans — closely reproduced the primitive huts of the Vosges villages. A mixed type of stele — found in the central and southwest regions — was derived in the 2d century from the Roman cippus or the Italian urn and was developed in the 3d century as a result of the revival of the rites of the Hallstatt culture.

*Villas and houses.* The rustic villa of the countryside grew out of the Gaulish hut. The excavations at Mayen have shown that the indigenous hut consisted of one room whose walls and roof were supported by beams. The Romans divided this space by means of partitions, raised solid walls, and added to the façade a gallery — of Hellenistic origin — which ended in two rooms and was sometimes duplicated by a similar gallery in the rear. Another type of villa had a square plan and contained an interior court. In the luxurious villas these fundamental elements were developed and embellished. The villa at Chiragan — which best illustrates the descriptions of Ausonius and Apollinaris Sidonius — extended over about 6 acres by the 2d century of our era. This princely residence had hundreds of chambers, great circular rooms with marble or mosaic pavements, courtyards adorned with monumental fountains, and porticoes decorated with statues or friezes; the buildings intended for agricultural and industrial use, on the other hand, constituted an agglomeration typical of farmers' and laborers' settlements

throughout Gaul. Analogous complexes have been found elsewhere, especially in Aquitania at Montmaurin, Montcaret, Cadeilhan, and Antone, in Belgium at Anthée, and among the Treviri and Mediomatrici tribes.

Urban dwellings in a good state of preservation have been found in two cities in particular of Gallia Narbonensis. In Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, houses that are dated (by a graffito) before 32 B.C. have been found; some of these reproduce the Hellenistic type of dwelling found at Delos, with porticoes, peristyles, and antae. A varied group of Roman houses has



Vaison-la-Romaine, plans of houses. (A) The house of the silver bust. (a) Vestibule; (b) atrium; (c) peristyle; (d) tablinum; (e) oecus; (f) garden; (g) bath; (h) shops. (B) The atrium house (from Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*).

been discovered at Vaison-la-Romaine (FIG. 762). These have architectural features found also at Pompeii and Ostia.

**ARCHITECTS.** Philiscus (see below, *Sculptors*). — Sex. Jul[ia]s Cae[cilianus], 1st cent. of our era, *ingenuus*: an inscription from Antibes, placed on an arch or on the trophæum of Julius Caesar (CIL, XII, 186; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Architetto). — T. Crispus Reburus: presumed architect of the amphitheater at Nîmes, where his name is inscribed on two blocks. The inscription has been dated, doubtfully, in the 2d cent. of our era (CIL, XII, 3315; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, III, Paris, 1958, p. 626). — Opponius Justus, military architect, *ingenuus*, probably of the early 2d cent. of our era: named in two inscriptions from Bonn (CIL, XIII, 8082; E. Fabricius, RE, s.v.; F. Oelmann, BJ, CXLIX, 1949, p. 334 ff.; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Architetto). — Coelius D., naval architect, *ingenuus*, 2d cent. of our era: funerary inscription found near Arles (CIL, XII, 723). — Philippus, possibly a slave, named in an inscription at Nîmes of undetermined period (CIL, XII, 2993; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Architetto).

**SCULPTURE.** Though various fine works of sculpture were imported, many others were executed in Gaul by immigrant and native artists. Pliny the Elder mentions that Zenodorus, before Nero called him to Rome, spent ten years with the Arverni in order to execute a colossal bronze statue of Mercury, and that he carved two cups — which were perfect copies of works by Kalamis — for the governor of the province. In the same period, the people of Mainz commissioned a decorated column (PL. 475) from Samus and Severus, whose father, Venicarus, has a typically Provençal name. A second inscription on this column attests the presence in Bordeaux of the sculptor M. Se[...]. Amabilis.

The best marble statues, most of which have been found in Gallia Narbonensis, reflect the main tendencies of Greco-Roman art. An *Athena* and a torso of the *Discobolus* recall the work of Myron (q.v.). The fine diadumenus from Vaison-la-Romaine and a torso from Vienne are related to the work of Polykleitos (q.v.). The tradition of Phidias (q.v.) is represented by an ephebus's head, a torso of a seated goddess (also from Vienne), a magnificent Amazon torso found at



Trier, and a head of Zeus from Fréjus. Reminiscent of the work of Praxiteles (q.v.) are, among other things, the celebrated *Aphrodite* of Arles; a superb head of the same provenance; another head, which is a replica of the *Aphrodite* of Cnidus; a torso from Vienne; and a masterpiece from Agen, which is related to the *Aphrodite* of Melos (VII, PL. 176). A singular statue from Vienne, which unites the characteristics of the Roman Fortuna with the turreted crown of the Greek Tyche, derives from an original of the 4th century B.C., as do also four charming dancers from Arles. The famous kneeling *Aphrodite* from Vienne reproduces closely the type created by Doidalaas about 250 B.C. (VII, PLS. 157, 158). A sculptural group from Soissons revives, in the style of Pergamum, the theme of the Niobids. The influence of Roman art is equally strong. Narbonne has preserved the only good portrait of Antoninus Pius. The official iconography of Augustus invaded Gaul, and in Arles an admirable statue — recalling the one from Prima Porta near Rome — was consecrated to him, as was a fine bearded head found recently in the fill of the cryptoporticus of the same city. Augustan busts have been found in Béziers and Chiragan, and an unusual high relief of the same period comes from Vienne. The family of Augustus is recorded in an idealized representation of Octavia; another of Julia, which is more realistic, from Saint-Rémy-de-Provence; and in a portrait of an adolescent from Arles. Drusus the Elder was probably represented at La Turbie, and there was a statue of Tiberius in the theater at Vaison-la-Romaine. The charming archaizing *Athena* from Poitiers seems to be a work of the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96). The theater at Vaison-la-Romaine also contained a fine heroic *Hadrian* and a *Sabina* in the guise of Pudicitia. An expressive head of Marcus Aurelius adorned the little city of Méthamis. Finally, a building at Béziers and the villa at Chiragan were embellished with numerous imperial busts.

Other works were of a more local character. The handsome Augustan trophæum at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Mus. de Comminges), which was made by foreign artists of marble from the Pyrenees, is an example of the happy application of a Greco-Roman form to a Celto-Iberian subject. In the beginning of the 2d century, Greek sculptors, established in the vicinity of Sens, carved in local limestone a series of works in classic taste. These works are similar to the statues from Avallon which — in their vigorous modeling, moving expression, and play of light and shade — reflect the style of Pergamum. Similarly inspired, the immigrant Gallo-Roman artists adapted classic types to indigenous divinities, overburdening them with specific attributes. The most significant works depict mother goddesses. The goddess from Saintes, which may belong to the period of Tiberius, gives an impression of archaism with its hieratic aspect, massive features, and stylized dress. The goddesses from Sommerécourt and Naix, which date from the reigns of Claudius and Nero, show an improvement over the goddess from Saintes in their more majestic bearing, livelier expression, softer contours, and ampler draperies. The goddess from Saint-Aubin-sur-Mer reproduces, at a later period, this traditional type, which is repeated in the group of three *Matrons* in Bonn (Landesmus.) Another goddess dear to the Celts, Epona, is represented seated on a mare, like Cybele seated on the lion. Jupiter-Taranis in military costume was found at Séguret (2d cent.; PL. 477). Jupiter inspired another religious motif in which he is represented, often on top of a column, in the act of riding and taming a giant snake, symbol of chthonian forces. This arrangement, which is typical of northeastern and central Gaul and is related to steles from the Rhine or the Danube depicting a mounted warrior, is derived from a classical prototype. The god Cernunnos, furnished with antlers and sometimes three-headed, dressed in the sagum and adorned with a torque, is a majestic figure. When he carries the cudgel and the olla, Sucellos assumes the vigorous expression of Hercules. Representations of Mercury, which are very widespread, add at least a purse to his Greco-Roman attributes. Apollo appears associated with his coadjutrix Sirona, particularly in statues from Hochscheid, of the middle of the 2d century. The plump, curly-headed cupids from Trier derive from the Hellenistic Eros type (III, PL. 387).

The Gauls, who delighted in representations of individuals, learned the art of portraiture from the Romans. We know from inscriptions that numerous statues of both single individuals and family groups were erected, especially at Lyons and Narbonne; many of these have been recovered through excavation. Some torsos, of heroic or conventional type, had heads that could be removed and replaced with new ones upon the arrival of a new magistrate. Two fine stone statues of the Augustan period from Vachères and Mondragon (PL. 477) represent Gallic warriors whose anatomy, costume, and arms are rendered with minute care in an almost archaic manner. A white marble group from Apt represents a matron and her daughter with Flavian hairdress. The expressiveness of the busts and heads — both in the round and in relief — that have been found in Nîmes, Vienne, and Narbonne in the south and in Mainz, Trier, and Cologne in the north gives proof of the artists' skill in realistic portrayal, especially during the Claudian (A.D. 41–54) and Flavian (A.D. 69–96) periods.

Among genre subjects may be mentioned the statues that were destined to ornament fountains, theaters, and baths, and the sculptural representations of animals. One of the latter, a bronze from Vienne portraying a greyhound bitch, follows a Hellenistic model. As the animal has the Celtic name of Vertragus, this may be a local work, especially since other bronzes bear witness to the ability of the Gallo-Roman sculptors in this kind of representation.

Of relief sculpture (PLS. 476, 477), which is much more plentiful, we have already cited the best examples in discussing the buildings to which it was applied. The principal works in marble must have been imported; in particular, the altars and friezes that decorated the theaters and temples at Arles and Orange, the oak garland that adorned the great altar of "the confluence" at Lyons, another altar at Lyons in Hellenistic style, several fine reliefs at Vienne, a majestic laurel garland carried by eagles (the only relic of the basilica erected by Hadrian at Nîmes), and some sarcophagi. Other reliefs, however, seem to have been made in Arles. A relief, *The Labor of Hercules*, was carved in marble from the Pyrenees for a villa at Chiragan and gives evidence of the presence of Hellenizing artists at the end of the 2d century.

Many reliefs of religious character, made of local limestone, have survived. The oldest example of Gallo-Roman religious art consists of a column decorated with reliefs — dedicated to Jove by the Parisian *nautae* under the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) — on which the principal Gaulish and Roman divinities, associated and assimilated together, are named and represented in an indigenous language and technique, with hieratic postures, coarse expressions, and a linear decorative effect. A second Parisian column — adorned with four divinities with slender proportions, freer movements, and softer draperies — marks a change in the direction of classicism, which is also illustrated by numerous reliefs from Burgundy and the Rhine region. At the beginning of the Antonine period, a wave of Hellenism that spread throughout Gaul produced, especially at Sens, a series of fine reliefs that are related to the statues from Avallon. The scenes inspired by the legend of Iphigenia seem to reveal the hand of a Greek master, while others can be attributed to Gallo-Roman assistants. This tendency is also illustrated at Trier by some interesting works, most of which represent the cycle of Apollo. The tendency toward classicism is found in combination with an indigenous tradition on a singular altar from Reims, where Cernunnos is represented in a hieratic seated pose between an Apollo and a standing Mercury, in the Greek manner. At the end of the 2d century the classical trend was renewed under the influence of an eastern current which spread Mithraic reliefs through the Rhine Valley, with compositions in superposed planes attempting effects of violent movement. The Severan period saw a return to a rigid, cold academicism.

Funerary reliefs are the most abundant and the most original product of Gallo-Roman sculpture. During the 2d century they were especially widespread in Gallia Narbonensis and Germany. The earliest of the reliefs found at Arles reflect Greek influences, while those of later periods follow the inspiration of Rome. The artists of Nîmes created many delicate and refined busts



in realistic style. Mass-produced in Narbonne were representations, in a pretentious style, of important personages, animated scenes from daily life, symbolic subjects, and exuberant decorations. On the Rhine, Cologne and Mainz rivaled each other in the execution of military subjects. At first Cologne predominated, imitating Roman technique in modeling and draperies, while Mainz preferred to follow the local tendency toward schematization. Later Mainz asserted her mastery; the monument erected to Jupiter by Samus and Severus exhibits a vigorous style in spite of the many figures, and the representation of the Rhenish *bourgeoisie* in regional costume reflects a caustic wit and a taste for immediate observation. Eventually Cologne experienced a revival; under the double influence of Gallia Narbonensis and Germany, funerary monuments of a homogeneous and unique character were produced. This production was favored by the development of commercial relations and by the immigration of artists to new economic centers; in the 2d and 3d centuries it spread through the rest of Gaul. The usual repertory thus consisted of portraits which, although academic and pompous in the rich city of Trier, became sincere and colorful in bourgeois towns like Arles, Dijon, Sens, and Bourges. Various representations of daily life were frequently produced; scenes of banqueting and the toilette were developed especially at Trier. Commercial and craft activities inspired many reliefs; and, finally, decorative motifs gave these sculptors an opportunity to develop a florid, baroque style.

**SCULPTORS.** Philicus, 1st cent. of our era: signature on two sculptured consoles from Arles (Heron de Villefosse, BAFr, 1910, p. 360 ff.; A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, III, Paris, 1958, p. 626, note 1). — Zenodoros (Ζηνοδόωρος), sculptor and metalworker of Greek or perhaps Asiatic origin, active under Nero: colossal statue of Mercury, for the tribe of the Arverni, perhaps for the temple of Puy-de-Dôme, ca. A.D. 54; copied two cups, works of Kalamis, for L. Duvius Avitus (M. A. Blanchet, BAFr, 1945-47, pp. 159 ff.; W. Müller, ThB, s.v.; see also HELLENISTIC-ROMAN ART). — Samus and Severus, sons of Venicarus: executed the "Column of Jupiter" at Mainz in the reign of Nero and before A.D. 67 (G. Lippold, RE, s.v. Samus; J. M. C. Toynbee, Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World, Brussels, 1951, p. 26). — M. Se[...] Amabilis, 2d cent. of our era: represented in the act of sculpturing on a funeral relief from Bordeaux dedicated to him by his brother Amandus, certainly also a sculptor (Espér, n 1111; G. Lippold, RE, sup. VIII, s.v. Amabilis). — Praxiteles (Πραξιτέλης), of Greek origin, 3d cent. of our era: signature of uncertain authenticity on a bust of a bearded old man found at Cret (M. Bieber, ThB, s.v. Praxiteles, no. 6; J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, II, Paris, 1957, no. 117-18; for other signatures, see HISPANO-ROMAN ART; LATR-ANTIQUÉ PERIOD).

**METALWORK.** Bronze sculpture, like marble, is represented in Gallo-Roman art mainly by works which reproduce masterpieces and seem to have been imported. An *Athena* from the Doubs region is such a jewel of archaic art that it has been thought to be an original. Polykleitos (q.v.) inspired, among other things, a *Victorious Athlete* from Vienne and the *Hermes* statues from Limoges, Fins d'Annecy, and La Neuville-en-Hez. From Phidias (q.v.) are derived the masterful head from Vienne upon which the quaestor of that colony, L. Litugius Laena, had his name incised; the *Athena* from Ettringer; and the *Fortuna* from Aosta. A *Wounded Amazon* from Bavai reflects the influence of the works of Kresilas. A *Nike* from Lyons, which seems to reproduce the statues of the great altar there, imitates a type created in 369 B.C. by Daidalos. To the school of Lysippos (q.v.) are related the fine youthful *Hercules* from Feurs and the charming *Ephebus* from Xanten, which reproduces the *Praying Boy* attributed to Boidas. Hellenistic art is represented as follows: a head of a hirsute centaur, forming part of a weight at Schwarzenacker; an Alexandrian panther retrieved off the Mediterranean coast; a *Greek Warrior* from Vienne; an *Apollo Citharedus* from Uriage, which is reminiscent of both Praxiteles (q.v.) and Skopas (q.v.); the charming *Hermaphrodite* from Epinal; a joyful young *Dionysus* from Vertault; a timid little *Satyr* from the source of the Seine; a beautiful *Hypnos* from Xanten; and the appliqué of the horned god found at Lezoux, a refined work of the Augustan period. Although their works

did not attain the perfection of the imported sculpture, the bronzeworkers of Gaul, aided by their ancestral tradition and the profitable mines, cast and carved hundreds of statues and thousands of statuettes, all derived more or less closely from classical prototypes. In these sculptures the technique used for marble was sometimes adopted, the head and arms being inserted separately. All the gods of the Gallo-Roman pantheon are depicted, especially Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, Mercury, Apollo (sometimes endowed with the features of the reigning emperor), Vulcan (protector of the art of metal sculpture), Bacchus, satyrs and hermaphrodites, youthful *lares* (e.g., that from Mandeure), Victories, Fortunas, and goddesses of abundance (e.g., that in the sanctuary erected at the source of the Seine, which stood upright in a carved boat). Three Celtic themes were favored: the deity with the hammer (PL. 479), who, in a good example from Vienne, looks like Hercules but wears on his head a large cylinder consisting of five superposed drums; the mother, of whom Bavai has yielded the best example; and the goddess Epona riding on a mare, sometimes accompanied by a colt (PL. 478). Lively and expressive portraits were produced, such as that of a young chief of Aquitania and a young Helvetian nobleman of the early 1st century of our era, and that of P. Julius Pacatianus, the procurator of the Severi and a native of Vienne. There are caricature portrayals of slaves and dwarfs and skillful representations of animals (e.g., the trotting horse from Loiret, which is dedicated to the god Rudiobus, the bull from Autun with a burden, the female bear from Aachen, and numerous boars).

Many objects are decorated with reliefs, some of which derive from Hellenistic art; for example, an oenochos from Saint-Rémy-de-Provence has, under the handle, the bust of the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoë II, portrayed as Tyche. On the neck and belly of another oenochos, from the Rhone, a Pygmy and grotesque figures of Alexandrian inspiration and manufacture are depicted. Among the objects related to Roman art may be mentioned an honorific sword (from Mainz), on which Tiberius is represented in the act of receiving Germanicus, the conqueror of the Germans. Most of this work has, however, a Gallo-Roman flavor. Masks of divinities with stylized features continue the indigenous tradition. Numerous patera handles, handles and feet of vases, and furniture handles are overburdened with ornaments, more or less well disposed and executed. Some lamps are decorated with satyrs' heads, dolphins, and lion protomas. Tripods which can be lengthened are crowned with busts; beds and carts are covered with carvings. Some vases are enriched by the application of a sheet of silver, or even by means of a silver bath, in accordance with a technique whose invention Pliny attributes to the Gauls of Bourges and Alesia in particular. On a beautiful pyxis from Reims, gladiators are being trained under the eye of a master, while an animal frieze evokes the contests of the amphitheater. On a vase from Bois-et-Boursu is a scene of cupids harvesting grapes. An unusual patera from Amiens — on which there are written, as on a cup from Rudge Coppice in Wiltshire, England, the names of the stations established along Hadrian's wall — gives testimony of the military agreements that united the city of Amiens to Britain in the 3d century and of the renaissance of indigenous ornament in champlevé enamel, which is also evidenced in the zoomorphic fibulas of Burgundy and Lorraine. From this disparate production, which extended through three centuries and over the entire territory of Gaul, there emerges the name of Januaris, who signed many of the vases found in such places as Agde, Autun, Vierzon, and Rouen. The activity of the workshops was concentrated especially in the regions of Lyons and the Aedui, in the city of the Nervii, and in the valley of the Meuse.

Other entirely chased works were made of precious metals. Strabo affirms that "nature in Gaul offered gold spontaneously to the inhabitants" and that Athena made "streams of silver" run there. The Gauls continued and developed an art that they had already practiced from an early date: inscriptions give us evidence of the presence of gold- and silversmiths, especially at Lyons.

Notable among works in the round is a portrait bust in silver which a citizen of Vaison-la-Romaine had made at the

beginning of the 2d century, and also a gold bust of Marcus Aurelius which was found at Avenches (PL. 479). A group of Aeduiian silver statuettes includes, besides several figures of Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana, a curious pantheistic deity provided with wings and a turreted crown which supports eleven little busts, seven of which are attached to a half-moon and symbolize the days of the week, while the other four perhaps represent Apollo Grannus, Sirona, Castor, and Pollux. The treasure of Berthouville, which was consecrated to Mercury "Canetonensis," includes a great idol of the god — the work of a clever artisan — and a statuette of higher artistic quality. The treasure of Montcornet includes a statuette of Fortuna and a pepper box in the form of an Ethiopian slave. A bust from Troyes resembles the Celtic masks. Among the vases with reliefs, the most beautiful are those that were imported: the admirable cantharus from Alesia seems to date back to the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch; three charming paterae found at Eze presumably come from Campania in Italy; the treasure of Berthouville consists of Greco-Roman objects of great value; and a cup from Fins d'Annecy is an Alexandrian product. However, many vases are of Gallo-Roman origin. In the treasure of Hildesheim, which is of the Augustan period, there are two cups in the shape of a truncated cone; they are decorated with figures of animals and vine tendrils, which are Celtic forms of indigenous style. In a vase from Lyons of the second half of the 1st century of our era, themes of the national and local religion are handled in accordance with the traditions of Greco-Roman art: opposite each other are represented Mercury and Cernunnos, a dog and a boar, a tortoise and a crow, an eagle and a snake twisted around an oak tree with mistletoe berries. The Seasons are represented riding on animals on a situla from Isère and on many mosaics from the same region. A massive gold patera from Rennes (PL. 480) is overburdened with ornaments: in the center, the victory of Dionysus over Hercules is depicted; on the frieze is shown the triumph of the god, preceded by a representation of the drunken hero; all around, in the free space, are 16 imperial medallions ranging from the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) to Julia Domna (A.D. 167–217). Some of the vases from the treasure of Berthouville were decorated or manufactured locally: in the center of the finest, a Mercury with Gallo-Roman attributes, whose profile is reminiscent of the work of Skopas, is represented within a rustic sanctuary. The treasure of Moncornet, in contrast to the composite character of the one found at Berthouville, is a homogeneous complex of 39 pieces, all made in the 2d century by the same goldsmith. The treasure includes an oenochoe, a sieve, two richly decorated situlae, cups, bowls, and plates, some with the image of Mercury. The treasure of Notre-Dame-d'Alençon, of the 3d century of our era, includes masks belonging to the Celtic tradition, busts that served as emblemata, two medallions representing Apollo and an emperor with a prisoner, and several paterae with intaglio decorations. A series of vases, similar examples of which are encountered everywhere in Gaul (near Lyons and at Toulouse, on the Rhine and in Champagne, at Lillebonne and Bavai), as well as in Britain and Germany, are decorated with reliefs (PL. 482), animals, plants, and objects. Patera handles, of varying provenance, are decorated with subjects similar to those used on bronze objects.

Gallo-Roman jewelry makers produced a large variety of rings, bracelets, necklaces, earrings, and other objects of personal adornment.

**METALWORKERS.** *a. Workers in bronze.* L. Cassius Candidus, perhaps *ingenuus*: his funerary inscription was found at Langres (I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Aerarius). — Sex. Spurius Piperolus, 1st cent. of our era, *ingenuus*: funerary inscription from Nîmes (CIL, XII, 3333; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Aerarius). — Zenodoros (see above, *Sculptors*). — Januarius, period unknown: signature on four patera handles from Agde, Autun, Vierzon, and the forest of Brotonne (S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1894, p. 314 ff., no. 399). — Hilarius, period unknown, slave: funerary inscription from Narbonne (CIL, XII, 4473; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Aerarius). *b. Goldsmiths.* Sex. Aurelius, first half of the 1st cent. of our era, *ingenuus*: funerary inscription from Nîmes (H. Grummerus, *Die römische Industrie*, Klio, XIV, 1914–15, p. 189,

no. 184). — L. Cornelius Amandus, 1st cent. of our era, funerary inscription from Narbonne (CIL, XV, 4464). — M. Pontius Acanthus, 1st cent. of our era, perhaps a freedman: funerary inscription from Narbonne (CIL, XII, 4465). — L. Cornelius Optatus, 1st cent. of our era: in a funerary inscription from Narbonne he is called "L. Lib. O.," a name corrected on the basis of others of freedmen of the same master (CIL, XII, 4391). — Agothokles of Vienne, 1st cent. of our era: a slave active in Tarragona (CIL, II, 6107; see *HISPANO-ROMAN ART*). — Camillius Polynices and his son Camillius Paulus, first half of the 3d cent. of our era: funerary inscription from Amaoldingen (CIL, XIII, 5154; for all the goldsmiths, see I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Aurifex). *c. Silversmiths.* C. Cornelius Philonicus, 1st–2d cent. of our era, perhaps a freedman: mentioned in an inscription from Narbonne (CIL, XII, 4474). — Cn. Danius Minus, end of 2d cent. of our era, perhaps a freedman: mentioned in an inscription from Lyons as a tradesman and vase maker (CIL, XIII, 1948, 2120–2121). — Potitius Romulus, 3d cent. of our era, probably *ingenuus*: mentioned as vase maker in an inscription from Lyons (CIL, XIII, 2024; for all the silversmiths, see I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Argentarius).

**COINAGE.** Having flourished during the period of Celtic independence, the coinage of Gaul maintained its vitality after the conquest. Nîmes minted most of the bronze coins of the colonial phase, recalling the deeds of its veterans in Egypt with a crocodile bound to a palm tree, and symbolizing the benefactions of its protectors with the paired heads of Augustus and Agrippa. In the imperial period, numerous types of gold, silver, and bronze coins were produced, first and foremost at Lyons, later at Cologne by the Gallic emperors, and finally at Trier, Arles, and Amiens in the 3d and 4th centuries of our era. Some designs were inspired by local themes and models — the altar of "the confluence" or the genius of Lugdunum (Lyons), for example — and are distinguished from the Roman coins by their realistic style and accentuated lines.

**MINOR ARTS.** A rock-crystal bust, perhaps made in Bavai and reproducing the features of the empress Faustina with great exactness, is datable between A.D. 138 and 141. Carved ivory objects were considered particularly precious because of their scarcity in the West. Outstanding examples among these are a charming female head in Alexandrian style from Vienne and a head of Pan from Lyons. Some plaques from the 2d and 3d centuries — found in the region of Toulouse, at Chiragan and at Saint-Loup-de-Comminges, — represent Serapis, Attis, a satyr and maenad, and a boxing match interrupted by the referee. Work in bone is illustrated by abundant finds which provide evidence both of a highly refined toilette and of the skill of the Gallo-Roman artisans.

**CERAMICS AND GLASS.** In Gallo-Roman terra-cotta sculpture there is a curious contrast between sculpture in the round and relief. Only a small number of mediocre statuettes were produced, figures of Aphrodite Pudica and mother goddesses in white clay. On the other hand, hundreds of ateliers produced an immense quantity of vases (PL. 482), combining the ancient, indigenous ceramic technique with a new type of decoration derived from the Greco-Roman world. Italian artists (e.g., C. Ateius of Arezzo, C. Aco from Cisalpine Gaul) exported vases to Gaul and established branches in the southeast and the Rhineland, but the Gaulish artisans imitated and eventually supplanted them. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14), the new technique was adopted in the southwestern part of Gallia Narbonensis, especially by the Ruthenian workshops of Montans, La Graufesanque, and Banassac, which were already making indigenous ceramics and worked in collaboration. For a century the workshops of La Graufesanque in particular modeled in hard clay and used a shiny glaze which was sometimes marbled. They produced various types of vases with uniform backgrounds or with decorations that were executed with great care by numerous potters. Notable among the potters were Germanus and the partners Canrucatus and Vegenus. The decoration, at first consisting of vegetable or purely ornamental motifs in fine, low relief, later included animal and mythological representations and was subdivided into squares, while the relief became more heavy and emphatic. In the

meantime the centers of ceramic production gradually moved, like those of funerary art, toward the central and northeastern parts of Gaul. The Arverni at first preserved in Allier — at Saint-Rémy-en-Rollat and Vichy — the indigenous use of a whitish impasto covered with a yellow or gray glaze. About A.D. 40, the workshops of Lezoux began to imitate those of La Graufessanque; they then superseded them, dominating Gaul and the whole Roman world up to about 170. We know the names of more than five hundred potters who mass-produced vases of every kind and shape. The earliest, who bear Celtic names, renewed the Ruthenian forms and motifs. The next generation, in which Libertus appears, created metope decoration and the free style, wherein numerous figures reproduce, from originals or from stock motifs, Greek or Hellenizing sculptural types, toreutics, or goldwork. The last period was marked by the development of a kind of ornament using large medallions or vine tendrils. During the same period, the ceramists of Lezoux modified their technique, modeling — in imitation of the other arts — capitals and columns, decorated handles, and large reliefs which were molded separately and applied to the curving walls of their vases. Their work was inspired, in the 2d and 3d centuries, by a new current of Hellenism. At the same time, Vienne and Lyons created a new type of globular or spherical vase with one, two, or three decorated handles and as many medallions, which contained representations of varied subjects inspired by Oriental or Celtic religion, mythology, or history; performances at the theater, the amphitheater, or the circus; and love scenes and genre subjects. The medallions are also sometimes inscribed with heroes' or artists' names, or with prayers or sayings. One potter, whose name is not known, produced decorations distinguished by clarity of relief, richness of design, harmony of movement, and the portrayal of vigorous bodies and expressive faces; the works of his disciple, Felix, are marked by an astonishing sense of composition and of perspective. North of the Seine the potter Satto, with the collaboration of Saturnius, established a workshop at Chemery in the Moselle Valley in about A.D. 80. This enterprise became a source for the dissemination of Hellenistic motifs. Satto's example was followed, at La Madeleine in particular, by Janu[...], and at Heiligenberg by F[...], who devised the expedient of cutting out the shapes of the metal emblemata and reproducing them in intaglio on his punches. Similarly, at Trier about A.D. 190, Censor and Dexter borrowed mythological themes from Greek toreutics and sculpture; 4th-century ceramists even made molds from metal reliefs illustrating the episodes relating to Orpheus and Aristaeus in Vergil's *Georgics*. The Rhenish workshops used other techniques; they attached figures of animals and gladiators with paste, traced Bacchic inscriptions in white so that they would stand out against a black glaze, and executed intaglio and engraved designs in the slip while it was still soft. Meanwhile various influences — political anarchy, external threats, competition with toreutics and the art of glassmaking, and the decadence of decorative technique — brought about the decline of sigillate ceramics and of the great workshops. Local workshops in the Champagne and Argonne regions revived at the end of the 3d century, and in the 4th they again produced archaic and indigenous types of vases, decorated with geometric and stylized motifs that were applied with a roller. Lamp saucers often have a decoration that derives from the same repertory; encountered mainly in the Rhone valley, these reliefs undoubtedly influenced the medalists of the region.

Work in plaster is exemplified by an appliqué — showing a comic mask — which was found in the theater at Lyons, and by stuccoes from Autun. The latter city has also preserved enameled bricks and plaques of schist with relief decorations, two types of decoration that are found again in Britain.

Imported from Syria or Africa, the art of glassmaking developed impressively in Roman Gaul. The first workshops were established presumably at the beginning of the 2d century in the Rhone Valley, particularly at Lyons, where the Carthaginian Julius Alexander worked. In the 3d and 4th centuries, there was a new influx of Orientals into Gallia Belgica and Germania, especially into Cologne and Trier. Two Syrians, Cabilus and

Athamas, established themselves in the former city, and in the latter the imperial court favored and promoted the manufacture of luxurious glassware. Some ten artists signed their works, some of which imitate models taken from the art of the goldsmith or the ceramist, while others have very elaborate shapes peculiar to this medium. The use of molds permitted the production of glass pieces decorated with reliefs representing scenes of games or consisting of ornamental motifs. Decorations were also made while the glass was hot by applying filaments or designs in a manner similar to the technique of barbotine decoration on pottery, by making intaglios, and by pinching the surface or inserting colored pebbles. By working while the glass was cold, a more finished result could be obtained; for example, designs might be carved on the outer of two layers of glass of different colors. The magnificent oenochōē of Besançon, decorated with scenes of Dionysiac initiation, was worked in this way. It is made with such perfection that it is undoubtedly attributable to an Alexandrian artist of the 1st century of our era. The Rhenish workshops of the 3d and 4th centuries cut into the material more deeply and more crudely, creating mythological or game scenes in high relief. They also displayed their technical skill by covering the glass with a pierced net and carving it in intaglio. Some glass objects were also painted or gilded.

ARTISTS. *a. Ceramists.* For terra-sigillata production, see 1cs, col. 241. *b. Glassmakers active in Gaul.* Julius Alexander of Carthage, funerary inscription at Lyons, possibly of 1st cent. of our era; a signature in Greek on a bottle is attributed to him (CIL, XIII, 2000). — Amaranthus, 1st cent. of our era. — Officina Frontiniana, in Belgic territory, late 2d–early 3d cent. — Patrimonius. — Imperator. — Daecius. — Felix. — Equasius[?]. — Equasius Lupio. — Cebeius Hyllicus. — Cosenus. — G. Appius. — Apinassus. — Q. Cassius Nocturnus. — Laurentius. — Cn. Magnus. — Pimus. — Calcagnus. *c. Glassmakers responsible for pieces that were probably imported.* Artes of Sidon, period of the early empire. — Neikon of Sidon, period of the early empire (CIL, XV, 6961). — A. Volumnius Januarius, 1st cent. of our era. — C. Leuponium Borvonicus, 1st cent. of our era. — Cabilus and Athamas, probably Syrians, active at Vermand (Aisne), Belgium, and then at Cologne (see CIL, XIII, 8342). — Ariston of Sidon. — Eubodia (C. Euhodia[nus]?), period unknown, signature on four bottles (E. Pernice, *ThB*, s.v.). — Hilaris. — Hylas (A. Kias, *Das Glas in Altertum*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1908; Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire romain*, Paris, 1913).

PAINTING AND MOSAIC. There were also painters' ateliers in Roman Gaul. The painter Calenus was active in Bordeaux. Some paintings are known from ancient authors: Lucian mentions a painting of Hercules Ogmios, and Ausonius speaks of a crucified Eros. Although interesting fresco fragments are preserved in many cities of Gaul and Britain (PL. 480), the climate was not suited to a technique so sensitive to dampness.

On the other hand, many mosaics were produced in Gaul. As early as 1909, the inventory of A. Blanchet listed some seventeen hundred works. The repertory includes subjects that are not only extremely varied but sometimes quite unusual: the 12 gods, designated by the names of the months; the adventures of Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana; Venus, and especially Amor; Bacchus surrounded by the thiasos and often associated with the Seasons; the chariot of the Sun and the signs of the zodiac; the Winds and Ocean; Orpheus (in 10 examples); various heroes; the Muses and their disciples; various games; rural scenes, etc. The principal mosaics have been found in Nîmes, Vienne, Lyons, Trier, and Cologne. About ten of them are signed; the most precious of the signatures is the one at Lillebonne, which associates T. Sen[nius] Felix, citizen of Pozzuoli, with his pupil Amor, citizen of Carthage[?]. Precise dates are lacking, but the best works doubtless were made in the course of the 2d and 3d centuries. The mosaics of the Antonine period are distinguished by amplitude of composition and refinement of style. Beginning with the Severan period, the development of the ornamental frame tended to reduce and subdivide the figured area; richness of decoration and minuteness of detail led to excess and mannerism. One of the finest and earliest of the works gives, as has been mentioned, a representation of the circus at Lyons; the artist made some

errors in perspective in the drawing of the buildings, but he succeeded well in portraying the actions of the figures. Among the numerous representations of the Seasons, a work in Lyons is preeminent for the beauty of the figure types, which are derived from major works of art, and the sureness of line and color, which give a relief-like illusion. In a mosaic found near Saint-Romain-en-Gal (PL. 481), the Seasons preside over the labors of the fields, the representation of which occupied 32 squares. In this work, the artist succeeded in rendering country life, alternating labors with holidays and illustrating both with characteristic scenes containing two or three figures. These scenes show a shrewd sense of composition, pose, and physiognomy, and the work as a whole — exceptional in the art of the entire antique world — gives monumental form to the rustic calendars and the episodes of the *Georgics*. Vergil inspired even more directly a little-known subject treated by a mosaicist in Gallia Narbonensis. In the two cities of Aix-en-Provence and Villelaure, this artist represented the struggle of Dares and Entellus according to Book V of *The Aeneid*. Three mosaicists from Nîmes, Sainte-Colombe and Vienne were inspired by this unusual mythological scene with its abundant figures and rich color. In the region of the Rhine, at Trier, Monnus signed a precious work which represents muses together with poets and musicians (the group of Euterpe and Agnis is particularly fine). In the nearby city of Nennig, another artist provided vigorous portrayals of scenes of the amphitheater.

ARTISTS. *a. Painters.* Calenus, period unknown: known from a funerary inscription from Bordeaux (CIL, XIII, 641). *b. Mosaicists.* Modicus, 2d cent. of our era: signature on a mosaic from Bavai that is now lost [H. Stern, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule* (Belgique), Paris, 1957, p. 76, no. 113]. — T. Sen[nius] Felix of Pozzuoli, and Amor, perhaps his pupil, of Calvi or Carthage, 2d or, less probably, 3d cent. of our era: signed a mosaic in Lillebonne showing hunting scenes and Apollo and Daphne (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Paris, 1909, I, 2, no. 1051; *ThB*, s.v. Sen[nius]; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v. Amor). — Pervincus, 3d cent. of our era: signature on a mosaic showing a marine thiasos, from Vilbel, in Hesse (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 2, no. 1621; v. L. *ThB*, s.v.). — Monnus, second half of the 3d cent. of our era, perhaps of Greek or African origin: signature on a mosaic with portraits of writers and poets, divinities and seasons, from Trier (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 2, no. 1231; R., *ThB*, s.v.). — Ferionus, late imperial age: signature on mosaic with animals, from Mienne (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 2, no. 932). — Pythis (11301c), son of Antiochos: signature in Greek on a mosaic from Le Mas Foule, near Nîmes (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 1, no. 341; v. L., *ThB*, s.v., no. 1). — Max[imus]: could be, although this is very doubtful, the name of the author of a mosaic found at Bümplitz, near Bern (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 2, no. 1421; M. A. Blanchet, *Le mosaïque*, Paris, 1928, pp. 55 ff.). — Q. Amitcius Architectus: signature on a mosaic from Luc-en-Diois (ancient Lucus Augusti; *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 1, no. 137; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). — Attilus, probably of Gaulish origin: signature on a mosaic with geometric decoration from Oberweiningen (*Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 2, no. 1454; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). — Conculcanus: signature on a mosaic decorated with concentric circles, from Saint-Romain (Tarn-et-Garonne; *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 1, no. 688; L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.).

BRITAIN. A considerable part of the population of Britain was Celtic and was concentrated on the eastern coast of the island (Caesar, *De bello gallico*, V, 12, 2); this fact explains the island's religious and cultural affinities with Gaul. The emperor Claudius conquered a large part of Britain in A.D. 43, and it then became a Roman province. The boundaries of the province were enlarged by the later phases of the conquest. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius built the two walls which bear their names; these were not sufficient, however, to prevent invasion from the north. In the early 5th century of our era, the Roman regime gave way to the authority of the Anglo-Saxons.

Urbanization was carried out through the normal procedure of Roman colonization. These colonies were supplemented, and in some cases preceded, by inhabited market centers along the main routes (St. Albans, Exeter) and by cities inhabited by mixed populations of new colonists and natives (Silchester).

Since the architects were usually attached to the army, civil structures had a military aspect or were constructed by military methods; thus aqueducts were formed largely of subterranean conduits, and thermae resembled the bathing facilities of military camps. The fortifications recall those of cities in Gaul and the buildings for spectacles were like those of other Romanized cities of the empire. The temples dedicated to local deities, however, retained the old Celtic scheme of a round or rectangular cella surrounded by a portico on all sides (e.g., the temple at Harlow, Essex). Another characteristic structure, which reveals the old tradition and which was perhaps built by Gaulish architects, is the thermal complex at Bath (Aquae Sulis), consisting of a series of three pools and a temple dedicated to Sul-Minerva. Dwellings in the countryside had a special character since they seem to have belonged chiefly to the native population; they ranged from the simpler type — a series of rooms in a row like those of Park Street near St. Albans — to rich and complex groups like that of Lullingstone, where a frescoed Christian chapel of the mid-4th century has been found. No uniquely British sculpture was produced, and many of the bronze objects that have been found in Britain were imported. Funerary sculpture, especially gravestones, reveals the taste of the Roman provinces of northern Europe. The same is true of mosaics, in which Oriental influences are also found — especially in the late 3d and the 4th centuries.

A number of enameled fibulas and plaques in the same technique were imported from Gallia Belgica. In ceramics, the terra-sigillata ware was imported at first; later, however, workshops were established on the island. The indigenous products show a lively interest in typically Celtic decorative motifs. Other ceramics were made in imitation of the so-called "Samian ware." Glass seems to have been imported, either from the Rhine or from the eastern Mediterranean.

For its coins, Britain at first depended on Roman mints and on the mint of Lyons; later its coins also came from Trier and Arles. Only in certain periods of need, and in the time of Constantius Chlorus and Constantine the Great, were coins minted on the island; the small copper coins, known as *minimi*, of the usurper Carausius (A.D. 286–93) are characteristic (see GREAT BRITAIN, ART OF).

ARTISTS. *a. Architects.* Amandus, active in the 2d cent. of our era: known from a votive inscription to the Celtic goddess Brigantia on a cippus from Middleby, Dumfriesshire, Scotland (G. A. Mansuelli, EAA, s.v.). — Gamidriahus: known from a votive inscription from Birrens, Dumfriesshire, Scotland (I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Architetto). — Quintus: known from a votive inscription from Carrawburgh (Procolitia; I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Architetto). *b. Sculptors.* Sulinus, son of Bructus: probably originally from Bath, where an altar he dedicated to Sulebia in the 2d cent. of our era was found (G. Lippold, RE, s.v.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 26). — Priscus, son of Toutus, from Chartres (Autricum): known from a dedicatory inscription from Bath (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 26). — Juveninus: signed relief from Customs Scrubs, near Painawick, Gloucestershire, offered by a certain Vettinus to the divine Romulus (CIL, VII, 74; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 26). *c. Bronzeworkers.* Celatus, active ca. A.D. 150: signed statuette of Mars from Foss Dyke, Lincolnshire, now in the Br. Mus. (CIL, VII, 180). — Cintusmus, probably a Briton: bronze plate with handles from Colchester, dedicated to Silvanus Callirius (?) (L. Guerrini, EAA, s.v.). — *d. Goldsmiths.* Helenus: a signed handle (I. Calabi Limentani, EAA, s.v. Aurifex). — *e. Mosaicists.* Q. Natalius, Natallinus, and Boden[...]: probably responsible for a mid-4th-cent. mosaic from Thruxton, Hampshire, now in the Br. Mus. (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, Brussels, 1951, p. 45).

CONCLUSION. Achieving a synthesis between Greek and Italian art and adapting Mediterranean civilization to a Celtic substructure, Gallo-Roman art created original works in which the three currents mingle, each rising to preeminence from time to time, depending on material, region, and period. Its general evolution followed the main lines seen in the sculpture: in the reign of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14), the Gaulish artist sought to imitate Greek and Roman artists and objects.

In the period of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), he liberated himself from archaism to attain, under Claudius (A.D. 41-54), a purely Roman classicism, which became exuberant and baroque during the second half of the 1st century of our era. The beginning of the Antonine age (A.D. 138-92) was marked, on the other hand, by a Hellenic and Hellenistic wave, picturesque in tendency and full of charm. The end of the Antonine period brought a current of Oriental mysticism, violent and pathetic. The Severan dynasty (A.D. 193-217) imposed a neoclassic reaction; and finally, in the second half of the 3d century, the disintegration of the empire encouraged a turn toward indigenous traditions, which, after an effort at a return to Roman forms in the Constantinian period (A.D. 311-37), were revived in the 4th century.

Gallo-Roman art enjoyed a long life in a vast area. Its toreutic and ceramic workshops exported large numbers of vessels to the nearby countries: Britain and Spain, Germany and central Europe, Italy, and even Africa. These products gave rise to imitations, especially in the Danube valley. Moreover, Gallo-Roman traditions of iron- and goldwork were perpetuated in Merovingian art, while the development of folk sculpture and the rebirth of Celtic traditions contributed to the formation of Romanesque art, which probably received from these its characteristic enframement of niche and tympanum, the mother goddess who became the Madonna enthroned, the three matrons who were transformed into three old women, Sucellos and Cernunnos who became monsters, the Mercury with the purse, the god on horseback, the labors of the months, the squat or elongated distortions of men and animals, the sometimes caricature-like realistic handling of faces, the treatment of hair, the stylization of drapery folds, and the taste for geometric decoration and curvilinear forms.

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Pierre WULLEMIER

The following have contributed to the biographies of the artists: Vera Bianco, Mariano Cajano, Ambretta Mattei, Giovanna Quattrocchi, and Anna Maria Tamaassia.

Illustrations: pls. 470-482; 5 figs. in text.





# PLATES



## ESKIMO CULTURES



Ivory carvings forming a funerary (?) mask, Ipiutak style, from Point Hope, Alaska. New York, American Museum of Natural History.



FIG. 2. Alutian Masker's tools with handle carved in the shape of a caribou horn. Old Barling Sea side 1, probably from St. Lawrence Is. (Goulden). Cape Barrow, Alaska. Ivory and stone. Masker's weapon (horn) with incised geometric decoration. Old Barling Sea 41-2, probably from Cape Krusenstern. Alaska (about 1870 or earlier). Smithsonian, U. S. National Museum.



8. Fragmentary base of a prehistoric wooden projectile, front and back. Projectile, from Pecos Island, Alaska. Inventory No. 10111. (Smithsonian Institution)

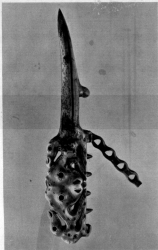






FIG. 1. Eskimo masks (A) and (B) from the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, New York.



Fig. 1. Wooden mask and small wooden figures, Copenhagen, Denmark.



8. Native mask, from Nootka Sound, British West Washington, U. S., National Museum.

SHARK CULTURES



FIG. 4. Shark cultures (sharks) prepared. Upper row: Shark culture from Shark Culture, Grand Rapids, Alaska, 1977. Lower row: Shark culture from Shark Culture, Inc., Marine Park, Alaska, 1977. Note: "Shark Culture, Inc."



FIG. 1. Left: Spirit in stone, from the Haida people, British Columbia, Canada. Right: Spirit in stone, from the Haida people, British Columbia, Canada. Right: Part of an ancient carved with spirit human form, from the Haida people, British Columbia, Canada. Right: Spirit in stone, from the Haida people, British Columbia, Canada.



FIG. 16. Masks carved on four sides with (A) basket faces, (B) snout ends, (C) snout ends, from the "Canaan" collection, Smithsonian Museum, Washington, D.C.



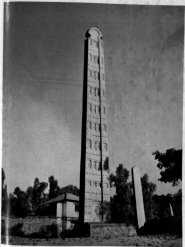


Fig. 10. *Wakole* sculpture representing animal beings. From the *Agemgnawit* district, East Gonder, Wollo, Gopangaga, Amhara.

EARLY CULTURES



Fig. 10. Native American figures in hooded garments. (Source: Museum, National Film Board of Canada)



10. Stone, monolithic tapered arch (II), ca. 1910.



FIG. 10. Stone, carved and fragments of the "great stone" (Fig. 10) (Fig. 10).



15. 16. Above: Steles, at Aksum. Below: The famous rock relief, Bahariya, near Aksum.



FIG. 10. Left, above: Selam Negus (Queen) inside of the church, ca. 1180-1200 AD. Below: Lalibela, Church of St. George, ca. 1180-1200 AD. Right, above and below: Lalibela, Church of St. George, the same and inside, ca. 1180-1200 AD.





24. Above: Front of the Church of Immanuel Bahara, north of Lalibela, ca. 12th cent. Below: Lalibela, side of the Church of Immanuel Bahara, ca. 12th-13th cent.

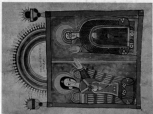


81, 82. Before House (Agnon's) with panels of the ceiling of the second vestibule of the church, on Tekle's east. Wood.



Fig. 10. Above, left: Lalibela, Church of Maryam, detail of the bas-relief on the facade, ca. 1180-1190. Right: Lalibela, Church of Abay, view to northeast from ca. 1180-1190. Below: Gondar, castle, 1740-1800.





1. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

2. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

3. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

4. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

5. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

6. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

7. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

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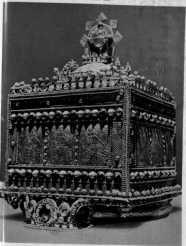
9. The figure of the Virgin Mary is depicted in a seated position, holding the Christ Child on her lap. The Christ Child is shown with a halo and is holding a book. The Virgin Mary is wearing a patterned garment. The background is decorated with geometric patterns and symbols, including a cross and a sun-like motif.

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24. 2) Representation of the emperor Yeksaqem (left), surrounded by a group of people, including his wife and children, in a church in Addis Ababa. (The figures in the center, right, left, and right, are the emperor's wife, children, and children, respectively.)





17. Gold shrine in Benishanguly style. From Aksum, Aksum, Ethiopia. Archaeological Museum.



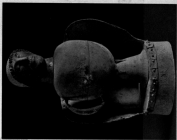


Fig. 15. Disk, from the Argimón Tomb with Castile-Portugal, 4th cent. B.C. (left), 1975 in Rome, Etruscan Museum.



Pl. 24. Anatomical study with bone tissue and enamel plates, from *Canis* *Canis*, near *Canis*, from half of the skull (from the same, from the same).







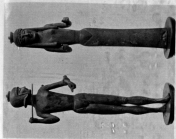




FIG. 21. *Kalliste*, from Vulci, early 4th cent. B.C. (Pubblico Museo, No. 1011) in Rome. Museo di Villa Giulia.



PL. 5. Painted clay tablet part of a fresco from the Knossos site, 1911. (The British Museum, London.)



Pl. 10. Wall paintings, made in the Forest of Hunting and Fishing, Tivoli, ca. 1000 B.C.





PL. 51. (Left): The Korner vase, dated during period and found during the Etruscan, under the year, in the Museum, 1871-72. (Right): The Korner vase, dated during the Etruscan, under the year, in the Museum, 1871-72. (Right): The Korner vase, dated during the Etruscan, under the year, in the Museum, 1871-72. (Right): The Korner vase, dated during the Etruscan, under the year, in the Museum, 1871-72.





20. H. H. Gans, *Physical Properties of a Crystal from Experiments on Solids*, in *Encyclopedia of Physics*, 31, 1 (1957) 20. (Springer-Verlag, New York).



Pl. 26. Top, above: Terracotta chariot from Tomba of the Chariot at Cerveteri, in middle view, A. J. Mayer photo, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Right: Terracotta chariot, from Tomb of the Chariot, Cerveteri, second half of the 5th cent., A. J. Mayer photo, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Bottom: Part of chariot (cavalry) from Tomb of the Chariot, Cerveteri, second half of the 5th cent., A. J. Mayer photo, New York, Brooklyn Museum. Middle: Terracotta chariot, from Tomb of the Chariot, Cerveteri, second half of the 5th cent., A. J. Mayer photo, New York, Brooklyn Museum.



1. [1] *Shaw: Essays*, vol. 2, at 276, from *Shaw's Works*, 10th ed. (1874), 12 in *Thomas Shaw Anthology*; *Shaw: Anthology* with comment, dated from *Shaw's Works*, 10th ed. (1874), 42. *Shaw's Works*, 10th ed., 12 in *Shaw: Essays* at 276, 280.



THE ETRUSCAN ARTISTS, IN THEIR TREATMENT OF THE FIGURE, SHOWED A DEGREE OF NATURALISM AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF ANATOMY WHICH WAS NOT EQUALLED BY THE GREEKS UNTIL THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. THE ETRUSCAN ARTISTS WERE ALSO AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HEAD AND OF THE EXPRESSION OF THE FACE. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE SCULPTURE OF THE SEATED WOMAN, WHERE THE HEAD IS THE CENTRAL POINT OF INTEREST. THE ARTISTS ALSO SHOWED A DEGREE OF INTEREST IN THE DETAILS OF CLOTHING AND ORNAMENT, AS IN THE CASE OF THE TALL HEADDRESS AND THE DRAPED GARMENT. THE ETRUSCAN ARTISTS WERE ALSO AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HANDS AND OF THE POSITION OF THE LIMBS. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE SCULPTURE OF THE SEATED WOMAN, WHERE THE HANDS ARE PLACED IN A POSITION WHICH IS BOTH NATURAL AND ELEGANT. THE ETRUSCAN ARTISTS WERE ALSO AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FEET AND OF THE POSITION OF THE LIMBS. THIS IS EVIDENT IN THE SCULPTURE OF THE SEATED WOMAN, WHERE THE FEET ARE PLACED IN A POSITION WHICH IS BOTH NATURAL AND ELEGANT.



FIG. 10. (Left) Head of a statue of Menelik from the collection of Addis Ababa. (Right) A seated figure, possibly a deity or royal figure, from the collection of Addis Ababa. (Left) A seated figure, possibly a deity or royal figure, from the collection of Addis Ababa.

ETRUSCAN-ITALIC ART



Fig. 10. (Left) Bronze statue of a female figure, likely a Venus, standing on a small rectangular base. (Right) Bronze statue of a male figure, likely a Herakles, standing on a small rectangular base. (Bottom) Bronze statue of a lion, likely a Herakles, standing on a small rectangular base. (Top) Bronze statue of a male figure, likely a Herakles, standing on a small rectangular base.





Pl. 1. Pair of deities, detail of wall decoration, in the Tomb of the Bastards, Saqqara, ca. 500 B.C.







FIG. 44. "Mars of Veii," first half of 5th cent. B.C. Bronze, h. 6 ft., 7½ in. Museo, Palazzo Massimo.



Fig. 10. Stone figure and torso, detail of a seated female figure, Silesia, 1st half of 1st cent. A.D. (Naples, Museo Nazionale).



Fig. 10. Figure of a woman. Detail of wall painting, Tomb of the Hawks, Theban, Middle Kingdom, 17th Dynasty.





Fig. 45. Above, left: Head of a young woman, from Italy, second half of 5th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1010). Right: Head of woman of a good Greek artist (first half of 4th cent. B.C.). Below, left: Head of man, 4th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1011). Below, right: Relief of the Louvre, 4th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1012). Below, right: Relief of the Louvre, 4th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1013). Below, right: Relief of the Louvre, 4th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1014). Below, right: Relief of the Louvre, 4th cent. B.C. (Vatican, Inv. 1015).



Pl. 32. *Atene (Vulturno). Porta Arica. Atene (Vulturno). Porta Marina, detail.*



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



24-26 Above, left: *Statera* (balance), the *Castor and Pollux* (Castor and Pollux) vase, 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (left); *Statera* (balance), 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (right). Right: *Statera* (balance), 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (left); *Statera* (balance), 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (right). Below: *Statera* (balance), 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (left); *Statera* (balance), 4th century B.C., Etruria, 10, 10 1/2 in. (right).

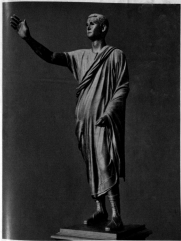


FIG. 10. Vase in the shape of a *gasteron* (mid. 5th cent. B.C., Inv. 747 in Munich, Antikensammlung).



Pl. 15. Portrait of 'Ali Isma'il, from the Fara'ah Tomb, 'Adet, Bahariya, period. Wall painting. Rome, Museo di 'Ethiopia.





175. Statue of Gaius Marius (the "Marian"), from Caprioleto, near Lake Trasimene. 100 to 105 B.C. Height, 65, 11 1/2, 18 1/2. In Victoria Museum, Antiquarium.

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13. 14. Boudier, *Triclinia*, with Gussone, and the garden of Gussone, details of a bottle, from Tübing, Italy, ca. 1800, in a 1800s. *Triclinia*, Boudier, *Triclinia*, Boudier, *Triclinia*.

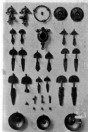


[2] J. Albert, *Algebraic Combinatorics*, Springer, 1992.



PL. 24. Shroud, from Armenia. Remains, second half of 16th cent. Still and previous owners: L. 1874 by National Museum.



[illegible]



28, 29. Above, left: Pineda, from Orizaba, Jalisco, 18th cent. Gold and silver pendant, about 1.4 x 1 in. (Orizaba, Museo de Historia Natural). Right: Pineda, from Orizaba, Jalisco, 18th cent. Gold and silver, about 1.5 x 1 in. (Orizaba, Museo de Historia Natural). Below, left: Pineda, from Orizaba, Jalisco, 18th cent. Bicolored, (Museo de Historia Natural). Right: Pineda, from Orizaba, Jalisco, 18th cent. Bicolored with gold accents, enamel, glass, and garnet stones, 1.5 x 1 in. (Orizaba, Museo de Historia Natural).

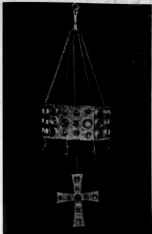


FIG. 12. Hanging cross, from Massena, Spain, and Belgium. Gold, pearls, enamel, gems, and precious stones.  
 Coll. Musée de Cluny.

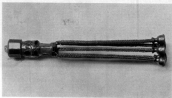
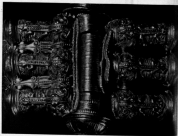
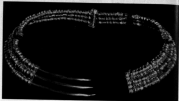




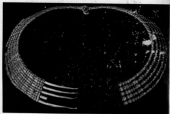
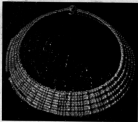
Fig. 10. Earrings from the collection of the National Museum of Natural History, Mexico.



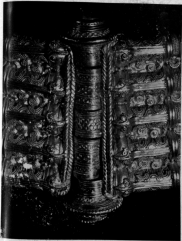
PL. 44. Beads of cedar (A. B. 1880). View showing opening (above) the top.

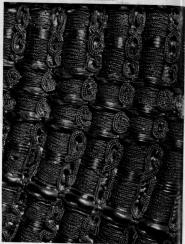






18. 19. Collar, about open and closed, from Fichtelberg, Elbe basin, 1000 B.C., 1/2 in. diameter, 10 in. long.





Ph. M. Keller, *Author, Book Review Editor, Journal of Management Education*, 300 West 10th Street, 11th Floor, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401



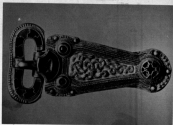


Fig. 1. A large, ornate metal object, possibly a decorative handle or a small sculpture, featuring intricate carvings and a prominent, stylized face or mask in the center. Fig. 2. A rectangular metal object with a decorative, carved pattern, possibly a plaque or a small box, with a handle or stem extending from the bottom. Fig. 3. A rectangular metal object with a decorative, carved pattern, possibly a plaque or a small box, with a handle or stem extending from the bottom.





Fig. 1. Obverse of a circular Ethiopian barbers' coin (qiddis) with a central emblem and a small loop on the left. Fig. 2. Reverse of a circular Ethiopian barbers' coin (qiddis) with a central emblem and a small loop on the left.



FIG. 55. Bronze shield of type II, found near Tarsus, Turkey. (25.000 gms. total, 14.000 gms. in bronze). Museum of the University of Chicago.









Fig. 54. Fibula, from Gerdorf, Germany, 1st cent. B.C. (275-250) or 1st cent. A.D. (1st-2nd) century. (Reproduced by permission of the British Museum, London.)



<sup>1</sup> H. Klemm, *Handbuch der Physik*, Vol. 25, Pt. 2, Springer, Berlin, 1982, p. 1.



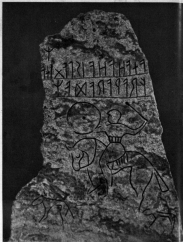
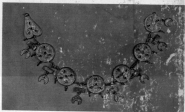
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Photo. from Windmills, Carriacou, St. Vincent, G.D.B. and printed under Glass. P. 10. Photo. from Windmills, Carriacou, St. Vincent, G.D.B.

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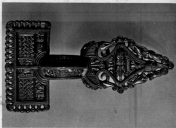


Pl. 10. Celtic cross, Irish, Louth, Ireland. From the collection of the British Museum, London.

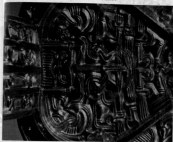




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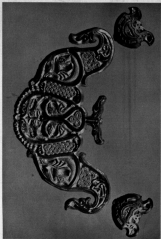








Pl. 21. Iron shield, Anglo-Saxon, England, 9th-10th century, shown, it is in London, British Museum.



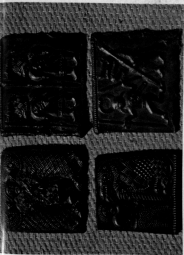
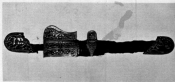
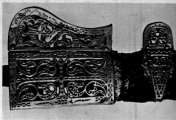


Fig. 1. (a) Barbarian from Tordoun, (b) Barbarian from Tordoun, (c) Barbarian from Tordoun, (d) Barbarian from Tordoun.





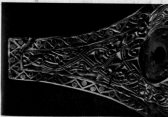






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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.



FIG. 10. (a) and (b) show the time series of the normalized wave function  $\psi(t)$  and the probability density  $|\psi(t)|^2$  respectively, for the initial state  $\psi(0) = \psi_0$  and the final state  $\psi(T) = \psi_1$ .



Pl. 10. Fibula, from Salzburg, Switzerland. 5th cent. Silver, L. 17.5 in. Bonn (Historisches Museum).



Pl. 10. Carving with representation of a warrior, from Hildesheim, Germany, (18th-19th c.). (Pl. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).



# EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS



Left, above: Paris; Eiffel Tower, 1889. Below: P. Jeanneret, Le Weissenhof Apartment House, Stuttgart, detail of internal facade, 1927. Right, above: L.C. de la Roche and J. J. Perret, Villa Mairea, No. 1, 1926. Center and below: P. Jeanneret, Maison de l'Europe, Geneva, facade and courtyard, 1928-29.



PL. 100. Above, left and right: G. Wagner, *Wagnerhaus*, Darmstadt, design of unity and interior, 1900. Below, left: G. Wagner, *Wagnerhaus*, Darmstadt, 1900. Right column: J. H. Oelkers, *Building of the Bauhaus*, Darmstadt, 1926. Right: J. H. Oelkers, *Building of the Bauhaus*, Darmstadt, 1926.





PL. 12. Left, above: W. Knudsen, Apartment House, Copenhagen, 1916. Center: A. Larsen, Building and National Building, Oslo, 1922. Right: J. Hoffmann, House of the Future, Stuttgart, 1927.



18. Hans J. Böhrns, A.G.G. Industriehalle, Berlin, 1928. Architects: H. Böhrns and A. Meyer. Paper facade, built on old brick structure. 1928-30.



PL. 26. Street E. Reichstag, German House, Berlin, Germany. 1933 (reconstructed during World War II). John H. Thompson, architect. (Source: Architectural Record, 1933.)



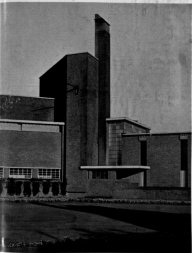
19. 100 E. Mendelsohn, Schürker Apartment House, Chemnitz, Germany, 1928, day and night views.



# EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS



FIG. 104. Above, left: H. Krause, the Imperial housing estate, Amsterdam, 1920. Right: W. M. Hubert, "House No. 1," Milwaukee, 1921-22. Below, center and below: D. F. F. and Herbert Housing Estate, Amsterdam, 1920. Most of National Housing Society, 1920-22.



101. 10. 10. (Dutch), Van der Waerden School, Rotterdam, 1928.



81. 82. Above, left: P. N. Anson House, Copenhagen, Denmark, about 1935. Right: P. Hagen Children's Building, Hamburg, Germany, 1933-35. Below: R. F. Wright Administration Building, Chicago, 1936.



# EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS



18. (Left) S. H. Kohn apartment building, Amsterdam, 1928. (Right) S. H. Kohn factory, Amsterdam, 1928. (Below) S. H. Kohn factory, Amsterdam, 1928.



12. Alvaro, L. *Wien von der Ruhr, Siedlung im Wienerfeld quarter, Stuttgart, 1921* (Architect: Alvaro, Franz Hoff, Wilhelm, von Kappeler, 1921).



16. 115. Antoni G. Gaudí, Casa del Poble, Santa Coloma, 1908. Antoni G. G. Gaudí, Casa del Poble, Santa Coloma, 1908-11.



[illegible]



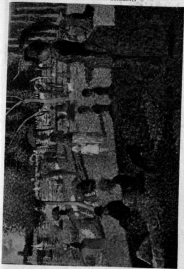


Fig. 11. H. Moore, *Large Torso* (1961). In New York, Metropolitan Museum.



11. J.M.W. Turner, *The Sick Child*, 1869, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery.



87. Above, left: G. Moschetti, Banca Santa Maria, Pavia, Italy, 1929. Right: F. Schied, F.N.A. Building, Vienna, Italy, 1928-29. Below: F. L. Rossi and G. Venturi, Edificio della Spezia, Rome, (interior), 1928.





[1, 12] Ghosh, J.K., P. Karm, Ghose, Maly, Laha, Ghose, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 26







PLATE 1. Keesen, *The House on a Hill* (1914). Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm. (100 x 100 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York. (2) Keesen, *The House on a Hill* (1914). Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm. (100 x 100 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York. (3) Keesen, *The House on a Hill* (1914). Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm. (100 x 100 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York. (4) Keesen, *The House on a Hill* (1914). Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm. (100 x 100 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York. (5) Keesen, *The House on a Hill* (1914). Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm. (100 x 100 cm). Museum of Modern Art, New York.



Pl. 125. Pablo, *Miguelito Reading*, 1916. Canvas, 27 1/2 x 27 1/2 in. Christie, Brown, Maize & Partners, London. Pl. 126. Pablo, *The Port of London*, 1916. Canvas, 26 x 38 in. London, Fine Gallery.



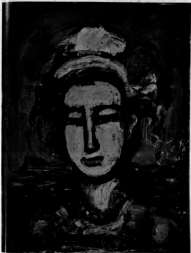






FIG. 10. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)*, 1935. Oil on canvas, 146 x 211 cm. Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris. The painting is a masterpiece of Cubist art, depicting a crowded interior scene with numerous figures. The composition is characterized by bold, angular forms and a rich, varied color palette.





84. 128. (Left) 1. Brancusi, *The Kiss*, 1907. Marble on wood. 2. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 3. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 4. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 5. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 6. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 7. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas. 8. Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1911. Oil on canvas.

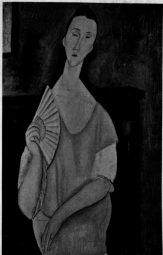


FIG. 128. P. Picasso, *Molitor, Madame Gervais with a Fan*, 1894-1895, oil, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais.



16. 125. U. Boccioni, 1911. *Forme Uniche e Plurime*. (Cinema, 1911-1912) in: *Italia, Mostra d'Arti Moderne*.





PL 125. Above: 1. Hans Hofmann, *Abstract*, 1934-35, oil on canvas, 100" x 100". New York, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Benjamin, Des Moines, Iowa. 2. Hans Hofmann, *Abstract*, 1934-35, oil on canvas, 100" x 100". New York, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Benjamin, Des Moines, Iowa. 3. Hans Hofmann, *Abstract*, 1934-35, oil on canvas, 100" x 100". New York, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Benjamin, Des Moines, Iowa. Below: 1. Hans Hofmann, *Abstract*, 1934-35, oil on canvas, 100" x 100". New York, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Benjamin, Des Moines, Iowa. 2. Hans Hofmann, *Abstract*, 1934-35, oil on canvas, 100" x 100". New York, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Benjamin, Des Moines, Iowa.



PL 122. (above) P. Picasso, *Impression of Africa*, 1906. Canvas, 36-61½ in. London, Tate Gallery. Below, left: C. Lévy, *The Old Woman*, 1906. Canvas, 27½ x 37½ in. Milan, 1906. From the right: right: P. Picasso, *The House of the General*, 1905. Canvas, 20½ x 26½ in. London, Tate Gallery.

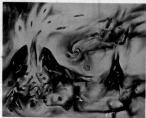
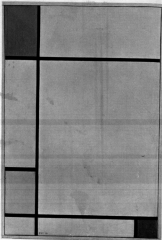


FIG. 104. Above: U. Boccioni, *The City*, 1911. Bronze, 65" x 51" x 31", Museum of Modern Art, New York. Below: U. Boccioni, *The City*, 1911. Plaster, 65" x 51" x 31", Museum of Modern Art, New York.







PI. 56. P. Mondrian, *Composition in Red, Yellow, and Blue* (1935). Canvas, 61 x 67 1/4 in. Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum.



15. 16. Above, left: P. Klee, *Red Bullfinch VI*, 1911, Oil on paper, mounted on board, 17 1/2 x 17 1/2 in. New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. Right: A. Malevich, *Supremacist Composition (Abstract Form)*, 1916, Canvas, 27 1/2 x 17 in. New York, Museum of Modern Art. Below, left: P. Mondrian, *Abstract*, 1911, Canvas. Right: A. Mondrian, *Construction in an Egg*, 1912, Brown, 16 x 16 in. Paris, Guggenheim.

[illegible]



100. P. Picasso, *Self-portrait with Skull*, 1905. Oil, 65 x 65 in. Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum.



18. 148. E. Decker, Christus als 1884 (Paris, 1884).



PL. 145. JACQUES G. BERNARDIN, Portrait of André Breton, 1936. Canvas, 19" x 19" in. Paris, Kunsthaus, Berlin, 1937. 15. KUNSTHAUS, Bonn on the Rhine, 1937. Canvas, 41" x 21 in. Hamburg, Kunsthaus, April 19. BERNARDIN, Bonn, 1937. 16. 20" x 12" in. Berlin, Gd. Gallery.



[illegible]

EUROPEAN MODERN MOVEMENTS



18. Hans Arp, *Fountain*, 1917, in *Paris, California Institute of Arts Studies*, 1917, pp. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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115. Above, left: U. Boccioni, *Three Figures* (1913). London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Right: U. Boccioni, *The Worker* (1913). London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Below, left: U. Boccioni, *The Worker* (1913). London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Right: U. Boccioni, *The Worker* (1913). London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



15. 186. Umberto Boccioni, *Formidabile* (from Ser. I, 1911). Iron. Museo G. D'Adda, Ferrara, 1918.



[15] [16] R. G. D. Oxtoby, *Measure*, The Univ. of Calif. Press, London, Paris, 1968, 2nd ed. (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1973). (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973). (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973).





FIG. 10. *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)*, 1935. Oil on canvas. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris.



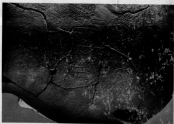
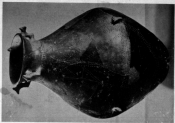


Fig. 100. A. Boudier, "M. du du," 1884. 100 cm. long. 100 cm. high.





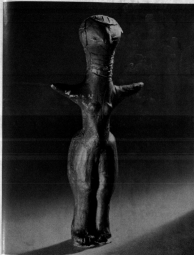
[illegible]







PI 86: French Agency, Language Institute, Paris, France. Tel: 01 42 35 55 55. Fax: 01 42 35 55 55. E-mail: [PI86@PI86.fr](mailto:PI86@PI86.fr)



101. Female figure, largest sculpture from Willer, Moravia. At collection in a City. In 1911 in Bonn, Germany, Museum, Moravia.





Pl. 12. Neolithic Age. Above: Pottery vessels. Below: Pottery vessels, including a small bowl, a small bowl, a small bowl, and a small bowl. Below: Pottery vessels and archaeological artifacts. Below: Pottery vessels, including a small bowl, a small bowl, a small bowl, and a small bowl. Below: Pottery vessels, including a small bowl, a small bowl, a small bowl, and a small bowl.





FIG. 100. Megalithic structures in France: the Menhir de L'Écluse, c. 4000 B.C. (top); the Menhir de L'Écluse, c. 4000 B.C. (bottom). (After: G. de la Bédollière, *Les Mégalithes de France*, Paris, 1908, p. 100.)

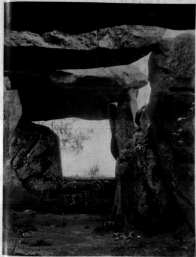


Fig. 10. Caran, Maritima, France, stream at Mont-Bernard, August 1964 (14-cm-f, 20 milliwatts, 2 sec.).



74-105. *Stéphane, Stéphane, France, marble, from Academy of sculpture 1971.*



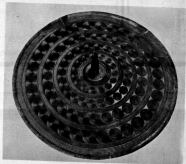
25. 26. Carnac, Brittany. France: rows of stones in Brittany ground rises and shrill, but beauty of landscape is.



PL. 101. Agricultural landscape in England. Over British first half of 19th century. (A. 1850). (Source: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911, 1912)







PL. 10. Stone Age, there is one tested specimen from Goringham, Kent. Another, somewhat different one, is shown, p. 11, in the same. But this with great decoration, from Goringham, Kent. 100-150 B.C. (11) Stone Age, Goringham, Kent.



Fig. 10. Above: (left) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery. (right) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery. Below: (left) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery. (right) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery. (left) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery. (right) 1000-1500 B.C. of the Aegean group of European prehistoric pottery.





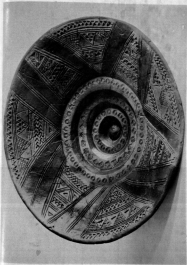


[15] S. G. Jiang, *Algebra, Topology, and Combinatorics*, Long Science, Harbin, 1986, p. 1. (Chinese); 1990, p. 1. (English).



25. 26. Left: Iron spear with leaf-shaped head, North Rhine Apt 194-195 (194-195). Right: Iron spearhead, North Rhine Apt 194-195 (194-195). Right: Iron spearhead, North Rhine Apt 194-195 (194-195).









**Abstract**





41. 58. *Salpiglossis californica* (McCoy) (L.) (Succ.) (Fig. 58) is a small succulent green to blue-green, branched plant, about 1' to 2' tall, growing in sandy soil. It is native to the coastal region of California, where it is common. It is a member of the family *Salpiglossis*.



19. 277. *Belgian culture. Bronze, 4th and 5th centuries, middle and late. Bronze, 4th c. 278. Bull from Belduise, Belgium, 4th-5th cent. A.D. Bronze, 4th c. 279. (Photographed from a cast.) Bull, France, Neolithic-Bronze Age.*



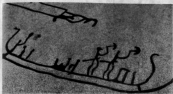
Fig. 100. (Left) Bronze of Igbo-Ukwu, (Right) Bronze of Igbo-Ukwu, (Right) Bronze of Igbo-Ukwu, (Right) Bronze of Igbo-Ukwu.



Fig. 10. Small, dark, stylized figures, possibly representing animals or deities. (Left) Fig. 10. Small, dark, stylized figures, possibly representing animals or deities. (Right) Fig. 10. Small, dark, stylized figures, possibly representing animals or deities.

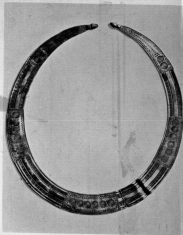


Pl. 105. Figures incised on rock slab, from Brixia, Brescia, 19th cent. A.C. (V. Breda, *Monumenti Bresciani*).



18. 18. Stone, rock engraving, Tuscany, Sweden, first half of the millennium B.C. (Ritter). Figures isolated on a water bag (left), from Sicily, near Naples, Italy. (Ritter and Ritter). Stone Figures





Pl. 102. Collar, from Chât de l'Homme, Portugal. Fourth cent. B.C. (V. Gault, *Revue de la Préhistoire Française*).





Pl. 100. Panels of a casket with relief showing mythological figures, late-bronze age, Hildesheim, Germany. 10.10 cm. 1914 Copenhagen. Nationalmuseum.

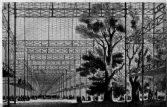


105. Fishes in a trap. Interior of a jar, from Szech'uan, 2nd-3rd c. B.C. (17 1/2 in. diam.). Shanghai Archaeological Museum.

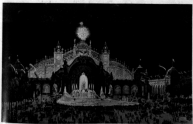




PL. 101. *Harvest Exhibition of paintings in Cavendish's gallery, the Month of Last Harvest (March) ca. 1770. London, National Gallery, before 1810. (1810), the Month of the Harvest, 1770. Engraving.*



PL. 161. Above: London, the Crystal Palace, 1851. By Joseph Pennon and Eric G. Henderson, Master of the Great Britain. Below: N. Y. H. Construction, the New York Crystal Palace, 1854.



188. Above: Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1889. Below: Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1889. Night view of the Palais des Électriciens and the Eiffel Tower.





PL. 100. Above: Chicago World's Fair, 1959, ground view. Left, center: Astoria, Oregon, 1959. Below: Paris, Exposition Coloniale, 1931. Right: "Explosion de la Matière." Right: Photographs, "Exposition," 1959. The work of Fritz



PL. 106. New York Museum of Art, 1959-60. Above: The wall of water in the Constellation Exhibit Pavilion, Robert Rauschenberg's view of the site.



18. 195. Spanish, Republic: 195. 196. U. S. Navy, the United States Pavilion, 1956. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



Fig. 105. Above: A. Mallet, the central section of the United Nations Secretariat Building, 1951. Below: Mallet, the entrance, 1951. Interior.





10. Above, left: Sarcophagus, detail of a Sarcophagus from Spina, attributed to the Etruscan Painter, ca. 400 B.C. (Fornaci, Museo Archeologico di Spina). Right: Sarcophagus, detail of a Sarcophagus from Spina, attributed to the Etruscan Painter, ca. 400 B.C. (Fornaci, Museo Archeologico di Spina). Below, left: Sarcophagus, detail of a Sarcophagus from Spina, attributed to the Etruscan Painter, ca. 400 B.C. (Fornaci, Museo Archeologico di Spina). Right: Sarcophagus, detail of a Sarcophagus from Spina, attributed to the Etruscan Painter, ca. 400 B.C. (Fornaci, Museo Archeologico di Spina).

1941



19. 1941. Basilica of the Holy Spirit, Havana, Cuba, showing the main structure, and the ruins of the building, showing the main structure of the building in a photograph of 1941.



24, 25. Above: Pavilion, Sanssouci, Chinese pavilion in the garden, 1763 (see below, left). Below: Kew Gardens, near London, Chinese pagoda, 1761 (left). Right: Shed, Royal Botanical Garden, Singapore, 1760-61 (London, V&A, 1976 and Albert Museum).







The first of the new buildings to be completed was the new high school building, which was opened in 1911. It was a large, two-story building with a prominent central tower and a series of smaller towers on either side. The building was designed in the style of the early 20th century, with a focus on symmetry and grandeur. It was one of the most important buildings in the town at the time, and it served as a center for the community.



Fig. 200. Above: A. Nash, Brighton, the Royal Pavilion, 1825-26. Below: Palacios, Mexico, Villa La Chapelle, 1928-30.



Pl. 20. (State, left: J. E. Lillard, Turkish Women and Men, 1935 and Mount Lebanon, Mount of Lot at Affricus; right: E. Fournier, Palace Court in Algeria, ca. 1890; Cannes, before: E. Delaparte, Women in Algeria, 1890; Cannes, after war, Paris, 1900).



Fig. 100. *Alger, P. Picasso, "Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)"* (1965). *Alger, P. Picasso, "Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)"* (1965). *Alger, P. Picasso, "Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)"* (1965). *Alger, P. Picasso, "Les Femmes d'Alger (O. K. G.)"* (1965).



75, 76. Akemi, J. Sano, *Shomon*, *Spreading Love to Suffering Man*, 1895. Canvas, 27 1/2 x 24 1/2 in. Art group, *Shomon* (after the *Shomon* by Akemi, J. Sano, late of the *Shomon* group), left panel of a triptych, 1895. 27 1/2 x 24 1/2 in. Hanging, Nishinaka.





Fig. 10. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O Version O)*, 1935. Oil on canvas, 149 x 214 cm. Collection, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. © 2005, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. All rights reserved.



Fig. 11. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger (M Version M)*, 1935. Oil on canvas, 149 x 214 cm. Collection, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. © 2005, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris. All rights reserved.







PL. 22. *J.M.W. Turner, Still Life with Vase and Plates: 1819-18 to 18, Yale Art Museum, New Haven, Conn.; 18. *Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge: 1844-45 to 45, New York, Private Collection.**



FIG. 15. *Agave*, E. L. Kirkham. *Stachys* at Maricopa, 1948. *Carex*, Elm, *Schizanthus*, P. Boser. (16). *Phytolacca*, M. Schmidt-Buchling. *Taraxacum* at Maricopa, 1949. *Salicornia*, *Helianthus*, *Conium*, M. Schmidt-Buchling.



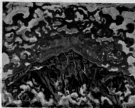


FIG. 100. Above: F. Weller, *The Glass*, 1966. Below: 1970 and 1976. Royal Commission, Robert R. Hecht, Ltd. (London). 1970. From: Robert R. Hecht Ltd.











PL 22. G. Goss: *Ex-Hetero Pictura*, 1972-83. Canvas, 100 x 170 cm. 1 x 100, 170 cm. Stuttgart, Stuttgart.



Fig. 10. Ethel van der Grint, the Holy Bishops and Cardinals, and the Holy Bishops.



Pl. 20. H. and C. van Eyck, master of the Ghent Altarpiece. Ghent, Belgium. 1432-33. Above, left: Adam and Eve, with biblical scenes. Each panel, 2 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 10 in. Right: Sleeping angels, 1 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 10 in. Below: Adoration of the Kings, 2 ft. 10 in. x 2 ft. 10 in.



PL. 225. Lucas van Eyck, *The Virgin in a Church*. Painted, 1375-1380 in Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



100



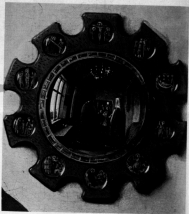


PLATE 2. Ethel Yon, in costume, standing in front of the tomb of the Pharaohs.



28. A. van Eyck, portrait of Marguerite van Eyck, 1470-1475, in Bruges, Belgium, Groeninge Museum.





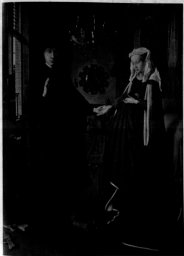
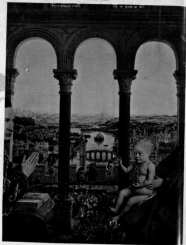


Fig. 1. J. van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife*. 1434. Oil on wood. London, National Gallery.



Pl. 100. Sandro Botticelli, 'The Madonna with Christ Child and St. John the Baptist' (1487) in. Paris, Louvre.

[illegible]



Fig.





At the 'Kashash' exhibition, Jerusalem, Jan. 1948, the artist 'Abdullah' (standing at center) wearing Rana Tawfik, Rana Abd-Allah (seated right) & Rana Tawfik (seated left) are shown. Rana Tawfik, Rana Abd-Allah (seated right) & Rana Tawfik (seated left) are shown.



PL. 225. J. M. W. Turner, *Paper and Knapweed*, fragment of a Roman fresco transferred to canvas, Museo Galileo, Florence (photo Art & Architecture Library, New York)



7. St. Bernardino (copy of Bernardino) bust of Bernardino. Terra cotta, Italian, Vatican and other Museums.





[8] [9] *Modern aspects of Neoplatonism*, ed. R. C. Marsh, *The Eagle and Child*, vol. 1, London: Duckworth, 1970.



15. Modern images of Saint Francis are thought, especially of the Italian Christian artist, Paolo Uccello. Italian Church and Monastery.



24. 25) Modern forgeries of medieval art. Left, above: Reliquary of the Unknown soldier in the parish church of Bussigny, Canton of Fribourg, 19th century. Below: Reliquary of the Unknown soldier, 19th century. Right, above: St. John the Evangelist, 19th century. Below: Relief of a saint, 19th century. Both to the left copied by Heinrich Gottlieb Hübner, Bonn, 19th century. Right: St. John the Evangelist, 19th century.





PL. 28. Marble fragment of ancient vase decoration (ca. 450-400 B.C.). Marble, Rome, formerly, Coll. Acad. Strozzi.



Fig. 10. *Modern luxury at marriage no. 16, van Beldjens, painting in imitation of St. van Beldjens's The Peasants, Genua, Amsterdam, 1615, Museum.*





1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand what consumers want and what problems they are facing. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses this need. This is often done through brainstorming sessions with a team of designers and engineers. The concept is then refined through prototyping and testing, ensuring that it meets the requirements of the market. Finally, the product is launched into the market, and its performance is monitored to ensure it continues to meet consumer needs.







Fig. 1. Detail of the wall panel, showing the central figure and the surrounding floral and scrollwork patterns. The panel is made of wood and is painted in a light color. The central figure is a cherub or child, and the surrounding patterns are made of leaves and flowers. The panel is part of a larger decorative scheme on the wall.



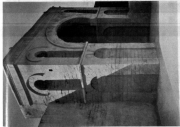
15. 20. *Salience of the grotesque during the romantic and baroque periods. (Left, top and right): 1. Anthonisz, *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 2. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 3. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 4. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 5. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 6. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 7. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 8. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 9. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 10. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 11. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 12. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 13. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 14. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 15. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 16. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 17. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 18. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 19. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602; 20. *Head of a Jewess*, 1602.*











IN 201, LEFT: MICHAEL TAYLOR, "GREAT MOUNTAIN" (SCULPTURE); RIGHT: MICHAEL TAYLOR, "GREAT MOUNTAIN" (SCULPTURE)







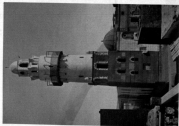
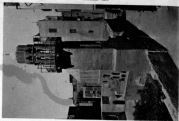
Fig. 20. Cairo, Egypt. (continued) Bab el-Hamra, above; Bab el-Futuh, below.



100 101. Great Mosque, Kairouan, Tunisia, 9th-10th c. (left); Great Mosque, Kairouan, Tunisia, 9th-10th c. (right).



17. 18. Above: Fender, Old Gates, the Water Station, 1916 and Below: Fender, Monument of Spanish Artillery, 1916-17. 1916-17.



[illegible]



Pl. 22. *Other Papyrus from a tomb, near Cairo, 1881 and 1882. Gift to Ashmolean Museum, 1882. Two figures, seated, facing each other. From Cairo, 1881 and 1882. (Bull., 1882, Museum of Ashmolean, 1882.)*

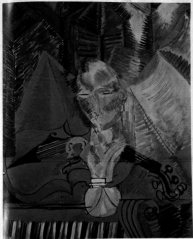


Fig. 22. *Coromandel, India, 19th cent. Above: Square tiles. Left: Blue, 18 1/2 in. Right: Blue, 17 1/2 in. Below, left: Floor of a house (see also front cover case, above, 17 1/2 in. Right: Square tile. Blue, 17 1/2 in. All, India, Museum of Modern Art.*





© 2001 John Wiley & Sons, Inc. *Journal of Polymer Science: Part A: Polymer Chemistry*, Vol. 39, 1035–1043 (2001)  
Published online 10 May 2001



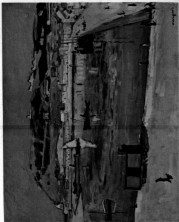


PLATE 1. THE BARRACKS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

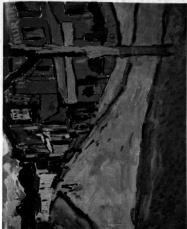




100 100. John Mather, *Foster in costume*, Center for Contemporary Art, San Francisco, '81. Oil on canvas.

[illegible]





El proyector, obra de arte de la artista española, se encuentra en el Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Barcelona.











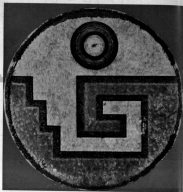
Pl. 101. Head of the war god *Kakatiwakas*, from *Seneti*. Beakfront covered with feathers and human hair.  
London, British Museum.



PL. 26. Papuan ceremonial dance headdress, from New Guinea. U.S. National Museum.



Fig. 46. *Mucuna Andina*, from the Gran Chaco, Argentina. (From *Antropología*.)



10. 100. World described as "day and night" world, from the Iroquois plateau, early period. (Museum, University of Toronto.)

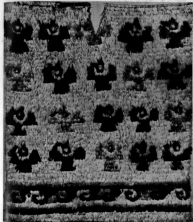
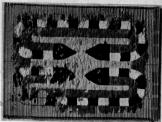


Fig. 10. Phoenix with stylized flowers. Chinese silk, from Peking. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.







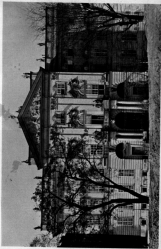
FRATERNITY: A quilted textile featuring a central medallion with a face and a border of repeating heart shapes.

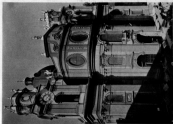


PL. 22. Wilson's altar, from Mexico, colored pencil, Florence, 1922.



75. 22. Vienna, Karlskirche, interior





1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26



26. 28. Festhaus, Figure of Prince Eugene (see Minutes of Research, detail of sculpture).



207. *Notes: The Last Emperor*, available from Frances Johnson, editor of *Refuge Notes*, c/o Woodbridge, The Eagle Inn, Eagle, about a century or a century beyond by J. de Borne, Paris, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 256





PL. 55. *Scene of Carnival, the Wood of the Simpletons*, left and right wings. Painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1564-1638). (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London.)



87. *Bruegel, The Fight Between Carnival and Lent, 1568, Oil on Panel, 111 x 161 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*

88. *Bruegel, The Fight Between Carnival and Lent, 1568, Oil on Panel, 111 x 161 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*

[illegible]



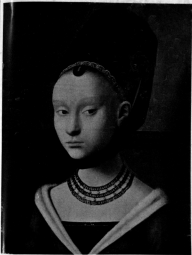
18, 19. 18. van der Grinten. Above left: *The Fall of Man*, 1640-45 in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Right: *Death of the Virgin*, Painted c. 1650 in c. 18th century, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Below: *Adoration of the Kings*, central panel of the *Paradise of the Kings*, 1640-45, 1645 in Florence, Italy.



[illegible]



18. 189. *Portrait of a Man* (left) and *Portrait of a Woman* (right) by Hans Memling, 1465-1475. In the *Portrait of a Man*, the man is shown in a dark, high-collared garment, looking slightly to the right. In the *Portrait of a Woman*, the woman is shown in a dark, high-collared dress, holding a large, ornate vessel or jar. Both portraits are in the collection of the *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* by Hans Memling, 1465-1475. In the *Portrait of a Man*, the man is shown in a dark, high-collared garment, looking slightly to the right. In the *Portrait of a Woman*, the woman is shown in a dark, high-collared dress, holding a large, ornate vessel or jar. Both portraits are in the collection of the *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Woman* by Hans Memling, 1465-1475.



Pieter Christus, portrait of a young girl. Paint. 17 x 17 1/2 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.





Fig. 10. 11. Birch, two trunks, (Pencil) with, 10" x 10" in. The Birch, (Pencil)



57. Above, left: B. van Oelen, *Remembrance of the Childhood of Mary*, from the series, *The Vision of Patience* (Frank, 246, 27 1/2 in. x 1 1/2 ft., 17 1/2 in.); Above, right: the same artist, *The Vision of Patience* (Frank, 247, 27 1/2 in. x 1 1/2 ft., 17 1/2 in.); Below, left: the same artist, *The Vision of Patience* (Frank, 248, 27 1/2 in. x 1 1/2 ft., 17 1/2 in.); Below, right: the same artist, *The Vision of Patience* (Frank, 249, 27 1/2 in. x 1 1/2 ft., 17 1/2 in.).





10. St. John the Evangelist with the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. Painted 1470-1475 by Hans Memling, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

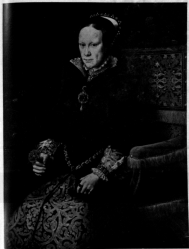


THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE GIANT AND THE DWARF. PIETER DE GREUTER. 16TH CENTURY. MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM.





[illegible]



Pl. 26. A. Miel, *Mary, Queen of Scots*. Paris, 1571-1572. In Madrid, Prado.





16. 205. Pieter J. Bruegel, van Bruegel, *Strijd van Carnaval en Pasen*. Paint. 1625-1626 in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1625-1626 in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Paint. 1-15, 16-18, 19-20, 21-22 in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Paint. 1-15, 16-18, 19-20, 21-22 in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Paint. 1-15, 16-18, 19-20, 21-22 in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



28. Pieter van Emmerick, *Two Men Studying*. Paint, 1611-1612 in London, National Gallery.





1-29. *Scene of Execution*, van Haveren, left; *Execution at the Bath*, 1670-1675, by van Haveren, Willemsoord; *Right*, *Execution of the Innocent*, 1670, 1675, by van Haveren, Willemsoord; *Below*, *St. van Haveren*, *Portrait*, 1670, 1675, by van Haveren, Willemsoord.



PL. 104. Rubens, *Prometheus Bound*, 1626-27, oil on canvas, 100 in. x 130 in., in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (The painting is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)



Pl. 89. H. van Leyden. Self-portrait. Paint, 1575-1576 (ca. Brussels), Germany. (Hering family Charles Museum.)



81 189. J. Turner (Master), *The Spaniard in the Streets*. Paint, 17 1/2 x 27 1/2 in. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



1. 88. *Abraham's Sacrifice*, by Pieter Paul Rubens, 1634-35. Oil on canvas, 100 x 130 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).  
 1. 89. *The Descent from the Cross*, by Pieter Paul Rubens, 1634-35. Oil on canvas, 100 x 130 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).  
 1. 90. *The Descent from the Cross*, by Pieter Paul Rubens, 1634-35. Oil on canvas, 100 x 130 cm. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).









18. 189. Adam P. Bell, *Cathedral and Forest, Venice*, 1774-1775 in Rome, *Galleria Nazionale*; Adam P. Bell, *Landscape with Lake, Pond*, 1774-1775 in Amsterdam, *Herengracht*.





PLATE II. J. M. W. Turner, *The Spanish Road*, 1811-1812 in the Royal Academy, London; *The Great Storm*, 1812-1813 in the Royal Academy, London; *The Great Storm*, 1812-1813 in the Royal Academy, London; *The Great Storm*, 1812-1813 in the Royal Academy, London.



FIG. 101. Pieter de Wobbes, *Interior of a church*, 1670-1675 (in London National Gallery, 1670-1675). Left: Pieter de Wobbes, *Interior of a church*, 1670-1675 (in London National Gallery, 1670-1675). Right: Pieter de Wobbes, *Interior of a church*, 1670-1675 (in London National Gallery, 1670-1675).





THE PALM TREES ON A BEACH. J.M.W. TURNER. 1841. OIL ON CANVAS. NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.



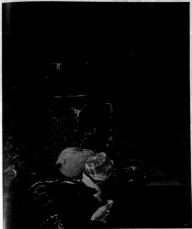


Pl. 104. J.M.W. Turner, *Rain, Steam, and Great Railway Bridge*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 18 1/2 x 24 1/2 in. American Museum of Natural History, New York. Pl. 105. J.M.W. Turner, *Rain, Steam, and Great Railway Bridge*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 18 1/2 x 24 1/2 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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10. 105. J. van Helmsen, *Flowers and Fruit*, Canvas, 15 1/2 x 21 1/2 in. (39 x 54 cm), National Gallery.



P. 105. W. Kool, still life, canvas, 1674-8 (V. & T. Royal, Amsterdam).



FIG. 1. A person in a dark room, possibly a laboratory or workshop, with various equipment and materials visible.







**Table 1.** Mean values of the variables measured during the 60-min test







75. St. Bavo de Haar, baptismal font, 1497-98, Haar, Large, Belgium, *Reformation*.



PL. 100. 1. Head, face of Christ, from the Chancel of Chancel Head with traces of polychrome (ca. 1000).  
 From the Chancel Head.



13. *Wood: Sculptures by A. van Wierd, Early Sixteenth Century (from the altar of the Cathedral of Our Lady of 's Hertogenbosch, Wood, Right): The South of the Virgin Mary, ca. 1515, in bronze, left: Angel with the Virgin Christ, from the Lower White Chapel, ca. 1515, Wood, ca. 1515, in bronze, right: The Flight into Egypt, northern Netherlands, ca. 1515, Polychrome wood, 1515-1516, in bronze, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*

[illegible]



PLATE 1. J. van Eyck, *The Ship and the Passengers*. Figures 4th, 20th, & 21st in *Brussels, Museum Royal des Beaux-Arts*.



18. 18. P. de Hooch, The Goldsmith Places the Ring on the Ring (Married).



PL. 55. Above: The Death of Mary, tapestry, in the tapestry room of the Museum of the City of Brussels. Below: A large oval metal dish, in the collection of the Museum of the City of Brussels.



[illegible]



[12] Above, left: B. Verelst, *Statue van Begeerberg* (15), *Terre cotta*, 16, 1775 in *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. Right: A. Gonsse, *Portrait of a man*, *Terre cotta*, 16, 1775 in *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. Below, left: L. Schone, *Statue of a woman*, *Terre cotta*, 16, 1775 in *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. Right: W. B. van der Wal, *Statue of a woman*, *Terre cotta*, 16, 1775 in *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*.



PL. 52. Above: Leuven, Belgium. Cathedral view of St. Peter and St. Paul. Below, left: Leuven, Belgium. The Cathedral, view of the interior, 1544—1545. Right: Leuven, Belgium. Cathedral, view of the interior, 1544—1545.



PI. 101. P. van Brouckere, *Flowers*. Paint. 20 1/2 x 21 1/2 in. The Hague, Mauritshuis.



PL. 100. G. Tolboom, *Religieuze Vrouw* (c. 1610-15), The Hague, Mauritshuis.



PL. 101. Above: Ghent, Netherlands, Cathedral, exterior view of the choir and transept, 1378-1387. Below, left: Ghent, Cathedral, interior view of choir. Right: Bruges, Belgium, the Belfry, 13th-14th.



PL. 100. Above: Amsterdam, the "Gracht" (canal) looking down the "Waterloosgracht" bridge. Below: Antwerp, Belgium, House of the Schepers. (PL. 101) Rotterdam, Netherlands, Rotterdam 10, Jan. 1940.

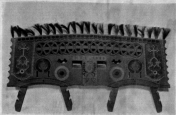


171, 172. *Alonso V. Sánchez de Velasco*, courtyard of the University, Leuven, Netherlands, before 1600, showing the *Refectory*, *Library*, *and* *the* *Refectory*.





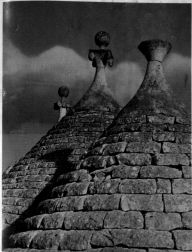
11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



64-65. Above: Table, from Mjøen, Norway, about 1800. Carved and painted wood with lacquer. Below: Book-stand, from Norway. Carved and painted wood. Oslo, Oslo. (Museum of Folk Art).



81. 186. (Lower) Wall hanging from a house in Svalbard, Norway, about 1900. (Upper) (Right) Part of a textile with dancing figures and musicians from Sweden. (Topography: Folklore from the North, Paris, Musée de l'Homme).



7. 18. - Viterbo, Apulia. Stone, rubble roof's detail







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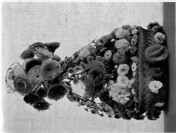
75. 76. Above: Picture for a Mexican popular theater, with motifs taken from the story of Judith. Scenarist as artist. Below: Mexican National flag and a folk traditional Popocatepetl. Below: Head of a Mexican cat, illustrating the story of Fancito. Scenarist as artist. Mexico, Mexico City.





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[15] J. J. Moret, *Fast algorithms for computing exact shortest paths*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Computer Science, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1991.



PL. 100. Above, left, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 174. Right, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 175. Below, left, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 176. Right, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 177. Below, right, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 178. Below, left, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 179. Below, right, "Patna Shilpa," from a collection of Early Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 4th-10th cents. Art. 180.

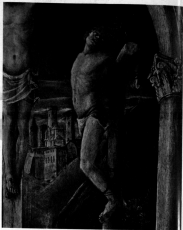


75-76. Above, left: St. Anthony with the Christ Child, Lithuania, carved and painted wood. Right: St. Martin and the Beggar, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, painted glass. Both: Paris. Middle left: Madonna, Russia, oak. Right, Center: Peter, Russia, Schumacher Museum, the Volkshaus. Right: Evgenia (Russia, oak), dated 185. Pottery. Russia: Museo Nazionale delle arti e delle. Via. Museo Piacenza.





Pl. 185. *Isabella and Christ*. Painted 1711-12 by Peter Paul Rubens. Staatliche Museen.



G. B. Head of the Prisoner, n. 88.



PL. 105. Above, left: *The Crucifixion*, Paint, 1670-72 in, Bergamo, *Galleria dell'Accademia Carrara*. Right: *The Descent from the Cross*, Oil, 1722-24, 25-26, 1722-24 in, Milan, *Brera*. Below: *The Descent from the Cross*, 1670-72 in, London, *National Gallery*.





Pl. 106. *Descent from the Cross*. From the life of St. Peter (Barnes, Milan, & Eschwege, Capella Perdonato, Rome). (Left) The man holding a young man, above; (right and below) details from the lower part of the scene.

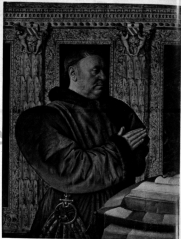


FIG. 128. St. Clara and Bernardino, wood frame or polychrome terracotta in St. Maria della Grota, Bergamo, about 1470-1475. In Milan, Brera.



[15] S. G. Jiang and J. H. Reagin, *Handbook of Polymer Chemistry*, Wiley, New York, 1996, pp. 1-10.





Pl. 86. *Portrait of the Duke of Orleans*. (1614-1615) by Pierre LeClerc.



C'est une grande pierre  
 qui est posée sur le sol  
 pour servir de base  
 à la construction d'un  
 temple. C'est une pierre  
 qui est posée sur le sol  
 pour servir de base  
 à la construction d'un  
 temple.

C'est une grande pierre  
 qui est posée sur le sol  
 pour servir de base  
 à la construction d'un  
 temple. C'est une pierre  
 qui est posée sur le sol  
 pour servir de base  
 à la construction d'un  
 temple.



FIG. 1. Detail from the fresco 'The Fall of Man' by Michelangelo, 1498-1500. The figure of Eve is shown in the center, being held by Adam and the serpent.







PL. 26. San Giovanni d'Erasmus Giovanni Veronesi, *The Visitation*, (1711-12), oil on canvas, Museo Condottieri, Mantova.



PL. 101. Les Rois d'Espagne. The Birth of John the Baptist. Illumination 171-172 in. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



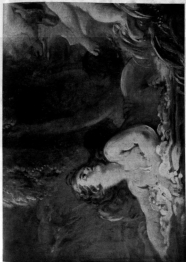
FIG. 1. A group of people, possibly a family, in a dimly lit environment.



in un via vai di trasferimenti, uomini e figli finiti in baracche, campi, rifugi.



Fig. 1. The crumpled fabric, a detail from the work of Francis Lee.



10. 10. The woman, about 20 years old, is lying on the ground, looking up.









PL. 25. Head of a girl. Charcoal, chalk, and red pencil on blue paper, 12½ x 11 in. Brooklyn Museum Archives.



15. St. Germain. Left above: Façade, St. Germain, Paris. Left over: Right: Church of St. Germain-des-Près, view of the apse. Left over: Right: Detail of the Romanesque capital, left over: Right: Detail of the Romanesque capital, left over: Right: Detail of the Romanesque capital.



PL 104. (Continued.) Left column: Church of La Madeleine, exterior church, 1816-1824. Right column: Paris, Church of La Madeleine, 1816-1824. Right column: Church of La Madeleine, 1816-1824. Right column: Church of La Madeleine, 1816-1824.



15. 157. *Amiens, France. Cluny Abbey, comparison of west portal, 1120-30 (left). Below, left: La Dole, Cathedral, exterior. West wall of choir (left). Right: Bourges, Abbey church, interior pillar of north portal, 1180 (right).*



15. 156. Sculpture, stone: *Apollonia* (Limoges), before 1150. Below, left: *Virgin and Child*, by Master of Limoges, around 1150. 157. 158. Below: Right: *Virgin and Child*, by Master of Limoges, around 1150. The sculpture, fragment of north (left) door, ca. 1150. Stone (photographed from a cast).



71. 72. *Basilica, St. Sulpice.* Left, Basilica of St. Sulpice, interior, after 1875. Right, Interior, exterior detail of window in the nave, 15th-16th cent. Below: Exterior facade, interior, 18th-19th cent. Right: St. Sulpice, exterior, 18th-19th cent.



100-101. Left, exterior, Church of San Francisco, and left view, interior, Church of San Francisco, in Mexico City, Mexico. Right view, interior, Church of San Francisco, in Mexico City, Mexico. Center view, interior, Church of San Francisco, in Mexico City, Mexico. Right view, interior, Church of San Francisco, in Mexico City, Mexico. (Left view, interior, Church of San Francisco, in Mexico City, Mexico.)



<sup>1</sup> H. Moore, *Angels, Demons, Miracles: A Journey into a Darker Faith* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 133-134, 136. Right, center: Religion, Faith, Values, copyright 1998. Below: Science, World Encyclopedia, 1997/98, 1998.





PL. 102. Above, left: *The Descent from the Cross*, 1680-81 (Paris, 1714-15); right: *Saint Sebastian*, with dog and lion, 1680-81 (Washington, 1714-15). In below: *Saint Sebastian*, possibly by Jean-François de Troy, 1680-81 (Paris, 1714-15). In all three, Paris, 1714-15.

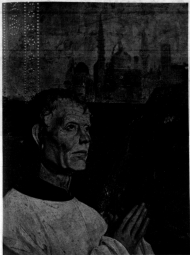


Fig. 105. Paris, street (from 'Villages and Landscapes') Millet, oil on canvas, 1865, 174-66. - 174-66. Paris, Louvre.



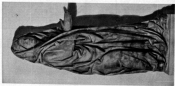
FIG. 10. B. Chardin, *Composition of the Artist's Studio*, 1738. Oil on canvas, Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.

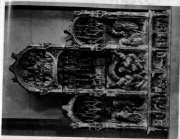






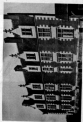
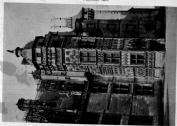
102. Architecture and sculpture in the Duchy of Burgundy. Above: Bourges, Hospital de la Charité, courtyard. Below: S. Michel, detail of portal of the Fontaine de la Charité, Bourges, now Paris.





100. *Antoinette, Empress of France*, by Jacques-Louis David, 1793. The Empress is shown in a room, surrounded by her attendants. The painting is a masterpiece of Neoclassicism, with its clear lines and idealized figures. It is now in the Louvre, Paris.





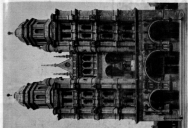
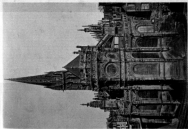
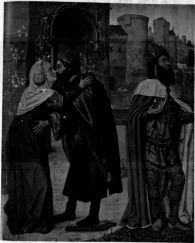


FIG. 100. Right: Interior, Sacre Coeur, Paris; view of the apse. Center: Exterior, Sacre Coeur, Paris; view of the apse. Left: Exterior, Sacre Coeur, Paris; view of the apse.



18. 189. Paintings of the French school, which show: The Birth of Cupid, 1671-1672, in New York, Metropolitan Museum; (below, left) Sabine Poppius, 1671-1672, in Paris, Musée de l'Art et d'Histoire; (below, right) Sabine Poppius, 1671-1672, in Paris, Musée de l'Art et d'Histoire.



PL 102. Master of Studies. The Meeting at the Shrine. Four Panels, 1374-1375. In London, National Gallery.





Fig. 1. *Statue of a woman, by J. B. Carpeaux, 1868. Fig. 2. *Relief sculpture, by J. B. Carpeaux, 1868. Fig. 3. *Relief sculpture, by J. B. Carpeaux, 1868.***

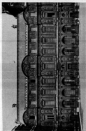
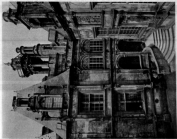
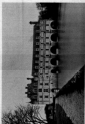


FIG. 1. The Grand Palais, Paris, France, and the interior of the Grand Palais, Paris, France, and the interior of the Grand Palais, Paris, France, and the interior of the Grand Palais, Paris, France.















PL. 101. Ét. de Choisy: portrait of Étienne de Choisy. Canvas, 16 1/2, 17 1/2 in. x 10 1/2, 11 in. (Paris, Louvre).



108. *Charles, portrait of Charles V. Paris, 1570-1575. Paris, Louvre.*









188. 189. *Epiphany at the court of Louis XIV and XV: above, P. Mignard, the Grand Dauphin and his family, Canvas, 17th-18th cc., 80 in. (Paris, Louvre); below, left, G. LeClerc, the dauphin at Paris, Canvas, 17th-18th cc., 100 in.; right, M. Mignard, Joseph de Courtenay, Canvas, 18th, 17th-18th cc., 100 in. (Paris, Louvre)*



Pl. 401. Sculpture and decoration at the tomb of Louis XIV—above: *Allegory of the Sun*, by the sculptor, Pierre-Thomas LeClerc; below: *Allegory of the Sun*, by the sculptor, Pierre-Thomas LeClerc. (The relief is a reproduction of the original by the sculptor, Pierre-Thomas LeClerc.)



PL. 402. A. COGNET, *Marie Antoinette*. 1793. Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.



R. DE. VANDERMEER, Paris. (Above) J. B. Monnet and C. Lefebvre, Hall of Mirrors, below: The Queen's Entrance.



Pl. 155. Architecture of the 17th cent. (above, left, F. Blond and G. Boverington, Church of St Paul-St Louis, Lyons, France; right, J. Blond, Manufacture Nationale des Porcelaines, Paris; below, same factory, same architect, exterior, same angle)



Pl. 40. *Madame de La Voûte presenting her portrait to Louis XV.* Artist, Jean-B. de La Voûte, *Self-portrait*, Canvas, 1715-1716 in London, *Portrait of Madame de La Voûte*, Oil, 1716-1717 in Paris, *Portrait of Louis XV.* Artist, M. Le Sueur, *Self-portrait*, Canvas, 1715-1716 in London, *Madame de La Voûte*





Fig. 10. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Dance of the Children of the Forest* (1755), oil on canvas, Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.





85-488. H. Millet. Girl with a Dog, Animals, and Fruit Basket, 1870-1875 (in Paris, Louvre).



Pl. 105. Painting at the court of Louis XV and Louis XVI. Above, left: J. B. Greuze, portrait of Madame Adélaïde of France. Canvas, 7 ft. 6 in., 4 ft. 10 in. Right: J. B. Greuze, The Maiden Pallas. Canvas, 37 1/2 in. by 27 in. Below, left: J. B. Greuze, Girl holding Flowers in Vase. Canvas, 4 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 10 in. Right: J. B. Greuze, Seaside of the Bath. Canvas, 4 ft. 10 in., 4 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 10 in. Paris, Louvre.

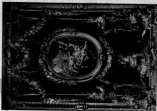
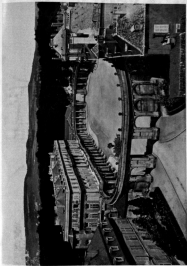




Fig. 1. Auguste Rodin, 'The Descent from the Cross' (1889). The figure is shown in a dynamic, twisted pose, with one arm raised and the other bent, set against a plain, light background.



Fig. 100. Left, J. B. Chaudet, portrait of Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chaudet. Right, Francois Michel LeClerc, Liberty with Child. Both Paris, Louvre.





PL. 66. St. Sulpice, Paris. Stair of Villa. Escalier d'Henriette.



1460. Architecture and decoration in Versailles, second half of 17th cent. Above: A. J. LeBlond, Paris Triumphant, Salon, 1674 (B. M.). Below: Temple of Apollo, Park of Versailles Gardens. Right: The Palace, main room of Madame de Sévigné, detail of decoration.







Pl. 423. J. M. W. Turner, *Rain, Grosvenor Park, London*, 1875. Oil on canvas, private coll.

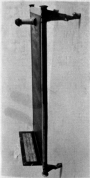


# FURNITURE



PL. 105. Top, above: Stool with curved back, Ontario, Canada. Wood, back and seat upholstered with fabric. Middle: Stool with curved back and decorative carved pattern, Ontario, Canada. Wood, back and seat upholstered with fabric. Bottom: Stool with curved back and decorative carved pattern, Ontario, Canada. Wood, back and seat upholstered with fabric. Middle: Stool with curved back and decorative carved pattern, Ontario, Canada. Wood, back and seat upholstered with fabric. Bottom: Stool with curved back and decorative carved pattern, Ontario, Canada. Wood, back and seat upholstered with fabric.





The first of these is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The second is the table, which is a long, narrow piece of furniture. The third is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The fourth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The fifth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The sixth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The seventh is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The eighth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The ninth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture. The tenth is the chair, which is a simple, functional piece of furniture.



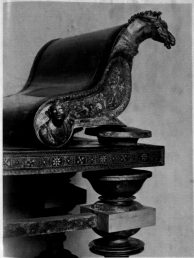
FIG. 100. Japanese furniture. Top left: Chair, made of lacquered wood, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Top right: Chair, made of lacquered wood, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Bottom left: Table, made of lacquered wood, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Bottom right: Table, made of lacquered wood, from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.



PLATE 10. Left, stone relief sculpture, *Ishtar (Ishtar) and the Seven Sages*, from the Temple of Ishtar, Nineveh, Assyria, 7th century B.C. Right, stone relief sculpture, *Ishtar (Ishtar) and the Seven Sages*, from the Temple of Ishtar, Nineveh, Assyria, 7th century B.C. Below, stone relief sculpture, *Ishtar (Ishtar) and the Seven Sages*, from the Temple of Ishtar, Nineveh, Assyria, 7th century B.C.







75-76. Detail of bronze decoration, Spitzerhaus, 1840-1850. Bronze with silver. Berlin, Staat der Preussischen



15. 422. Two cabinets, known as the "Cabinet of Minerva," by Alexander Krieger 1714, 1716, with German, Swiss and French carvings.











3. The cabinet and the chest of drawers, both of which are made of wood, are decorated with a repeating pattern of stylized, swirling motifs, possibly carved or painted. The cabinet is a simple, rectangular form with a flat top and a slightly recessed base. The chest of drawers is a simple, rectangular form with a flat top and a slightly recessed base.



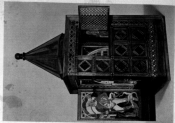


PL. 88. Above left: German wardrobe, 18th. (Museum, Bonn, Prussia). Above right: Wardrobe, 18th. (Museum, Bonn, Prussia). Below left: German chest, 18th. (Museum, Bonn, Prussia). Below right: German chair, 18th. (Museum, Bonn, Prussia). Below center: German stool, 18th. (Museum, Bonn, Prussia).



PLATE 100. *Scrivani chest, with scenes from Titian's *Urania* and allegorical figures, Florence, 1471. Stained and gilt wood. London, Christy's Collection.*

# FURNITURE



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FIG. 82. Above, left: Oak cabinet, Florence, second half of 16th cent.; Walnut Chestnut, Florence, 16th century. Right: Carved wooden cabinet, second half of 16th cent.; Walnut, Paris, 17th cent. Below the Oak Chestnut, Paris, 17th cent.; Carved wooden cabinet, 17th cent. Below the Oak Chestnut, Paris, 17th cent.; Carved wooden cabinet, 17th cent. Below the Oak Chestnut, Paris, 17th cent.

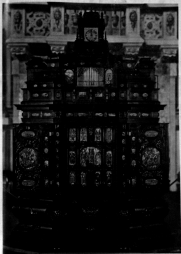


Fig. 40. Cabinet with clock, organ, and mirror with figures, lacquered with green. Ebony and other woods. Florence, Pitti, Museo degli Argenti.



Fig. 108. A. V. Shchegolev, cabinet (part of the set). Detail of the cabinet and wardrobe (part of the set). (Part, Leningrad.)

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[illegible]







75, 80. English accessories. Above, top: Chandelier, ca. 1775. Carved and gilt wood, diam. 2' 6", 1' 6". Right: Mirror frame, center, to H. 30 in., ca. 1780. Carved and gilt pine, 30" x 12" x 12". Below, left: Mirror frame, ca. 1780. Carved and gilt pine, 30" x 12", 12" x 12". Right: Table, ca. 1775. Carved and gilt pine with parchment panel, 14" x 17" x 16". London. Victoria and Albert Museum.





1. The table is a reproduction of a 17th-century French model, designed by the architect and furniture maker, Jean-François de Meubles. It is made of dark wood and features a round, carved top and a simple, curved base. The table is shown in a black and white photograph.

2. The cabinet is a reproduction of a 17th-century French model, designed by the architect and furniture maker, Jean-François de Meubles. It is made of dark wood and features a glass-paned door and a decorative top. The cabinet is shown in a black and white photograph.

3. The chest of drawers is a reproduction of a 17th-century French model, designed by the architect and furniture maker, Jean-François de Meubles. It is made of dark wood and features a decorative pediment and multiple drawers. The chest of drawers is shown in a black and white photograph.

4. The sofa is a reproduction of a 17th-century French model, designed by the architect and furniture maker, Jean-François de Meubles. It is made of dark wood and features a decorative frame and a patterned fabric. The sofa is shown in a black and white photograph.

5. The table is a reproduction of a 17th-century French model, designed by the architect and furniture maker, Jean-François de Meubles. It is made of dark wood and features a square, carved top and a simple, curved base. The table is shown in a black and white photograph.





The above are shown in the left column. In the right column are shown the same pieces of furniture as shown in the left column, but with the addition of the new upholstery. The new upholstery is shown in the right column. The new upholstery is shown in the right column. The new upholstery is shown in the right column.



Pl. 40. Above left: Cabinet (captioned) 1700-1710. Pined wood, Indian. (Note: Indian-made). Right: Cabinet with 1710-1720. Pine. (Captioned) 1710-1720. Pined wood, Indian. (Note: Indian-made). Below: Cabinet (captioned) 1710-1720. Pined wood, Indian. (Note: Indian-made). Below: Cabinet (captioned) 1710-1720. Pined wood, Indian. (Note: Indian-made).



Pl. 161. Bureau in two wings, Ireland, ca. 1780. Marked cabinet, intermediate 18th-century.





15. 16. J. B. Brown, upright wardrobe. Wood with carvings and gilt-bronze mounts. London, Wallace Collection.

# FURNITURE



71-80. Above, left, Taper, England, ca. 1885. Inlaid with rosewood. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Right, Cabinet, France, second half of 19th cent. Inlaid with rosewood. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Below, Table and chairs, Italy, second half of 18th cent. Inlaid with rosewood. Florence, Museo Galileo.

# FURNITURE



19-46a. Above, left: M. Brödel, tubular chrome-plated, 1925. Center and lower right: A. Alvaro, the latter, the so-called "Egg" (1946 prototype). 1926. Leather and metal. Center, left: A. Alvaro, working chair, 1925. Wood and metal. Right: A. Ponge, 1926. Wood and metal. Below: A. Brödel, stool with adjustable metal frame, 1925.

# FURNITURE



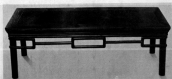
11. 101 Furniture designed for masterpieces, including work, Alvaro, 1951 by Alvaro and E. Saarinen, armchair, Wood and leather, 1951; E. Saarinen, modular shelves, Wood and metal, 1951; E. Saarinen, sofa, (image chair), and armchair, Wood, metal and leather.

# FURNITURE



91-92. (Left, top) Upholstered armchair made for the Marquis de Sade, 1750-1760, Paris, second half of 18th cent. Wood and leather. (Right, top) Cabinet for the Marquis de Sade, 1750-1760, Paris, second half of 18th cent. Wood. (Bottom, left) Bed for the Marquis de Sade, 1750-1760, Paris, second half of 18th cent. Wood with upholstery. (Bottom, right) Bed for the Marquis de Sade, 1750-1760, Paris, second half of 18th cent. Wood with upholstery. (Bottom, right) Bed for the Marquis de Sade, 1750-1760, Paris, second half of 18th cent. Wood with upholstery.

FURNITURE

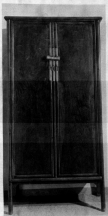


PL. 105. Chinese furniture. Above: Shell table. Yang Shaoan. Apron decorated with shell design. Table, Southern Song dynasty. (Caption reads: shell table, Southern Song dynasty. Early, Shanghai, Academy of Arts). Below: Shell table. Ming period. (Caption reads: Shell table, Ming period. Shanghai, Academy of Arts).

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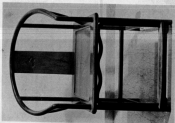
Pl. 402 Chinese medicine, Ming dynasty. Japanese edition. Minor: bark with flowers. Minor: (old). Colored (in).  
 Minor: bark with flowers and leaves. Minor: bark with flowers and leaves. Minor: bark with flowers and leaves.



77-78. Chinese furniture (Wang Anshu). *Exposure cabinet*. Left: Vertical cabinet with superimposed panels. Bejing, Academy of Arts, 1950. Right: *Wang Anshu*, Bejing, 1950. *Vertical cabinet*.



# FURNITURE





100 A large, dark, carved wooden cabinet with a decorative top and a central panel. To the left, a large, stylized, light-colored sculpture of a reclining animal, possibly a cat or a dog, is visible on the wall.



Pl. 142 G. Bernini, multifigured vase with central medallion of Virgin and Child flanked by antique figures, ca. 1745. Bergamo and Vienna. Photo, Lorenz.



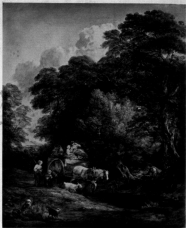
Fig. 40. Margaret Southborough, the painter's daughter. Canvas, 1871-1872 (in London, National Gallery).



Fig. 10. The Artist's Daughters. Studio, 1870-1875. In London. Family and social portrait.



Fig. 1. J.M.W. Turner, *The Family Reunion*, 1814, oil on canvas, 100 x 140 cm. (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, N.Y.)  
 Fig. 2. J.M.W. Turner, *Rain, Steam, and Great Bridge*, 1844, oil on canvas, 100 x 140 cm. (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, N.Y.)



18. 1985. *The Market Cart*. Canvas, 60 in. x 72 in. © 1985, David Hockney, Tate Gallery.



Pl. 40. *The Farmer's Daughters (Sarah)*, Albert Palmer, oil on canvas, 1871-1872 (in London, National Gallery).





18. 476. (Left) Arelate, France. View of the bell and triumphal arch, Augustus period. (Right) Rome, Italy. Arch of Constantine.



Pl. 40. Above: Mainz, city gate, Augustan period. Below: Trier, Germany, Porta Nigra, 14th-15th cent.

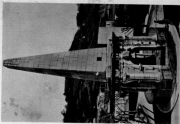
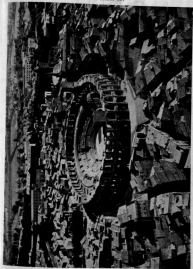
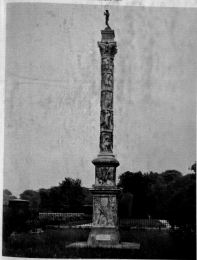


Fig. 1. The structure of the Salvo-Burman 1957. The structure is a large, dark, cylindrical structure, possibly a tank or a piece of machinery, with a complex framework of pipes and supports. The structure is set against a dark, textured background.





Pl. 49. (Opp. facing p. 100) View of the Roman city of Eborac (York) from the city walls, showing the forum, the amphitheatre, and the city walls.



Pl. 116. Simon, "Fountain of Neptune," part of Simon, Pl. 116, no. 116.



PL. 25. The relief at Aphrodisias, detail of the west side, showing Victory with cornucopia, Augustan period. (From *ib.*, no. 55 B.)



PLATE 1. (Left) Marble statue of a female figure, from Hildesheim, Augustan period (Rome, No. 1, 1st c. A.D.). (Right) Augustan period, from Hildesheim, 1st c. A.D. (Rome, No. 1, 1st c. A.D.). (Middle) Augustan, from Hildesheim, 1st c. A.D. (Rome, No. 1, 1st c. A.D.). (Bottom) Relief sculpture, Augustan period, from Hildesheim, 1st c. A.D. (Rome, No. 1, 1st c. A.D.). (Top, Germany, Hildesheim Museum).







The Gauls were a people of great strength and courage, and their art was  
 characterized by a bold and vigorous style. The Gaulish warriors were  
 famous for their skill in the use of the spear and the sword, and their  
 armor was made of bronze and iron. The Gauls were also known for their  
 love of music and dance, and their art was often used to celebrate their  
 victories and their heroes. The Gaulish art was a blend of the Celtic and  
 the Roman styles, and it was a reflection of the Gauls' position as a  
 people who were both conquerors and conquered.



Pl. 100. (Left) Roman aureus decorated with engraved work and coins, from Rome, 1st cent. A.D. (Opp., p. 110, note, Cabinet of Medals, British Museum). (Right) Roman aureus, from Roman Britain (Opp., p. 110, note, Cabinet of Medals, British Museum).





PL. 201. Vase with relief decoration. From Meuse, 3d cent. French archaeological survey of the Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.